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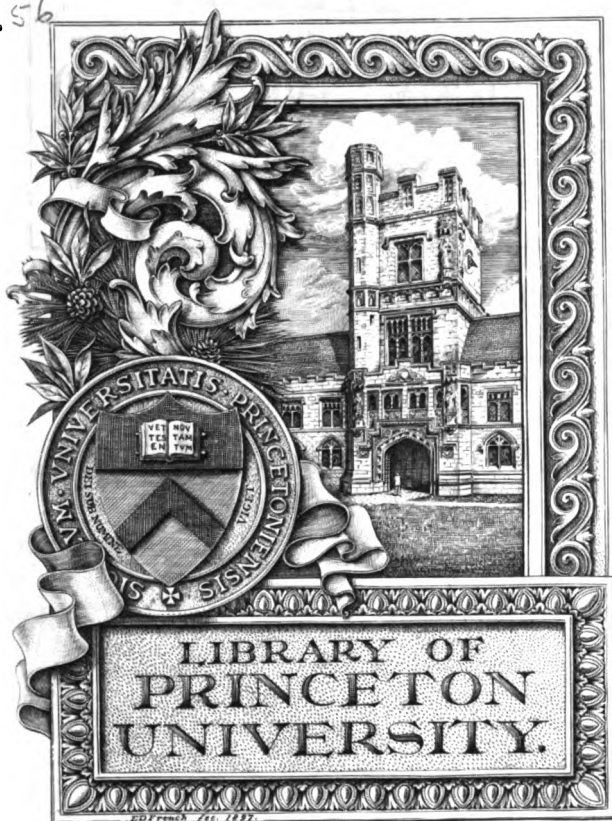
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## P R E F A C E.

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ORIGINALITY is not usually looked for in a Manual, and in the present instance it has not been attempted.

The main plan of the work has been borrowed from Spanheim, a learned, though certainly not unbiassed writer of the seventeenth century: the matter compiled from Spondanus and Spanheim, Mosheim and Fleury, Gieseler and Döllinger, and others, who have been used too often to be specified, unless when reference to them appeared desirable for the benefit of the reader. Yet I believe I have never once trusted to them on a point involving controversy without examining their authorities. The one object that I have had before me has been to condense facts without either garbling or omitting any that should be noticed in a work like the present, and to give a fair and impartial view of the whole state of the case. Should it ever be found otherwise, it has been unintentional. Erroneous impressions may be produced either by insisting upon words without reference to those facts which should qualify them, or else by misrepresenting facts themselves: investing some it may be with undue prominence, and either omitting others or dismissing them with a bare imperfect notice. And one or other has been the defect of the mass of Ecclesiastical Historians since the Reformation that have fallen into my hands. Reading two of opposite parties in the Church is like reading historians of two different periods; each has his own facts of which he is anxious to make the most diligent use, while he studiously omits or



barely mentions those which are uncongenial to his own preconceived views, as if they did not belong to the history. Thus every writer tells his own story, and with a praiseworthy dread, it would seem, of monopoly, leaves a good deal to be supplied by his neighbour. Let nobody think therefore that he can fairly know Church history from reading a single modern historian, whether Protestant or Roman Catholic; the only way of getting a correct view, unless a person should have time to consult the originals, is to read two opposite writers, side by side, and balance one set of facts against the other. Yet even so it is hopeless to get a true appreciation of past times except through contemporary writings; I have appended therefore to the catalogue of modern historians a few of the principal contemporary works, disciplinary, doctrinal, and historical, from age to age, down to the end of the twelfth century, which would be a far more trustworthy clue to the real sentiments of the times, than any thing that could be gained from a more modern source, and could not, I think, fail to be a corrective to narrow misapprehensions, and a great help to the student whose wish it is to be fair and candid.

Undoubtedly it may be objected that experience has shewn that candour and scepticism have not unfrequently been found allied: and some persons are appalled at the very idea of investigating Church history too closely, lest from the horrors and uncertainties which they find there, they should be driven into actual infidelity. And it is certainly true that ecclesiastical historians beginning with Eusebius and ending with authors whom it might be invidious to name, have lain under imputations with respect to their orthodoxy; yet of this I am persuaded, that, unless a person is prepared to be a sceptic upon all subjects, nobody ought to rise up perplexed from Church history, who has duly studied the annals of the Synagogue, which are no less a type than the ceremonies

of the law themselves, or who has fairly pondered over the backslidings and shortcomings of his own regenerate existence. The works of the Most High are marvellous, but individually or collectively man mars all within his reach: Glory to God, and shame to ourselves—this is the candid solution of the annals of the redeemed world!

It only remains briefly to state one or two circumstances connected with the form of the work. First, while discarding annals, it did not appear to me that arbitrary divisions, like Periods, as much facilitated arrangement, as they impeded chronological accuracy. It seemed highly desirable to know as near as possible the exact date to which a given change, corruption, or innovation, is to be assigned. Accordingly I have preferred the method first introduced by the Magdeburg Centuriators, against whom Baronius published his annals, and since adopted by Spanheim, Mosheim, and others\*. Secondly, my reasons for concluding with the twelfth century were because I wished some time or other to bring down my Manual to the close of the eighteenth century; but it would have been impossible to have done this upon the same scale in a single volume: and nothing would seem more unphilosophical than the usual method of isolating the Reformation, as well from the causes which led to it as also the results which have ensued from it; I have therefore concluded my first part with the rise of the Canonists and Schoolmen on the one hand, those argumentative consolidators of the Popedom: and with the rise of the Nominalists and Waldenses on the other, those precursors of the Reformation. God granting me time and ability, I shall hope some day to commence the sequel. Meanwhile perhaps, one should not shrink from avowing with refer-

\* Cave, *Lives of the Primitive Fathers*, Pref. to the Reader, p. vii., considers annals "more natural and historical;" Gieseler, *Ecel. Hist.*, Introd.

(Eng. Tr.), § 6, speaks well of a subordinate chronological arrangement, though under Periods in the main.

ence to the spirit of the times, that after having elaborately gone through the main facts of the first twelve centuries of the Church, in a time of great anxiety, and severe criticism of the present position of the English Church, with sincere desire and prayer to be enabled to discern the truth and abjure error, did facts really testify that our position was a false one, the inference which has been forced upon me is, that the Supremacy of the Pope as it is now claimed, is so far from proven, that it would be hard to find a greater historical delusion. The theory that would make *submission* to Rome necessary to salvation is historically monstrous !

Those who wish for a complete list of ecclesiastical historians from Eusebius down to the end of the fifteenth century are referred to S. W. Sluter's *Propylæum Historiæ Christianæ*, § ix.—xx., or to the larger work of Caspar Sagittarius, entitled, *Introductio in Ecclesiasticam Historiam*, with a continuation in a second volume by Schmidius. A good deal of useful information is supplied in Mr. Dowling's "Introduction to the Critical Study of Ecclesiastical History."

It will be impossible to do more than notice the principal of the more modern authorities.

Modern ecclesiastical historians begin with the Magdeburg Centuriators, the chief of whom were John Wigandus, Matthew Judex, Basilius Faber, Andreas Corvinus, but first and foremost, Mathew Flavius Illyricus, author likewise of the *Catalogus Testium Veritatis*. Theirs was the first attempt to systematize, so to speak, the events of a particular age by arranging them under different heads or subjects. The Magdeburg Centuriators confined themselves to centuries, of which the first four were written at Magdeburg, and the last nine elsewhere. The number of heads in a century are for the most part sixteen. They have been enlarged and continued by Semler and others.

Against them Baronius, after thirty years incessant study,

during which time he read over ecclesiastical history seven times in his oratory, compiled his Annals. Twelve volumes, each comprehending a century, complete the work. Events are ranged chronologically year by year. They were continued from A.D. 1198 to the close of the seventeenth century by Bzovius, Raynaldus, and Spondanus, the last of whom condensed them into a valuable Epitome. But the edition in which Baronius should be read is that of George and Mansi, Lucca, A.D. 1738—46, with the valuable criticisms of Pagi, and notes upon Pagi, given at the foot of the page.

The continuation of Raynaldus is appended to the same edition with a copious commentary by Mansi upon Raynaldus.

Natalis Alexander, who is considered to have borrowed greatly from Spondanus, comprehends in his history sixteen centuries.

Spanheim, who wrote against Alexander as well as Baronius, published a learned Introduction to the Old and New Testament, the latter of which, in the folio edition of his works, is brought down to the sixteenth century inclusive.

Hottinger, another Protestant, comprehends the same period in his even more learned epitome, as it may be called, of the affairs of the Christians, Jews, Gentiles, and Mahometans, severally ranged under heads: the Oriental part of which is full and valuable.

Cave's *Historia Literaria*, which contains a valuable account of ecclesiastical writers and writings, of the councils and synods of the Church, with a brief conspectus of the different ages to Luther and the sixteenth century, is a well-known work: a list of previous works of the same kind is furnished in the *Prolegomena*; and his Dissertations at the end of the history are not to be forgotten. Ceillier's *Histoire Generale des Auteurs Sacrés et Ecclesiastiques* is a

work of the same kind and much esteemed, but ends with the middle of the thirteenth century.

All the above mentioned, except the last, wrote in Latin : these which follow adopted the language of their country. Godeau, Tillemont, Du Pin and Fleury, were Roman Catholics and Frenchmen respectively ; and of them the first brings his history down to the end of the ninth ; the second, to the end of the sixth ; the third, whose work is to be considered rather a biography of ecclesiastical writers, to the end of the sixteenth century. Du Pin has been translated into English by Wootton, who has likewise translated his retractation of the offensive passages in the first part of his work condemned by the archbishop of Paris, A.D. 1693. Fleury, the last of the above mentioned, whose work ends A.D. 1414, but is continued by Fabre to A.D. 1595, had for some time been considered the standard ecclesiastical historian in the French language—perhaps in any the most impartial—but the *Histoire Universelle de l'Eglise Catholique*, by the Abbé Rohrbacker, a German of the ultramontan school, commencing from the Creation, and finishing with A.D. 1848, is a work rising into high notice. The first volume of a second edition appeared greatly corrected and enlarged, A.D. 1850, Paris, Gaume Freres : and in his preface he mentions that it is in course of translation into English. There is another ecclesiastical history which I have seen, but not examined, in a French translation, entitled, *Histoire Universelle de l'Eglise par Jean Alzog traduite sur la cinquieme Edition*, par J. Goschler, 2nde edition, Paris, Jacques Lecoffre, and Co., 1850.

German ecclesiastical historians, that is, those who have written in the vernacular, may be said to commence with Mosheim, whose history, translated with notes by Murdock, and edited with additions by Soames, is too well known to require notice. It properly would end with the seventeenth

century, but the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries are briefly sketched. Since his time Divisions and Periods have come into fashion amongst Germans, and almost entirely supplanted Centuries. Among those who have adopted the more modern arrangement is Gieseler, whose copious extracts from original authorities in the notes are very valuable: he brings his history down to A.D. 1517. It is one of the works published in Clarke's Foreign Theological Library, and it has also been translated into English under American auspices. So too Neander: who may be said to have first introduced philosophy into ecclesiastical history; of his work, which in the edition of A.D. 1845 ends with the fifth period, or A.D. 1265, the first three centuries have been translated into English by Rose: but the American translation, Edinburgh, 1850, is only one period behind the original. And this again has been improved, and is in the course of republication, by Rev. A. J. W. Morrison, London, Bohn, 1851. Guerike reaches in a more compendious form to the middle of the present century. His chronological tables and copious index are considered most useful.

The above belong to the Protestant school: Döllinger is a Roman Catholic: and his history has been translated into English, in a condensed form, down to A. D. 1378 of the External History. Many ecclesiastical historians that have been omitted here, French as well as German, are mentioned in his preface, to whom are added the names of two celebrated Italian authorities, Cardinal Orsi, and Gaspar Sacca-relli.

English ecclesiastical historians are comparatively few, and, except Collier, almost entirely superseded by the above translations. Milner carries his very partial history down to the diet of Augsburg, A.D. 1530. He has been continued by Stebbing to the eighteenth century. Dean Waddington stops short of the Reformation. Collier, whose history



is confined to that of our own Church, ends with A.D. 1685.

Mr. Neale, in his preface to the History of the Holy Eastern Church, and Patriarchate of Alexandria, will supply a notice of authorities who have written upon the Greek Church.

For writers upon Ecclesiastical Antiquities the reader cannot do better than refer to the Index of Authors enumerated by Bingham at the end of his Antiquities of the Christian Church, or else to Fabricius in his *Bibliographia Antiquaria*, c. iv. And for chronology, lists of bishops of the principal sees, writers, and so forth, Mr. Clinton's *Fasti Romani* is a valuable reference to A.D. 641. *L'art de verifier les dates* is a further admirable work of the same kind, and the Chronology of History by Sir Harris Nicolas, will be found to contain much that is useful. Mansi is the most recent as well as the most complete collection of councils to the fifteenth century inclusive. The last volume was published at Venice, A.D. 1798. A synopsis of his collection was completed at the same place and in the same year. Beveridge's *Synodicon* contains valuable notes upon the apostolical canons, and the councils received by the Greek Church. Carranza, with the additions of F. Silvius, is one of the best of the smaller Manuals, ending with the last session of the Tridentine council under Pius IV. The second volume of Johnson's *Vade Mecum*, contains what are called the codes of the primitive, and of the universal Church: together with the canons and decrees received either conjointly or respectively by the East and West. A manual of councils of the Holy Catholic Church, recently published by Rev. E. H. Landon, may conclude this part of the subject.

## CONTEMPORARY WORKS.

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THE following is a brief list of contemporary works, disciplinary, doctrinal, and historical, from which it is submitted a fair idea of the spirit of the age (of course nothing like the entire history) may be obtained in which they were written.

### CENTURIES I., II.

#### DOCTRINAL OR DISCIPLINARY.

Patres Apostolici. (ed. Jacobson.)  
 Justini Martyris Apol. i. et ii. (cum  
 not. Var. edit. Oxon.)  
 Regula fidei ap. S. Irenæum. (ap.  
 Routhii Opuscula, vol. ii.)  
 Tertullianus de Præscript. Hæret. (ap.  
 Routhii Opuscula, vol. ii.)

#### HISTORICAL.

Martyria SS. Ignatii et Polycarpi. (ap.  
 Pat. Apost., vol. ii. ed. Jacob.)  
 Tertulliani adv. omnes hæreticos  
 libellus. (ap. Routhii Opuscula,  
 vol. i.)

### CENTURY III.

Canones Apostolici. (ap. Coteler. Pat.  
 Apost., vol. i. cum not. Bevereg.)  
 S. Greg. Neocæs. Ep. Canon. (ap.  
 Routhii Rel. Sac., vol. iii.)  
 S. Cypr. De Unitate Eccl.

Concilia sub S. Cypr. Carthag. (ap.  
 Routhii Rel. Sac., vol. iii.)  
 S. Cypr. Ep. ix., x., xxxi., xxxiii.,  
 xxxv., xxxvi., xxxviii., xlii., xlix.,  
 lii., lx., lxiii., lxii., lxiv., lxv.,  
 lxxvi. (ed. Ben.)

### CENTURY IV.

S. Ath. De Inc. Verbi. (op. ed. Ben.)  
 S. Basil. De Sp. Sancto. . . .  
 — Constitut. Monast. . . .  
 S. August. Enchiridion. . . .  
 — De Bapt. c. Donat. . . .  
 — De Præd. Sanct. . . .  
 — De Dono Persever. . . .  
 — De civitate Dei. . . .

Eusebii, Hist. Eccl. (ed. Heinechen.)  
 S. Athan. Hist. Arian. ad Monachos.  
 S. Ambrosii, Ep. xx., xxii., li. (ed.  
 Ben.)

## CENTURY V.

## DOCTRINAL OR DISCIPLINARY.

S. Cyrilli ad Nestor. De Excommun.  
Ep. (Op., tom. v. p. 2. et vi. ed.  
Aubert.)

— in Sanctum Symbolum. (Op., tom.  
v. p. 2. et vi. ed. Aubert.)

— Pro xii. capit. adv. Theodoret.  
(Op., tom. v. p. 2. et vi. ed. Aubert.)

Theodoretī Eranistes. (Op., vol. iv. ed.  
Schulze.)

S. Leonis, Ep. 1, 9, 10; Ep. Flaviani  
ad S. L. (inter ep. xxi. et xxii.) 24;  
Ep. Flav. ad S. L. (inter ep. xxxiii.  
et xxxiv.) 40; Ep. Theodoret. ad  
S. L. (inter ep. xlvii. et xlviii.) 59;  
Ep. Synod. Chalced. ad S. L. et  
Marciani Imp. ad S. L. (inter ep.  
lxxvii. et lxxviii.) 83, 87, 136 (ed.  
Quesnel.)

Vincentii Lerin. Common. (ed. Baluz.)

Cod. Theodos. Liber xvi. (ed. Gotho-  
fred.)

## HISTORICAL.

Socratis, Eccl. Hist. (cum not. Varior.  
ed. Reading.)

## CENTURY VI.

S. Greg. Magni Liber Sacramentorum.

— Ep., lib. i. 4, 25, 47, 74, 77; lib.  
v. 18, 21, 43, 54, 56, 57; lib. vi. 49,  
50; lib. vii. 4; lib. viii. 30; lib. ix.  
111; lib. xi. 13, 67; lib. xiii. 1, 31,  
38; lib. xiv. 17. (ed. Ben.)

Homiliæ in iv. Evangelia.

Evagrii, Eccl. Hist. (ed. Reading.)

Liberati Breviarium. (ap. Gallandii  
Bibl. Vet. Pat., tom. xii. p. 125.)

## CENTURY VII.

Synodica S. Sophronii. (Inter acta vi.  
Concil. Gen. Mansi, tom. xi. p. 462.)

Theodori Capitula. (Inter acta vi. Con-  
cil. Gen. Mansi, tom. xi. p. 462.)

Selecta. (ap. D'acherii Spicileg., vol. i.  
p. 486.)

Bedæ Hist. Eccl. (ed. Smith.)

CENTURY VIII.

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| S. Joh. Damasc. De Fide Orthodoxa.<br>(Op., tom. i. ed. Lequien.)              | Pauli diaconi Historia Langobard. (ap.<br>Rer. Ital. Script., tom. i. ed. Mura-<br>tori.) |
| Carolini Libri. (ed. Hermann.)   |   |
| Alcuini De Divin. Offic. Liber. (Inter<br>Op. ed. Quercet.)                    |   |
| Caroli M. Capitularia. (ap. Capit. Reg.<br>Franc., tom. i. p. 190. ed. Baluz.) |   |

CENTURY IX.

DOCTRINAL or DISCI-  
PLINARY.

HISTORICAL.

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| Amalarus De Divin. Offic. (ap. Max.<br>Bibl. Pat., tom. xiv. p. 934.)   | Anastas. De vitis Pontif. (ap. Rer.<br>Ital. Script. ed. Muratori, tom. iii.) |
| Photii Encyclica. (Latine ap. Baron.<br>Annal., A.D. 863. n. 34.)   | Photii Libellus de vii. Synodis. (ad<br>Calc. Nomocan. ed. Justell.)          |
| De Sacram. Corp. et Sang. D. n. I. X.<br>ad Placidum Liber (vulgo Pascha-<br>sii) ap. Max. Bibl. Pat., tom. xiv.<br>p. 729. |   |

CENTURY X.

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| Regino De Eccl. Discipl. et Rel. Chris-<br>tiana. (ed. Baluz.) | Luitprandi Historia. (ap. Hist. Franc.<br>Script., tom. iii. ed. Duchesne.) |
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CENTURY XI.

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| Theophylacti in D. Pauli Ep. Com-<br>mentaria. (ed. Lindsell.)   | Glabri Radulphi Historia. (ap. Hist.<br>Franc. Script., tom. iv. ed. Du-<br>chesne.) |
| Nilus Doxopat. De Maj. Patriarch.<br>Sedibus. (ap. Var. Sac. ed. Le Moyne,<br>vol. i. p. 211.)                   |  |
| Lanfranci Libellus De Corp. et Sang.<br>D. in Euchar. c. Berengar. (ap. Max.<br>Bibl. Pat., tom. xviii. p. 763.) |  |
| Gregorii VII. (ut vulgo) Dictatus (ap.<br>Mansi, tom. xx. p. 168. Inter ep.<br>55 et 56.)                        |  |

## CENTURY XII.

Petri Lombardi Sententiarum Liber. Eadmer, Hist. Nov. (ed. Selden.)  
(ed. Migne.)

S. Bernard. De Consideratione.

— De Officio Episcoporum.

— Tractatus de Laude Novæ Militiæ.

— Ep. 56, 124, 174, 189, 196, 229,  
235, 241, 243, 326, 330, 337, 338,  
346, 386, 423. (ed. Mabill., vol. i.)

Abælardi Epitome Theol. Christianæ.  
(edit. Rheinwald.)

— Ep. ad Helois. cum Resp. (ed.  
Rawlinson.)

— Summa Fratris Renerii de Catharis et Leonistia. (ap. Thesaur. Nov. Anec. ed. Martene et Durand., tom. v. p. 1759.)

## S U M M A R Y.

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### CHAPTER I.

THE Crucifixion, A.D. 29? Martyrdom of S. Stephen and Conversion of S. Paul (Burton, A.D. 31. Greswell, A.D. 37). Churches founded at Jerusalem, Samaria, Cæsarea, Damascus, Antioch, Alexandria(?) and elsewhere in the East: Rome and elsewhere in the West. Four Apostolical Councils. Distinction between clergy and laity. Bishops successors of the Apostles. Presbyters while the Apostles lived called bishops and presbyters indiscriminately. Deacons chosen by the people. Extraordinary teachers. Baptism. Breaking of Bread. Observance of the Lord's Day as well as the Jewish Sabbath. Forms, e.g. the Baptismal: Liturgy of S. James(?): Creed of the Apostles(?). Canon of the Scriptures(?). Τὰ ὁμολογούμενα and ἀντιλεγόμενα. Simon Magus founder of the Gnostics. Apostolical Fathers. False Gospels, Acts, Epistles, and the like. First persecution, under Nero, A.D. 64(?). Destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, A.D. 70(?). Second persecution, under Domitian, A.D. 95(?). Heathenism spiritualized. Decay of the Oracles.

### CHAPTER II.

Christianity diffused generally throughout Europe, Asia, and Africa. German and French Churches. Mission of Pantænus into India. Written Creeds. Christian Apologists. Fourth and sixth days of the week stationary days or half fasts: third, sixth, and ninth hours, hours of prayer: prayer made towards the East. Alternate psalm-singing. Lessons from the Old and New Testament. Homilies. The Lord's Prayer. Bidding prayer. Oblations. Sign of the Cross used by the Minister commencing the Communion Office. Prayer for invocation of the Holy Ghost. Prayers for the departed. Martyrs commemorated. Leavened bread. Wine mixed with water. Eucharist carried to the sick by the deacon. Episcopal benediction. Love-feasts. Infant baptism. Catechumens. Trine immersion. Clinical aspersion. Sponsors. Sign of the Cross. Unction. Imposition of hands. Lay-baptism. Children partakers of the Eucharist. Eucharist called a "sacrifice," i.e. "rational," "unbloody," &c. Ministers wear plain clothes. Binding and loosing. Ἐξομολόγησις. Absolution publicly given and but once. Easter and Pentecost observed with



the Eves. Good-Friday. Forty days of Lent(?). Custom of signing the Cross on the forehead. Abstinence from blood and things strangled. Church of Alexandria whether presbyterian? Ordination (*χειροθεσία*); election (*χειροτόνια*). People had a voice in the latter. Married men ordained. Digamy not approved. Marriage not allowed the higher orders after ordination. Readers a new order. "Superior principality" attributed to Rome by S. Irenæus. Provincial synods and apostolical canons(?). Gnostics, Asiatic or Egyptian. Montanus and others. S. Ignatius martyred, A.D. 115(?). S. Polycarp, A.D. 166(?). Age of SS. Justin Martyr, Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian and others. Forged decretal epistles of the bishops of Rome. Syriac, Latin, and Greek versions of the Scriptures. Third persecution under Trajan. Fourth under Adrian. Fifth under Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius, and Lucius Verus. Martyrdoms of S. Clement of Rome, SS. Simeon, Justin, Pothinus, and others. Jewish insurrection under Barchochebas. Jewish schools of Jafna and Tiberias. Completion of the Mishna by B. Jehudi. The Massora. The philosophers Crescens and Celsus oppose Christianity.

### CHAPTER III.

Mammæa, mother of Alexander Severus, and Philip the emperor, said to have been converts. Origen against Celsus. Primitive sense of the words "tradition," "sacrifice," "altar," "priest," "merit" and the like. Houses of prayer(?). The Tribunal, Bema, Apse—Incense. Laity communicate near the altar, and standing. Three years to be passed as a catechumen before baptism. Baptism and confirmation administered at the same time, and by the bishop. Eucharist celebrated in the morning instead of the evening. Consecration in a loud voice. Both kinds administered. Private confession before communion. "Missa" = 1. the dismissal of the catechumens; 2. of the whole assembly. Lent mentioned by Origen; derived from the Jews. Saturday a fast in the Roman Church. Passion-week strictly observed as a fast. Funerals usually during the day. S. Cyprian buried by torch-light. Exorcism derived from the Jews. Virginity not to be rashly professed. Vows in the modern sense unknown. Gentile feasts interdicted. The lapsed = those who had polluted themselves with idolatry, murder, or adultery. Other subdivisions of them. Penance called a sacrament by S. Cyprian. Presbyter specially appointed to receive confessions in the Eastern Church. Canonical satisfaction. Penitents now or in the next age divided into four orders, 1, mourners, 2, hearers, 3, prostrate, 4, bystanders. Absolution given in the "prayer with imposition of hands," and usually by the bishop. Quere, whether S. Cyprian allowed it to be used by a deacon? Ecclesiastical vestments doubtfully attributed to S. Cyprian. Subdeacons. Acolytes, not "taper-bearers." Exorcist and Catechist often the same person. S. Cyprian refers "the origin of the sacerdotal unity" to the "chair of S. Peter." Laity present at the synods, ordinations, elections, &c.; had a voice in the last. Dress of the clergy not distinctive. Provincial synods against Paul of Samosata. Other heresiarchs were Noetus, Nepos, Cubricus or Manes, Hierax. Novatus and Novatian

two schismatics often confounded. S. Cyprian and the Africans re-baptize heretics. Age of Origen, S. Hippolytus, Africanus, S. Gregory Thaumaturgus, Dionysius of Alexandria, S. Methodius, Minucius Felix, S. Cyprian and others. Sixth persecution, A.D. 202. Seventh, A.D. 235. Eighth, a very bloody one under Decius, A.D. 250. Ninth, forty-two months, under Valerian, A.D. 257. Tenth, A.D. 303, lasted as many years as there were persecutions. Talmud of Jerusalem completed. Jewish schools of Sora and Pumbedita. Second order of doctors called Amorajim or Gemarists. Divine judgments upon Gentile persecutors enumerated by Lactantius *De morte persecutorum*. Paul of Thebes and S. Anthony the first Christian eremites. Legend of the seven sleepers. Of S. Ursula and her 11,000 companions. Diocletian era, A.D. 284. Era of the martyrs, A.D. 303.

#### CHAPTER IV.

Eborius, Restitutus, and Adelphius, British bishops at the time of the synod of Arles. Miraculous appearance of the Cross in the heavens. Conversion of Constantine the Great. Edicts in favour of the Christians. Christian churches, e. g., that of S. Sophia. Tithes and bequests legalized. Armenians, Abyssinians, Iberians, Marcomanni, Goths, and Sarmatians evangelized. Heathenism not finally interdicted before Theodosius the Great. Creeds of Nicæa, Constantinople, and S. Athanasius. Ancient sense of the words "merit," "satisfaction," "free-will," "indulgence," "penitence," "sacrament," "mass," "altar," "sacrifice," "fast," "pope," "patriarch," "cardinal." Origen starts the idea of a fiery trial at the judgment-day: Tertullian and S. Cyprian, during the intermediate state. Distinction of S. Austin as regards prayers for the dead. Stauropegium in the erection of a church; always performed by the bishop. Churches dedicated to God, and in memory of His saints. Form sometimes oblong, sometimes round, sometimes cruciform. 1, porch; 2, vestibule, or entrance; 3, nave; 4, bema, or chancel. Heralds instead of bells. Gospels to be read on the Saturday as well as portions of the Old Testament. The Old Testament exclusively upon ordinary days. A Lesson to follow every Psalm. Homilies on the Lessons. Vespers, cock-crowing, matins. Feast of the Theophania, or Nativity, Jan. 6 in the East, December 25 in the West. Days of the Apostles. Lent not universally kept in the same length and extent. Baptisteries: one for men, and one for women. White garments. Baptism often deferred, e. g., that of Constantine, S. Austin, and others. Lay communion made a degradation for the delinquent clergy. Presanctified communion, and that of strangers. Stations of the mourners, hearers, prostrate, and bystanders more fully developed. Indulgences = relaxations of the canonical penance: granted by the bishops. Office of the penitentiary abolished under Nectarius. Lighted tapers during the day. Incense. Dry-fare. Bishops, priests, and deacons forbidden to live with their wives under Siricius. Contrary decision of the first general council. Marriage after ordination extremely rare. Miracles performed by the relics of SS. Stephen, Gervasius, and Protasius. Supersti-

tions beginning to be connected with the sign of the Cross. Discovery of the true Cross. Pilgrimages. Martyrs addressed doubtfully with a view to their intercession. Images and pictures beginning to be used. Prayers for the soul of Constantine the Great, and others. White garments and a scarf (*orarium*) worn by the clergy. Ordination of the minor and higher orders described in the fourth synod of Carthage. Archdeacons, arch-priests, country bishops, and metropolitans. The term patriarch unknown except among the Jews. Correspondence between the civil divisions of the empire, and those of the Church under Constantine the Great. Appeals to the see of Rome sanctioned by the Sardican council, A.D. 347. Faith of Damasus of Rome, together with that of Peter of Alexandria, set forth as a model by Theodosius the Great. Communicatory letters of three kinds, 1. Commendatory, 2. Pacificatory, 3. Demissory. *Π. Τ. Α. Π.* always prefixed to them: and Amen always at the end. Constantine compared to a common bishop. Number of general councils uncertain. Those in the present age convened and confirmed by the emperor. Number of the Nicene Fathers and presidentship uncertain. Osius not a representative of the Roman see. Paschal controversy settled. Metropolitan rights determined. Acts of the first general council lost. Only two Western bishops present at the council of Constantinople; styles itself œcumenical, and allowed to be so by the Roman Damasus. Does the second canon inhibit appeals sanctioned by the Sardican council? Constantinople ordered to rank next after Rome by the third canon. Additions to the Creed by S. Gregory Nyssen. Lapse of Osius and Liberius at the third and fourth Sirmian synods respectively. Ariminum the scene of a still greater lapse. Arians subdivided into Anomœans, Semi-Arians, and Acacians. Photinus, Macedonius, Priscillian, and Donatus among the heresiarchs of the day. Age of Arnobius, Lactantius, Eusebius, SS. Hilary, Optatus, Ambrose, Paulinus, Jerome, Augustine, Athanasius, Basil, the two Gregories, Cyril, Epiphanius, Ephrem, John Chrysostom, and others. Dedication of Constantinople. Semimiraculous events: e. g. death of Arius, attempt to rebuild Jerusalem frustrated, victory of Theodosius over Eugenius, escapes of S. Athanasius, and the like. S. Antony founder of the Cœnobites. Origin of the canonicals and regulars. Nuns. Persecutions of the orthodox under Constantius, Julian, and Valens. Of the Christians, generally under Sapor and Varanes. Heathenism interdicted under Theodosius the Great. Goths, Visigoths, Suevi, Vandals, Burgundians, and Huns overrun the empire. Jews allowed to exercise liberal professions.

## CHAPTER V.

Palladius, first bishop of the Scots. Conversion of the Burgundians and of the Franks under Clovis. French kings why called "most Christian." Christian schools of Rome, Carthage, Treves, Bologna, and Constantinople. Libraries, especially that of Constantinople. Scholastics, who? Fact of the Incarnation established. Apollinaris the first to suggest doubts about the manner of it; followed by Nestorius and Eutyches. S. Augustine, "Doctor of Grace," against

Pelagius. Apparent additions to the canonical Scriptures in the third council of Carthage, and S. Augustine, *De Doctrinâ Christianâ*. Images adored. Departed saints invoked. Honour paid to relics on the increase. Doubts of S. Augustine about purgatory. Absolute necessity of the Sacraments. Private confession substituted for the public by S. Leo. Fasts of the four seasons. Rogations and Litanies. S. Austin upon ceremonies. Minor patriarchates. KAPAI contains the initials of the five principal. Primates and exarchs, archbishops, archimandrites. Proctors, stewards, respondents. Vicars, especially those of the Roman See. Ultimate appeal where according to S. Austin. S. Leo first attributes universality to the chair of S. Peter. Law of Valentinian III. relating to Rome. Letter of the African Church to Celestine. Uncanonical conduct of Felix towards Acacius. Council of Ephesus held in a church called after S. Mary, Mother of God. In what sense did S. Cyril represent Celestine? not as a legate. Analogous case of Flavian, bishop of Philippi, and Rufus, bishop of Thessalonica. John of Antioch ultimately reconciled to S. Cyril. Eighth canon framed with reference to the letter of the Africans to Celestine. The Latrocinium. S. Leo unable to get the fourth general council held as he proposed. Six hundred and thirty bishops at the council of Chalcedon. S. Leo presides through his legates. Lay influence very conspicuous. Code of the universal Church how formed. Twenty-eighth canon concerning Constantinople never accepted by S. Leo. African code how formed. Canons xxviii. and cxv., against transmarine appeals. Conference between the Catholics and Donatists recorded by S. Austin. Eutychian tumults. Timothy Ælurus. Timothy Salophaciolus. Peter Mongus. John Talaida. Martyrius. Peter the Fuller. Zeno publishes his Henoticon. Never received by the Roman see. Names of Acacius and Mongus eventually erased from the registers. Pelagian, semi-Pelagian, Nestorian and Eutychian heresies. Acephali, Severians, Theopaschites, and Armenians. Age of Theophilus, Synesius, Theodoret, Isidore, Socrates, Sozomen, Seleucian Basil, and others in the East: of Ruffinus, Sulpitius Severus, Prosper, Paulinus, Gaudentius, Prudentius, Hilary, bishop of Arles, Vincentius, Genadius, Salvian, S. Leo, and others in the West. Remarkable women, Athenais, Pulcheria, Hypatia, and others. Rome sacked by the Visigoths, Huns, and Vandals. Vandal persecution under Genserich and Hunneric throughout Africa. S. Augustine saved from it by death. Theodosian Code when finished. The Gregorian and Hermogenian collections superseded by it. The sixteenth book entirely regards ecclesiastics. Emperors conferred the pall. Authenticated miracles; e.g., the African confessors, SS. Germanus and Lupus, and others. End of the Western empire. Coincidences connected with pagan Rome. Babylonian Talmud completed by Rabbi Josea. Sabureans. Gæons. Jewish patriarchs abolished. Cælicolæ, who?

## CHAPTER VI.

Conversion of Abasgi, Lagi, Zani, Armenians, and Æthiopians; of the Bohemians, Thuringians, and Bavarians; of the Anglo-Saxons, Scots, and Picts, under SS. Augustine, Patrick, and Columba. - Many conversions from Arian-

ism. S. Gregory upon general councils, images, invocations of the saints. Canon of the mass re-arranged by him, but not universally received : and in a language then commonly understood. Œcumenical, a title censured by him and his predecessor Pelagius I., when claimed by the Constantinopolitan, afterwards arrogated by his see. Synods still convened by the temporal power. Influence of Justin and Justinian in the ecclesiastical world. Sects of the Monophysites, e. g. Aphthartodocetæ, and Pthartolatæ, and others. Tritheists. Hormisdas inaccurate. Three chapters condemned in the fifth general council, A.D. 553. Vigilius condemns them in his *judicatum*, forbids them to be condemned in his *constitutum*, finally condemns them in his letter to Eutychius. Origenists (and Origen ?) likewise condemned by the council. Fifth council (provincial) of Constantinople often confounded with the fifth general council. Age of Maxentius, Leontius, Evagrius, Anastasius, Eulogius, John the Faster, among the Easterns ; and of S. Fulgentius, Avitus, Cæsarius, Paschasius, Boethius, Dionysius Exiguus, Marcellinus, Primasius, Ferrandus, Facundus, Liberatus, Junilius, Cassiodorus, Gregory of Tours, and S. Gregory the Great in the West. S. Benedict, founder of the monastic orders. Perpetual vows first imposed. Rule of S. Benedict : and of S. Columbanus : and of S. Gregory the Great. Faustus abbot of Lerins, granted exemption from episcopal authority by the third council of Arles A.D. 455. Events dated from the birth of the Saviour, under the auspices of Dionysius Exiguus, and the Diocletian era abandoned. Code, Pandects, Institutes : the first, A.D. 529, and the two last A.D. 533, completed by Tribonian and others under Justinian. Novels, a subsequent work. S. Gregory upon converting aliens : forcible means not to be used. Age of Tribonian, Proclus, Procopius, Agathias, and Priscian among gentile writers.

## CHAPTER VII.

Peaceful state of the Church under Maurice. Seven independent British bishops forced into submission to Rome by S. Augustine. Missions of S. Columbanus, Willibrord, and others : all of whom, with S. Austin, apply to Rome for pall and the like. Novelty introduced by bishops of Rome during the present age : bells, lights, feast of All Saints, spiritual relationships, right of sanctuary, many church-decorations, relics translated with increased ceremony, rules about the tonsure and the like, delinquent clergy to be confined within monasteries, deacons forbidden to be married, daily and yearly processions, increase in the privileges of the clergy, adoration of the cross, tripartite division of the host, chant of the Agnus, and so forth. Rule of Vitalian I., well worth perusal. Decisions of the apostolic see to be held sacred : archbishops of Ravenna to go to Rome to be confirmed. Œcumenical claimed for the Roman see by Boniface III., who "*obtained*," says Anastasius, "that she should be head of all Churches, from Phocas !" Struggles against Rome by the British and Scottish Churches : she is ignored by the Spanish, and partially by the Gallican and other Churches : especially by Constantinople. Monothelism condemned by the sixth general council, under Constantine Pogonatus, A.D.

681, and the Roman Honorius anathematized as a Monothelite both by it and by Leo II. Was the bishop of Rome represented at the quini-sex, or Trullan council, A.D. 692? several canons unpalatable to the Westerns: yet according to Gratian, Adrian I. received them all. Agatho scarce able to find one fit to represent him at the sixth general council. Age of S. Sophronius, Antiochus, S. Maximus, George Pisides, Andrew, archbishop of Crete, John Moschus, and others in the East: of S. Isidore and his brothers, S. Julian, Venerable Bede, S. Theodore, S. Eligius, Jonas, Dinooth, Cedmon, the abbess Hilda, and others in the West. King Sigebert and others embrace the monastic life. Monasteries and rule of S. Columbanus. Abbeys of Luxovium, Fontaines, Bobio, and S. Denis, founded. Birth and exploits of Mahomet and his successors. His creed as contained in the Koran. Shiites and Sonnites. Grado made a patriarchate. Metropolitan rights confirmed to York and Canterbury, by Boniface V., and Honorius I. Cambridge(?) Oxford(?) Jews compelled to be baptized by Heraclius and others.

## CHAPTER VIII.

Saracens in the East. Mission among the Germans by S. Winifred, or Boniface; regarded as a busy-body by the former bishops. Mentz invested by Rome with archiepiscopal rights. Questionable conversion of the Saxons under Charlemagne. New sees and seminaries founded by him. Churches not to be consecrated without relics by the seventh canon of the second Nicene council. Roman supremacy beginning to be based upon divine right. Aggrandized by the mission of S. Boniface and others. Monasteries placed immediately under Rome. Aggressive acts of Constantine I., Gregory II. and III., Zachariah, Stephen II. and III., Paul I., Stephen IV., Adrian I., and Leo III. Opposition on the part of the archbishops of Ravenna. Patriarch of Constantinople styled universal. "Pope" not restricted to the Roman prelate. Privilege said to have been conceded to Charlemagne in a Roman synod. Edict of Leo the Isaurian against images. Roman bishops uphold them. Caroline books. Controversy about the Eucharist. Adoptionists. Seventh general council decides against images. Second Nicene council decrees honours to them, and rejects the seventh council. Its decrees based upon apocryphal writings, and false quotations from the Scripture and Fathers. Synod of Frankfort condemns the second Nicene council. Age of Germanus, patriarch of Constantinople, S. John Damascene, commonly called the last of the Fathers, George Syncellus, and others in the East: and of Alcuin, Paulinus, Paul the deacon, John of Beverley, and others in the West. Factions of the Ommiades and Abbassides among the Saracens. Edict of Leo the Isaurian against the Jews.



## CHAPTER IX.

Danes evangelized by Ansgarius. Methodius and Cyril preach to the Mæsiæns and others. Liturgy translated into the Sclavonic tongue. Capitularies of Louis the Pious, and Charles the Bald, bearing upon the Church. Charlemagne and Alfred, why never canonized. Festivals of the Assumption, All Saints, and S. Michael, instituted. Scene between Leo III. and Charlemagne. Deeds of Stephen IV., Pascal I., and Eugenius II. Rome purified by Lothaire, under the last. Deeds of Valentinus and Gregory IV. Unnatural part taken by the last against Louis the Pious. Sergius II., and Leo IV. Is the papess Joanna a fiction? Benedict III., Nicholas I., Adrian II., John VIII. or IX., Marinus I., Adrian III., Stephen V., Formosus, Boniface VI., and Stephen VI. Barbarous conduct of the last, towards the dead body of Formosus his predecessor. John IX. Rome opposed in the East. Independence of Charlemagne and his successors. Of Hincmar and others. Image controversy terminated in the East by the council of Constantinople under Photius, A.D. 879. Controversy about the eucharist, occasioned by the work ascribed to Paschasius Radbertus. Rabanus Maurus, Bertram, John Scotus Erigena, and Heribald among his opponents. Gotteschalvus raises a controversy about predestination. Various supported and opposed. Contest between Ignatius and Photius. Encyclic of the latter against Western innovations. Three councils assuming to be general. Which the eighth general council? Age of Theodulphus, Sedulius Scotus, Claudius, Amalarius, Agobard, Paschasius, Haymo, Rabanus Maurus, Lupus, Florus, Walafrid Strabo, John Scotus Erigena, Prudentius, Anastasius the librarian, Hincmar, Eginhard, and others in the West: and of Theodorus Studites, Nicephorus, Metrophanes, Photius, Leo the Wise, and others in the East. Saracen and Norman ravages. Reforms of Cluny. New mode of reading the Scriptures. New name assumed by the pontiffs. Questionable concessions to the Roman see.

## CHAPTER X.

Woeful state of society generally. Normans under Rollo converted. Poles, Russians, Danes, Norwegians, and Hungarians. Tenth century called "leadern," "iron," "obscure," "unlearned" or "unfortunate." Old form of dedication copied in the canonizations now beginning to be made. Claimed by Alexander III. as a prerogative of the Roman see. Relics made royal presents. Images said to have spoken. Blessings ascribed to the intercession of the saints. Festival of All Souls. Prerogatives ascribed to S. Mary. Office of the Blessed Virgin Mary. The rosary and crown. Brotherhoods for the purpose of saying masses for the dead. Baptism of bells. Ordeals. Celibacy enforced by S. Dunstan. Fasts relaxed. Miracles alleged to decide controverted points. Purgatory confirmed by reported apparitions. Baronius upon the popes of the age. Arnulph calls them "monsters." John IX.,

Benedict IV., Leo V., Sergius III., Anastasius III., Laudo I., John X., Leo VI., Stephen VII., John XI., Leo VII., Stephen VIII., Marinus II., Agapetus II., John XII., Leo VIII., John XIII. Did Otho make grants to the Roman see? Benedict VI., Domnus II., Benedict VII., John XIV., Boniface VII., John XV., Gregory V. Objections to the synod that deposed John XII., answered by facts. Otho recovers his imperial rights. Glaber Radulphus upon papal encroachments. Gerbert and the synod of Rheims call John XV. Antichrist. Profession of the synod of Trolé. Canons under King Edgar. Doctrine of the Anglo-Saxon and Eastern Churches about the eucharist. Case of Leo the Wise not referred to Rome. No general councils in the tenth century. Synods of Rome, Rheims, Trolé, Erfurt, and elsewhere. Age of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, Œcumenius, Simeon Metaphrastes, Suidas, Nikon, and others in the East, especially Eutychius, Alexandrine patriarch; and of Regino, Radulphus Niger, Ratherius, Flodoard, Wittikind, Luitprand, Aimoin and others in the West. What did John XII. confer upon Otho? Spurious grants ascribed to Otho I. and III. Crown of France transferred independently to Hugh Capet. Arragon a kingdom. Conquests of the Turks. Head of the exiles amongst the Jews.

## CHAPTER XI.

Aventinus on the eleventh century. Radulphus on the state of the Church. Denmark, Hungary, and Prussia christianized. Saracens expelled from Sicily. Urban II. and the Sicilian monarchy. The first Crusade. Kingdom of Jerusalem established under Godfrey of Boulogne. Penance how commutable. Indulgences. Saturday dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary. First sense of the word "cardinal." Origin of cardinal priests, deacons, and eventually bishops. Those of Rome eclipse the rest. Election of the pope vested in them by Nicholas II. Acts of Silvester II., John XVII., John XVIII., Sergius IV., Benedict VIII., John XIX., Benedict IX., Gregory VI., Clement II., Damasus II., Leo IX., Victor II., Stephen IX., Benedict X., Nicholas II., Alexander II., the first elected by the cardinals, and Gregory VII., the last imperially confirmed. Gregory enforces celibacy upon the clergy: inhibits simony: condemns lay investiture: and finally claims to deprive Henry of his dominions. The emperor in fault for his abject submission. Gregory compiler of the Roman Breviary. The other Western liturgies supplanted gradually by the Roman. The Dictates embody his principles: but were they composed by Gregory? Victor III., Urban II., Paschal II. Opposition on the part of Henry IV., Henry V., Philip of France, William the Conqueror and his sons. Letter of the Conqueror to Gregory. Entire separation of the East and West, under Leo IX., and Michael Cerularius. The latter excommunicated formally by Humbert and the other papal legates. Berengarian controversy. Gregory said to have favoured Berengarius. Synod of Orleans against Heribert and others. Of Soissons against Roscelin. Age of Theophylact, George Cedrenus, Michael Psellus, Nilus Doxopatrius, Michael, and others in the East. Of Glaber Radul-

phus, Dithmar, Hermann Contractus, Ademar, Odorannus, Lambert, Marianus Scotus, Siegbert, Adam, Adelmarr, Benno, Fulbert, Humbert, Peter Damian, Lanfranc, S. Anselm, and others in the West. Guido archbishop of Vienna, sent as papal legate into England. Eadmer considers it a great innovation. Investiture settled by mutual concessions between S. Anselm and Henry I. Foundation of the Camaldulensians. Carthusians. Cistercians. Grandimontans and others. Canons divided into secular and regular. Various rules. Bishops of Rome said to have worked miracles. Conquests of the Turks. Saracens on the decline. Matilda the great countess; what she did for the Roman see. Schools of the Jews throughout Spain and Africa.

## CHAPTER XII.

S. Norbert upon Antichrist. The abbot Joachim and his prophecies about the same. S. Bernard on the state of the Church. Pomeranians, Slaves, Wends, Finlanders, and Norwegians evangelized. Livonians sought to be converted by the sword. Institution of the sword-bearers. Prester John. Baldwin succeeds Godfrey, and accepts the name of king of Jerusalem. Baldwin II., Fulk, Baldwin III., Baldwin IV., Baldwin V., and Guy his successor. Second crusade. Jerusalem retaken by the Turks, A.D. 1188. Third crusade. Cause assigned by William of Tyre for the overthrow of the Christians. Canonization in the first sense of the word; restricted to the Roman see. S. Bernard strongly opposed to the festival and doctrine of the Immaculate Conception. Manner of consecrating a church with relics under Callixtus II. Indulgences in the first sense of the word; monopolized by the Roman see. Plenary or temporary. Poetical description of the papal claims under Pascal II. Henry retorts upon Pascal. Pascal submits to his own synod. Acts of Gelasius II. and Callixtus II. Investiture question settled at the first Lateran council, A.D. 1123. Honorius II., Innocent II., Celestine II., Lucius II., Eugenius III., Anastasius IV., Adrian IV., an Englishman and son of a priest, Alexander III. Frederic, how received by him. Dispute between Becket and Henry II. Pope to be chosen by two-thirds of the cardinals. Lucius III., Urban II., Gregory VIII., Clement III., Celestine III. Bold deeds of the last. Rise of the Waldenses, not to be confounded with the Catharists or Albigenses. The Noble Lesson. Connection between the Catharists and Paulicians. Sects of the Bogomiles, Petrobrusians, Henricians, and Apostolici. Tanchelin, Eon, and Gilbert propagate errors. Rise of the Nominalists under Abelard. Who were the precursors of the Nominalists, Realists, and Conceptualists of the Schools? Abelard opposed by S. Bernard, befriended by Peter the Venerable. Arnold of Brescia declaims against the temporalities of the clergy. Candid testimony of Gunther the poet to his real views. Orthodox Greeks ejected from their sees, and Latin bishops intruded. The pope only claims a primacy, appeals, and commemoration in the liturgy. Were the three Lateran councils of the age general? All unattended by the Easterns: first and third by German, and second by Italian bishops. Treuga not to be violated. Immorality of a papal legate. Dispute between York and Canterbury about the

first place settled. Book of the Sentences how divided, and its contents. Peter Lombard not free from error. Estius the last writer on the Sentences in the seventeenth century. Rise of the Schoolmen. Sententiarians, Mystics, and Biblicals. Gratian and his Decretum. Afterwards supplanted by the Decretals, &c. S. Bernard on the pontificate in his work upon Consideration. Age of Anselm, dean of Laon, Abelard, William of Champeaux, Rupert, Peter the Venerable, S. Bernard, Hugo de S. Victor, Richard, Peter Blæssensis, and others. Of William, archbishop of Tyre, and others. Of Zonaras, Euthemius, Eustathius, Eustratius, Balsamon, Michael Glycas, Constantine Harmenopulus, Alexius Aristenus, and others. Rise of the military orders. Hospitallers, Templars, Teutonic knights of S. Mary, Knights of S. James, and others. Spanish military orders may marry. Rise of the mendicant orders. Carmelites. Factions of the Guelfs and Ghibelines. Bohemia and Portugal kingdoms. Origin of degrees under Irnerius. Doctorate, how conferred. Moses Maimonides amongst the Jews. Arabian philosophy under Averroes and Avicenna.



# ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

## CHAPTER I.

THERE is reason to believe that the gospel had been CENT.  
preached throughout the world in a sufficient sense to verify I.  
certain expressions of the New Testament, before the close § 1.  
of the first century, and within these bounds are to be un- SPREAD  
derstood Justin Martyr<sup>a</sup>, and others, who speak of the spread OF THE  
of the gospel in a somewhat hyperbolical strain. The first CHURCH.  
Church undoubtedly was that of Jerusalem, planted by a Col. i.  
divine Founder at the close of His earthly ministry, and 6, and 23;  
for twelve years the residence of His Apostles, as it is said Rom. x. 18;  
generally. By them<sup>b</sup>, or according to others, by Christ Him- comp. S.  
self, the bishopric of the place was conferred upon S. James Mark xiii.  
the Less: the first instance we have of the Christian episco- 10.  
pate<sup>c</sup>. During the calamities connected with the overthrow  
of the city, Pella became under Divine Providence the re-  
treat of the Church, and continued so till the reign of the  
emperor Adrian. Next to that of Jerusalem we read in the  
Acts of the Apostles of the Churches of Samaria, Cæsarea,  
Lydda, and Joppa: afterwards of Antioch and Damascus:  
afterwards in Arabia, and Cyprus: in Asia Minor, at Tarsus,  
Perga, Pisidian Antioch, Iconium, Lystra, Derbe, and else-  
where. Then follow those to whom SS. Peter, Paul, and  
John, severally addressed epistles: and these for the most  
part were situated in Asia Minor, Greece, Macedonia, Dal-  
matia, and Italy.

<sup>a</sup> Dial. cum Tryphone, § 117. ed.  
Ben.: cf. Gibbon, Decline and Fall, c.  
xv. p. 512. 4to. ed. 1776.

<sup>b</sup> Vid. Euseb. Hist. v. 18.

<sup>c</sup> Cave, Life of S. James the Less.—  
Euseb. Hist. vii. 19.

**CENT.** Many more tradition records to have been founded about  
**I.** the same time with more or less credibility. That S. Mark was the founder of a Church at Alexandria seems well attested: and that the gospel was preached in Mesopotamia, Chaldæa, Parthia, Scythia, and India, not less so: though it may be made a question respectively by which of the Apostles. The accounts of the West are more uncertain. S. Paul certainly meditated a journey into Spain, and it is said he came likewise to Britain. There is a tradition that the last place was evangelized by S. Joseph of Arimathea and his companions who landed in the south-west. Crescens is thought by some to have carried the faith into Gaul, from 2 Tim. iv. 10, where S. Paul himself, and S. Luke, and Trophimus, are said likewise to have preached. One thing is certain, that about the middle of the next century, we find Churches established in the above mentioned provinces of the Roman empire: but who the founders were, there are so many conflicting opinions, that granting we still possess the true account, we have not the means of ascertaining which it is. On the other hand those Churches which were the undoubted first-fruits of the apostolical labours acquired a pre-eminence above the rest. Ephesus had been founded by S. Paul, had received a bishop of his appointment, and had been the sojourn of S. John to the day of his death. The Churches of Thessalonica, Galatia, Corinth, Philippi, and Colosse, had been severally honoured with the correspondence of the Apostle of the Gentiles. Smyrna, Sardis, Thyatira, Pergamos, Philadelphia, Laodicea, had been addressed in the Apocalypse. But there were four that claimed precedence from the first, and were afterwards invested with a patriarchal authority. 1. Jerusalem already mentioned, and for the reasons above mentioned, which afterwards procured for it the patriarchal dignity; inasmuch as it was for a time subject to the metropolitan of Cæsarea, and under him to Antioch. 2. Antioch over which S. Peter first presided, and where the disciples were first called Christians; it ever ranked after Alexandria, being accounted the prime city of the East. 3. Alexandria, founded, as is generally supposed, by the Apostle Mark in the reign of Claudius, and for a long time considered the

Jerusalem.

Antioch.

Alexandria.

second Church in the whole Christian world. And 4. lastly CENT.  
 Rome, according to general accounts, the joint work of the I.  
 two great Apostles, S. Peter and S. Paul, who suffered mar- Rome.  
 tyrdom there in the year A.D. 65, says Clinton\*, under Nero.  
 Many reasons have been assigned for the primacy, which it  
 undoubtedly acquired from the earliest age; but our attention  
 should be confined to those which bear upon contemporary  
 history. That S. Peter never saw Rome, nor died there, is  
 probably not less exaggerated as a statement, than that he  
 presided twenty-five years episcopally over Rome, or that he  
 was ever bishop there<sup>f</sup>. It seems undeniable as a fact, that Founded  
 the see was founded by S. Peter and S. Paul; and by the by SS.  
 latter equally with the former. It was also the royal city, Peter and  
 the cause assigned for the primacy, not only by the twenty- Paul.  
 seventh canon of the fourth general council, but still more Διὰ τὸ βα-  
 recently by the four Eastern patriarchs of the nineteenth σιλεύειν  
 century<sup>g</sup>. τὴν πόλιν  
ἐκείνην.

The doctrine which the Apostles taught is to be gather- § 2.  
 ed from the writings they left behind them. A summary DOCTRINE.  
 of it is contained in the Creed ascribed to them from Creed of  
 the writers of the fourth century downwards, and at all the Apo-  
 events a true exposition of what they taught, and with a stles.  
 few variations known to have been used in the second cen-  
 tury. It is not to be denied however, that the earlier forms  
 want articles which have since been introduced<sup>h</sup>, and the  
 germ of the whole is to be found in the baptismal form de-  
 livered by our Lord to His Apostles. As to the canon of Canon of  
 the Scriptures, it is said to have been settled by S. John, the Scrip-  
 at the request of the Asiatic Churches a few years before his tures.  
 death<sup>i</sup>; but it is undeniable that the distinction between those τὰ ὁμολο-  
 books which were "acknowledged" and those which were γούμενα  
 "controverted," prevailed a considerable time. Certainly καὶ τὰ ἀν-  
τιλεγό-  
μενα.

\* Fast. Roman., vol. i.; Greswell (App. Diss. xix.), A.U.C. 818, or A.D. 65, for S. Peter, and A.D. 66 for S. Paul; Burton, A.D. 67 or 68 for both (Eccl. Hist., Lect. x.), and the same day, viz. June 29.

<sup>f</sup> Vid. Cave, Hist. Lit., s. v. S. Petrus; Barrow, Supremacy Supp. 3 and 4; even Gieseler, E. H. (Eng. Tr.), Per. i. Div. i. § 27. n. 5; yet comp. Ellendorf's (a Roman Catholic) Ist Petrus in Rom. und Bischof der Römischen

Kirche gewesen. Darmstadt. 1841.

<sup>g</sup> See their encyclical epistle, entitled "Ἐγκύκλιος τῆς μᾶς ἁγίας Καθολικῆς καὶ Ἀποστολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς τοὺς ἀπανταχοῦ Ὀρθόδοξους"—Ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει ἐκ τῆς Πατριαρχικῆς τοῦ γένους Τυπογραφίας. 1848.

<sup>h</sup> Vid. Bingham Antiq., X. iii. 5.

<sup>i</sup> Vid. Cosin's Schol. Hist. of the Canon, § 47.



**CENT.** none that wrote after him have been received into the sacred  
**I.** canon; but the second epistle of S. Peter, the second and third of S. John, the epistle of S. Jude, and the Apocalypse, were very generally questioned, and even moderns dispute the authorship of the epistle to the Hebrews, though not the authority.

**§ 3.** The government of the Church was by our Lord committed to His twelve Apostles; a number already foreshadowed in the twelve patriarchs, the twelve tribes, the twelve spies, and the twelve jewels in the breast-plate of the high-priest. S. Paul was admitted a supernumerary into the sacred college as one born out of time; and S. Barnabas can scarce be said to have been a degree removed from them. Many more we find styled by the same name. Of the twelve, the gospel of the circumcision was pre-eminently committed to S. Peter, as the gospel of the uncircumcision was to S. Paul; at the same time that all possessed equal gifts of the Spirit and authority; and they were overseers not of a particular Church or Churches, but of the entire collective body.

**LXX Dis-** The seventy disciples were likewise the appointment of  
**ciples.** our Lord Himself, among whom are reckoned SS. Luke, Mark, Barnabas, Philip, and others. Their number likewise found a counterpart in the seventy elders under the law.

The seven Deacons come next, whose institution is recorded in the Acts, and their office was, as we are told, to minister to the wants of the poor and widows. For a time these seem to have completed the ordinary offices of the Christian Church. Among the extraordinary we may reckon evangelists, prophets, teachers, those who spoke with tongues, and those who interpreted them, with others enumerated by S. Paul. These gifts, it is to be observed, were united in the Apostles themselves, but held one or more disconnectedly by the rest.

As the Churches were multiplied<sup>k</sup>, the ordinary ecclesiastical offices assumed a more complex appearance. It was the custom of the Apostles, we read, to "ordain elders in every Church." These seem not indeed to have been a new order,

<sup>k</sup> Generally for the view here taken ham's Antiq., book i.; Thorndike's vid. Brett's Church Government; Bing- Government of Churches.

but the same before specified in the seventy sent forth by our Lord, and were admitted to assist in the deliberations of the Apostles themselves. The name they now assumed was, without doubt, borrowed from the elders, to which they corresponded among the Jews. They administered the affairs of a particular Church under the Apostle who founded it, during his life-time: and before his decease received a successor at his hands, to stand to them in the same relation that he had done; only his jurisdiction was confined to them, and did not extend over others, as did that of the inspired founder. History abounds with catalogues in which the episcopal line is traced back to the Apostles, as the first bishops or founders. At Jerusalem, for instance, Simeon succeeded S. James the Less; at Antioch Euodius followed S. Peter; at Rome the succession is equally clear, though about the immediate successor accounts vary. Again, Timothy was placed over Ephesus by S. Paul, Titus over Crete, Epaphroditus, it would appear, as he is styled their Apostle, over the Philippians. Lastly, S. John, it is expressly said, went about Asia Minor ordaining bishops<sup>1</sup>; and by him, say Eusebius and others, S. Polycarp was set over Smyrna. For a time, indeed, the respective designations are confused<sup>m</sup>. The apostleship is called a bishopric and a deaconship. SS. Peter and John style themselves presbyters. Many more besides the twelve are termed apostles. Indeed, Theodoret asserts<sup>n</sup> that "the same persons were anciently called promiscuously both bishops and presbyters; whilst those who are now called bishops were called apostles." The truth seems to be that the Apostles, while they lived, exercised the episcopal office under a more honourable name; the second order being styled bishops and presbyters indiscriminately: but when they were removed, the name they bore was gradually set apart to them; and those who succeeded them acquired the exclusive right to a title which had hitherto been employed in a vague indeterminate sense. Thus the Ministers in a church were a Bishop, Presbyters, and Deacons: as those in the Temple had been a High-Priest, Priests, and Levites. It is to be remarked, that the schoolmen

CENT.  
I.

Phil. ii.  
25.

Acts i. 18  
and 21.  
1 Pet. v. 1;  
ii. and iii.  
John 1.

<sup>1</sup> Euseb. iii. 23.

i. 42.

<sup>m</sup> Vid. Cotel. ad S. Clem. Rom., ep.

<sup>n</sup> Vid. Bingham, book ii. c. ii. § 1.

CENT. I. and canonists, for a particular reason, make bishops and presbyters one and the same order, but with different jurisdictions; and many moderns, from the confusion of the titles already noticed, imagine episcopacy not to have existed from the first, but to have been a clear innovation upon the primitive practice. S. Jerome is often alleged to disparage episcopacy<sup>o</sup>. Another theory<sup>p</sup> is, and it certainly seems to explain inconsistent accounts, that there existed occasionally for a time in the same city two bishops, respectively presiding over the circumcision and the uncircumcision; the two congregations afterwards coalescing under one head. Thus Euodius and Ignatius are thought to have sat jointly till the death of the former, after which the latter effected a union of the two Antiochian sections<sup>q</sup>. In the same way SS. Peter and Paul may have divided the Roman see, S. Clement, who is said to have been deacon to the former, having been ordained by him, and Linus, said to have been deacon to the latter, having been ordained by him, till after the death of Anacletus, who followed Linus over the Gentiles, both congregations were united under Clement, hence designated by some the first bishop. It is certain that those who sat at Jerusalem till the reign of the emperor Adrian<sup>r</sup>, were styled exclusively bishops of the circumcision. As for elections, the first deacons were chosen by the multitude, and approved by the twelve who ordained them; but the presbyters and bishops seem to have been selected by the Apostles themselves, as they and the seventy disciples had been by our Lord. Universally the power was delegated by imposition of hands, accompanied with prayer and fasting; and none presumed to take upon themselves any particular office till they were sent by the proper authority. The distinction between clergy and laity was a recognised one from the first. S. Clement of Rome mentions it in his first epistle<sup>s</sup>.

Bishops of  
the cir-  
cumcision.

§ 4.  
DISCIPLINE.

As for discipline, it was the more rigorous, because vested exclusively in the heads of the Church. It was not reputable for brother to go to law with brother, or to seek justice at a heathen tribunal. Elymas, Ananias, and Sapphira

<sup>o</sup> Hammond, Diss. iv. contra Blondell.

<sup>p</sup> Vid. Thorndike, c. v.

<sup>q</sup> Vid. Bingham, book ii. 1.

<sup>r</sup> Euseb. Hist. iv. 5.

<sup>s</sup> c. 40.

phira, are instances of a severe corporal punishment. A heinous offender, S. Paul enjoins the Corinthians to "put away from among them." But what it was "to deliver a person over unto Satan" is a disputed point; by some considered a corporal and extraordinary sentence; by others spiritual excommunication, formally expressed.

Regulations appertaining to order are to be found in the epistles of the same Apostle: partly with reference to the particular Church he is addressing, partly tending to the edification of the whole Church. Many rites, ceremonies, and ordinances, were appointed: but a good deal was left to the discretion of the individual. The Gentiles were not obliged to observe the Law, nor the Jews to lay it aside. Hence many customs ceased with the occasion which gave rise to them; for instance, the directions concerning abstinence from blood, and from things strangled, and the like. To which may be added the love-feasts, a community of goods, baptismal immersion, exorcism, the kiss of peace, observance of the Jewish Sabbath; in a word, ceremonies may be abrogated by the power that made them, and such a power has never been wanting in the Church. On the other hand there are apostolical injunctions which have been continued obligatory to the present time: for instance, abstinence from fornication, and the observance of the Lord's Day or Sunday.

Councils of the Church appear to derive authority from the words of her Divine Founder, and have always appealed to them<sup>1</sup>. Those assembled in the present age were called apostolical, and of these four were held at Jerusalem; 1, when S. Matthias was elected to the vacant apostleship; 2, when the seven deacons were chosen; 3, when the question of the Jewish ceremonial was discussed in the fourteenth year of S. Paul's conversion; 4, when S. Paul returned from his travels a short time before his imprisonment; at the third and fourth of these S. James seems to have presided as bishop of the place; and the former from the solemnity with which it is invested, as well as the formal decree there passed, has been termed pre-eminently the council of the Apostles. The style is indeed remarkable, "It seemed good

CENT.  
I.  
1 Cor. v.  
13.  
ver. 5.

§ 5.  
ORDER.  
Christian  
liberty.

§ 6.  
COUNCILS.  
S. Mat.  
xviii. 17—  
20.

Acts i. 15  
—26;  
vi. 2—6;  
xv. 6—  
29; xxi.  
18—25.

<sup>1</sup> Brett's Church Government, c. 14.

C E N T. I. to the Holy Ghost and to us:" and, throughout the whole of the details, it may be said to present the model of a true council. Indeed the one may be considered under the idea of a general, the other, of a diocesan synod. Some recognise a fifth council at Ephesus under S. Paul, and others have been handed down, though not upon the best authority. For instance, one before the dispersion of the Apostles, at which they are said by a joint contribution to have composed the Creed. Another at which the fifty, or seventy-six, or eighty-five Apostolical Canons, and eight books of the Apostolical Constitutions were supposed to have been framed. The evidence for the first is not great, and for the last it is incalculably less. There is also a council of Antioch mentioned by Baronius and others which contains a canon respecting images; but it has been shewn to be a forgery<sup>a</sup>.

§ 7. The strict sense of the word heresy is not remote from the more ordinary sense<sup>x</sup>: it has been defined to be "the espousal and adoption of a private opinion." "He calls them heretics," says Zonaras, "who maintain opinions contrary to the orthodox faith;" the test here mentioned is more fully expressed by Vincentius in his *Commonitorium*, and by Tertullian, *De Præscriptione Hæreticorum*: but the erroneous opinion is only sin to the individual, when deliberately maintained with a fair or possible knowledge of the contrary. Thoughts are suggested to the intellect in the same way that desires are to the heart; it is the deliberate choice of those known to be wrong that constitutes the sin in the one case and the other. Heresies in the strict sense were unknown to the Jews before the captivity. Afterwards we find<sup>y</sup> five, seven, eight, or even ten enumerated among them. Epiphanius<sup>z</sup> considers the different schools of philosophy among the Greeks, heresies. It may be said, however, speaking generally; 1, that they commenced with a more spiritual religion; 2, that, considered as a whole, they present a systematic appearance that is remarkable; 3, that,

First  
known  
among the  
Jews.

HERESIES.  
Heresy  
defined.

<sup>a</sup> Vid. Pagi ad Baron. A.D. 58. n. 118.

<sup>x</sup> Athan. apud Suiceri Thesaur. sub v.

<sup>y</sup> Ad can. vi. Constant. ibid. sub v. *αἱρετικοί*.

<sup>z</sup> Vid. Heinichen ad Euseb. iv. 22.

<sup>h</sup> Hær. Præf.

once baffled, they never re-appear exactly in the same guise; CENT.  
I.  
4, that they never fail to bring out in the clearest possible light the very truths they assail. These remarks will be illustrated in the heresies respecting the Incarnation. They assailed the fact in the first place, and afterwards the manner of it. The former began with the Gnostics, and were divided into those who absolutely rejected the divinity of our Lord, as did the Ebionites, Artemon, and Paul; and those who explained away His manhood, as the Gnostics generally, and the Docetæ. But to speak more particularly, till the end of the first century heresies certainly were not rife in the Church: and we meet with the phrase "the virgin Church" applied to the purity in which the faith was held during the life-time of the Apostles. But even in the later epistles of the New Testament we find anticipatory warnings against the false teachers who had already begun to shew themselves; and Simon Magus is by the common consent of the Fathers designated the first heresiarch. Simon  
Magus. In the Acts we read of the rebuke administered to him by S. Peter, and according to a very general tradition he came to Rome in the reign of Claudius, and propagated his false tenets with considerable success, till he was again confronted by S. Peter. Much that is fabulous, however, is interwoven in the story. He claimed to be the chief power of God, that is, the Father; and carried about with him a mistress, Helene, or Selene, whom he called the first conception of his mind, and through whom, by a subsequent act, he made the angels and archangels—To redeem her from the bondage to which these last had consigned her, he had assumed a fantastic body, and gone through the imaginary death upon the cross. Many magic arts are recorded of him; he is said likewise to have denied the resurrection of the flesh, and to have vilified marriage, while he pandered to the passions.

There is likewise another Samaritan who is charged with similar opinions, and is by many placed before Simon, named Dositheus. Dositheus. Dositheus: like Menander, who is said to have succeeded Menander. Simon, he called himself the Messiah: while the other added that the world was made by the inferior angels, and that

† Vid. Euseb. Hist. iii. 32, and iv. 22.

C E N T. he was sent down from the upper world or pleroma for the  
I. redemption of the human race.

Nicolai-  
tans.

Next in the common order follow the Nicolaitans, of whom our Lord Himself expressed His abhorrence in the Apocalypse. It is doubted whether they were founded by the deacon so called, or by a different person of the same name: others say it was a precept of the deacon misinterpreted that gave rise to them: they disregarded the apostolical injunction against things sacrificed to idols and fornication, and, it is said, taught the common errors of the Gnostics.

Philetians.  
2 Tim. ii.  
17; comp.  
1 Cor. xv.  
12.

The Philetians, whose authors are mentioned by S. Paul, denied the resurrection of the body; they probably held a resurrection during the present life in a mystical sense.

Cerin-  
thians.

The Cerinthians sprung from Cerinthus, a Jew by birth, but educated at Alexandria: he distinguished between the Supreme Being and the God of the Jews who made the world. Jesus, according to him, was a mere man, though not born of a Virgin: Christ, a divine emanation, descended upon Him in the form of a dove at His Baptism, worked miracles by Him, and preached the unknown God. Jesus suffered, died, and rose again, but Christ had previously left Him. Cerinthus revelled in the notion of a millennium which procured for him amongst some the credit of the authorship of the Apocalypse. But from the horror which S. John exhibited of his society, as the story goes<sup>c</sup>, it would appear that Cerinthus advocated a very different doctrine from that contained in the Revelations. S. Peter is said likewise to have opposed the same heresy. The above distinction between Jesus the man, and Christ the divine emanation, was probably

Docetæ.

introduced after the appearance of the Docetæ, a sect so called because they believed the body of our Lord to have been a phantom<sup>d</sup>. The opinion has been already attributed to Simon Magus, and was probably developed more fully by those who succeeded him. It was not so long, however, since our Lord suffered, and the fact could not be so lightly set aside. Two beings were therefore said to have been combined in the Incarnation, by those who could not deny the fact, and would not abandon the heresy.

<sup>c</sup> Euseb. Eccl. Hist. iii. 28.

<sup>d</sup> i. e. ἐν τῇ δοκεῖν vid. S. Ign. Ep. ad Smyrn. c. 4.

These were the earliest parents of the Gnostics, who multiplied and ramified so abundantly in the next century. CENT.  
I. Their name was derived from the superior knowledge\* of the Divine nature to which they pretended, their doctrine from the heathen philosophy, the Jewish Cabbala, or the oriental notion of a good and bad principle. It has been well observed† the philosophical basis of these speculations was the old question, how evil originated. It was a difficult problem to reconcile the universal prejudice which connected evil essentially with the material world, and the Christian doctrine of the resurrection of the body.

The Nazarenes and Ebionites belong to a different class. Nazarenes. The first were probably among the number of those who fled to Pella during the Jewish war, and professed a strict adherence to the law. They were the so called Judaizers, who are so often stigmatized in the New Testament, while the name they bore attested that they were rather Christianized Jews. Our Lord Himself was styled a Nazarene: and it became afterwards a reproachful epithet applied universally to His followers. The Nazarenes only received the gospel of S. Matthew of the books of the New Testament, and that in the Hebrew tongue mutilated and interpolated‡.

The Ebionites were of a rather later date, but are traced to Ebionites. the same neighbourhood, and propagated the same opinions. Ebion is interpreted to mean "poor," it was however the name of the founder. He taught that Christ was a mere man, the son of Joseph and Mary, though some of his followers admitted His miraculous conception. The Ebionites were particularly hostile to S. Paul, and disowned his epistles; they insisted upon the necessity of circumcision, and the observance of the whole law<sup>b</sup>. The Therapeutæ are now generally thought to have been a branch of the Essenes, at all events a Jewish and not a Christian sect.

On the other hand there were not wanting those who contended earnestly for the faith once delivered to the saints, and of these some not only taught but wrote. § 8.  
CHRISTIAN BISHOPS AND WRITERS.

\* Γνωσις.

† Gieseler, Ch. Hist. Per. i. Div. ii.

‡ 42. πῶθεν τὸ κακόν;

§ Hence it was called τὸ καθ' Ἑβραϊσμός.

<sup>b</sup> For a fuller account of the fore-

going vid. S. Iren. adv. Hær.; Tertull. De Præsc. Hær.; Euseb. E. H., lib. i.; Epiph. Const. c. Hær., lib. i. and ii.; S. Aug. De Hæres.

<sup>1</sup> Euseb. E. H. ii. 17.



**C E N T.** The only writer who has left without dispute a genuine  
**I.** work behind him, is S. Clement of Rome. His first epistle  
**S. Clement** has been universally received and admired; while the style  
**of Rome.** and phraseology, from the close resemblance which it bears  
to the epistle to the Hebrews, have induced many to con-  
sider S. Clement the undoubted translator, if not the author,  
of the latter. His second epistle, Eusebius says, was not so  
well known to the ancients, which Rufinus and S. Jerome  
have construed into a positive argument against it. Later  
writers have objected to it upon internal evidence, but it has  
been stoutly defended. The epistle of Barnabas is contro-  
**S. Barna-**verted, but allowed by many to be genuine; others are con-  
**bas.** tent to assert the author to have been a different person  
from the companion of S. Paul. The same may be said of  
**Hermas.** Hermas, author of the Shepherd, who is by some considered  
a writer of the second century<sup>k</sup>. Cave is strongly inclined,  
however, to the opinion that the work belongs to the apo-  
**Letter of** stolic age. As for the letter of Abgarus to our Lord, and  
**Abgarus.** His reply, the account given of them by Eusebius is so cir-  
cumstantial and unhesitatingly put forward, that it would  
seem rash to conclude them among the spurious productions  
of the age.

§ 9. Among those which are clearly adorned with a fraudulent  
**SPURIOUS** title, are 1. The canons said to have been composed by the  
**WRITINGS.** Apostles. Their number is, according to the Greeks, eighty-  
**Apostolical** five; according to the Latins, fifty; and according to Baro-  
**Canons.** ninus, eighty-three.

2. The eight books of the Apostolical Constitutions as-  
**Constitu-**cribed to S. Clement of Rome: the Æthiopic Church ac-  
**tions.** counts them canonical.

3. False gospels, e. g. that of S. Peter, (besides his Acts,  
**False** Sermons, Revelations, and book of Judgment,) of S. James  
**Gospels.** the Less, of Thomas, Bartholomew, Thaddæus, Philip, and  
even of Judas Iscariot. Also the first gospel of S. James  
the Just, the gospels to the Hebrews and Egyptians, and  
that of all the Apostles. They are continually mentioned  
by Eusebius, SS. Clement of Alexandria, Jerome, and  
others.

4. False Acts of the Apostles; as of SS. Paul and Thecla,  
**Acts of the**  
**Apostles.**

<sup>k</sup> Bull, Defens. Fid. Nic. i. 2. 1—6.

Peter, Andrew, Philip, John, Thomas, Bartholomew, Thad- CENT.  
I.  
dæus, and the like.

5. False epistles ascribed to the Apostles: as of S. Paul Epistles.  
to the Laodiceans<sup>1</sup>, and to the philosopher Seneca, which  
S. Jerome accounted genuine, but earlier writers altogether  
omit.

6. False apostolical liturgies; as that of S. Matthew re- Liturgies.  
ceived by the Æthiopians, and of S. Mark by the Alexandrian  
Church, and of S. James by the Church of Jerusalem: the  
last is by some considered genuine, though greatly inter-  
polated, and a model of all subsequent liturgies. Another  
is extant under the name of S. Barnabas, another of the  
twelve Apostles, another in the Constitutions under the  
name of S. Clement, which he is said to have composed  
under the dictation of the Apostles.

7. False revelations ascribed to SS. Peter, Paul, Thomas, Revela-  
tions.  
and Stephen; not to mention the sermons of S. Peter, the  
travels of S. Peter, the traditions of S. Matthew, the as-  
cent of S. Paul, and the doctrines of the Apostles; many of  
these being actually coined in the first ages, as we learn from  
S. Clement of Alexandria.

8. Many works bearing the names of apostolical men of Miscella-  
neous  
works.  
the first and second century; as Nicodemus, Prochorus,  
Dionysius the Areopagite, Linas, Martial Lemoricensis, the  
presbyters of Achaia, Hermas, and the like.

9. Many books concerning the infancy and nativity of our  
Lord: the nativity of the Blessed Virgin, acts of martyrs,  
and so forth.

10. Letters ascribed to women, as that of S. Mary the  
Mother of God to S. Ignatius; and of Mary of Castebala, a  
city of Cilicia, to the same.

11. Letters ascribed to Gentiles; as that of Pilate to Ti- Letters  
of Pilate,  
Lentulus,  
and Seneca.  
berius together with his acts, that of Lentulus to the Roman  
senate, respecting the person and beauty of our Lord, and  
those of Seneca to S. Paul.

Many of these works are without doubt compositions of a  
very early date; and many contain a great deal that is com-  
mendable; but it was a sad mistake to claim authority for  
them upon false grounds, and the precedent having been imi-

<sup>1</sup> Founded upon Col. iv. 16.

**CENT.** tated by innumerable authors of a far more questionable  
**I.** cast, many corrupt errors have been confirmed on the one  
 hand, and a general and invincible prejudice against eccle-  
 siastical writers has been engendered on the other; so that  
 during the sixteenth and seventeenth century nothing may  
 be said to have occupied the attention of the learned more  
 than the detection of the forgeries by which the literature  
 of the Church was entirely inundated. Excellent rules to  
 assist the critic have been given by Spanheim<sup>m</sup>, Cave<sup>n</sup>, and  
 others, while Fabricius exhibits a collection of the apocryphal  
 writings themselves<sup>o</sup>.

**§ 10.** The result of the persecutions, like that of the heresies  
**PERSECUTIONS.** already observed, was exactly opposite to the intentions  
 of those who originated them. They called attention to  
 the new religion, strengthened the faith and constancy of  
 those who professed it, evoked the sympathy which fellow-  
 suffering instinctively begets, and lastly, won innumerable  
 converts by the manner in which they were endured. Even  
 during a later age they consolidated Christendom, which  
 prosperity had disunited, and shed a bright lustre over the  
 triumph it ultimately obtained. Originally they may be  
 said to have commenced with the Jews, whose antipathy  
 was excited by the preaching of our Lord. He had ex-  
 posed the wickedness of the priests and scribes, and rulers  
 of the people, vindicated the law, won the hearts of the  
 multitude, predicted the ruin of the temple, and declared  
 Himself the promised Messiah in a sense contrary to the  
 most fondly-cherished expectations.

**Cruci-** Our Lord was the first victim whom their malice de-  
**fixion.** stroyed<sup>p</sup>. After Him S. Stephen, the first martyr, was slain  
**Martyr-** by the zealots, and, according to Burton and others, in the  
**doms of** same year<sup>q</sup>. The dispersion of the Church which followed  
**S. Stephen,** added materially to the spread of the gospel. S. James, the  
**S. James** son of Zebedee, was killed probably at the same instigation  
**the Great,** by Herod Agrippa I.; for we read, that because he saw that  
 it pleased the Jews, he imprisoned S. Peter likewise. The

<sup>m</sup> Brevis Introd. ad Hist. N. T.

<sup>n</sup> Proleg. ad Hist. Lit. § vi.

<sup>o</sup> Codex Apocryph. N. T., to which  
 add a supplement by A. Birch.

<sup>p</sup> A.D. 29, Clinton; A.D. 30, Gres-  
 well; A.D. 31, Burton.

<sup>q</sup> Greswell, Diss. xv. U. C. 790, or  
 A.D. 37.

death of the tyrant by the judgment of Heaven is related CENT.  
by Josephus as well as in the Acts; it occurred in the fourth I.  
year of the emperor Claudius, A. D. 44. Lastly, under  
Annas, or Ananus the Younger—who was high-priest, and  
directed the affairs of the nation during the interval between  
the procuratorships of Porcius Festus, who had recently died,  
and Albinus, who succeeded him—S. James the Less, sur- S. James  
the Less.  
named the Just, underwent martyrdom, though in the man-  
ner of his death accounts vary. Josephus ascribes to his  
murder, and the Divine vengeance which followed it, the  
whole of the miseries which afterwards befel Jerusalem.

Among the causes which impelled the Gentiles to per-  
secute, are to be reckoned; 1, the ignorance which con-  
founded the Jews and Christians; hence the edict of Clau-  
dius was equally directed against both; and Suetonius  
even calls Christ the instigator of the tumults raised by the  
Jews.

2. The superstition, which, while it tolerated all forms  
capable of a listless amalgamation, was soon roused into  
vigorous opposition by one that claimed exclusive supre-  
macy. The Christians, moreover, had neither temples,  
images, nor altars; and they worshipped one God, which  
bore a strong contrast to the surrounding polytheism. Hence  
they were called atheists, a new superstition, and the like,  
while the doctrine of the cross was malevolently interpreted  
into worship of the cross; and hence arose what may be  
assigned a third cause—the calumnies which were repeated  
till they were generally believed. They were said to have  
burnt the city under Nero; to hold nightly conspiracies; to  
eat human flesh; to allow the promiscuous intercourse of  
the sexes, incest, infanticide, and the like. These charges  
originated probably from a misapprehension of the Christian  
rites and ceremonies: for instance, the holy Eucharist; the  
kiss of peace; the penitential discipline; the appellations of  
brother and sister; the antelucan assemblies, as they were  
called, and meetings in the tombs. The impurities of the  
various Gnostic sects were likewise attributed generally to the  
Christians, while the Jews, it may be observed, were amongst  
the most active to disseminate these malicious inventions.

Lastly, the Roman legislators viewed with suspicion a

**CENT. I.** religion that threatened to extirpate the old superstitions, which had been interwoven with the constitution, and now formed a vital element in the body politic. There had been likewise a very general tradition of a future king in the East; and the Christians, it was reported, owned a king apart from the emperor. Hence they were styled enemies of the emperor, laws, and nature; in a word, of the whole human race, as our Lord had foretold: and whatever calamities befel society were attributed directly to them, or to the anger of the gods at the progress of the new religion. These calumnies are fully detailed in the Apologies of the next century.

Ten gentile persecutions.

The first.

Antiquity reckons ten persecutions under the gentile emperors: a number doubtless accommodated to prophecy, but nevertheless based upon facts. It has been the fashion, however, amongst moderns to disparage the old tradition. Sulpitius Severus, it may be remarked, is the first historian who formally insists upon it, though he makes the tenth prospective under Antichrist<sup>r</sup>. Nero likewise is universally said to have been the first persecutor, Tiberius of the two rather favouring the Christians, and Claudius not intending his edict against them so much as the Jews. The persecution under Nero commenced either A.D. 63 or 64, and lasted nearly three years. The death of the two great Apostles in the metropolis is by Clinton assigned to the year A.D. 65. Historians record that Christians likewise suffered in the provinces, but the absence of a general edict would suggest the contrary. The pretext for the slaughter we learn from Tacitus and Suetonius to have been the imputation falsely cast upon the Christians by the tyrant himself, the real incendiary, of having set fire to the city; while the cruelties which ensued are described by one whose veracity is too well known to be deemed capable of a rhetorical exaggeration. Nero, we are told, offered his gardens in the Vatican for the spectacle; and hence the tradition that S. Peter was interred there.

The second.

The second persecution is placed by Clinton in the fifteenth year of the emperor Domitian, about A.D. 95, and lasted to the death of the tyrant; it is mentioned by Eusebius, Tertul-

<sup>r</sup> Hist. Sac., lib. ii. 33.

lian, Sulpitius Severus, and others; it seems to have been C E N T. originally directed against the Jews, but it included the I. Christians, and raged not only in the capital, but throughout the empire. Tertullian relates the story, that the Apostle S. John was cast into boiling oil at Rome, and came out unhurt, after which he was exiled to the island of Patmos, as he himself affirms. Flavia Domitilla likewise, niece to Flavia Clemens, cousin-german of the tyrant, and a consular man, was confined in the island of Pontia: Clemens himself was put to death. The grandchildren of the Apostle Jude, cousin of our Lord, were brought before Domitian, but the simplicity they evinced caused them to be released. Other stories of a more doubtful character are related by Metaphrastes and Nicephorus. The third persecution under Trajan belongs to the next age.

Those who underwent death for the sake of Christ and His gospel in the different persecutions, were called Martyrs, that is, witnesses in a peculiar sense. Those Martyrs who abandoned health, honour, or goods, upon the same grounds were styled Confessors. The first of these have Confessors. been exalted to the highest prerogatives in the Church. We have already mentioned S. Stephen the proto-martyr, SS. James the son of Zebedee, James the Less, Peter and Paul among those who suffered martyrdom in the first century. Martyrdom according to the ancient accounts was the fate of the rest of the Apostles: but it is a fact to which moderns offer objections. A vast deal unquestionably that is fabulous has been invented respecting the times and place, and manner, to adorn the different acts that have been handed down; but could we believe the general statements, not only the Apostles themselves, but their immediate followers, e. g., SS. Luke, Mark, Barnabas, Onesimus, Linus, Anacletus, Clement, and many more, are to be placed in the catalogue of the martyrs of the first century. Dodwell wrote a tract\*, the object of which was to prove that only a few suffered during the Gentile persecutions, but even Mosheim cannot subscribe to the extent to which he maintained his opinion.

\* "De paucitate Martyrum."

**CENT.** I. Meanwhile the judgments long since foretold by our Lord fell upon the Jewish nation; for a detailed account of which the reader is referred to Tacitus and Josephus, from whom Eusebius quotes the chief particulars<sup>†</sup>. Various commotions had preceded the final overthrow of the city: and these were excited in the main by the oppressive conduct of the successive Roman procurators: e. g., Pontius Pilate who succeeded Gratus, A.D. 25<sup>o</sup>, after him Marullus, Cuspius Fadus, Tiberius Alexander, Cumanus, Felix, Porcius Festus, Albinus and Florus.

§ 11.  
**JEWISH  
AFFAIRS.**

Roman  
Procura-  
tors.

**Herods.** The government of the Herods had been equally corrupt and unjust; for instance, Herod Archelaus, who had been banished into Gaul under Augustus: Antipas, who suffered the same punishment under Caligula: Agrippa, grandson of Herod the Great, whose death is recorded in the Acts: Herod, king of Calcis, and brother of Agrippa, to whom Claudius granted authority over the treasury, temple, and high-priests: and lastly Agrippa the younger, mentioned towards the close of the Acts, who succeeded to the same power greatly augmented under Nero.

Another cause is to be looked for in the ambition and rivalry of the high-priests and madness of the Zealots. These last, under the pretext of overthrowing the Roman yoke, took possession of the city and temple, introduced the Idumeans, and caused the death of Ananus the high-priest, and other noble Jews. A quarrel occurring between the Zealots and Idumeans, the faction of Simon, son of Gioras, gained the ascendancy, till, the Zealots having split into two bands under Eleazar and John, the city was divided between three parties. John however in a short time destroyed Eleazar, and he and Simon exercised a joint sway up to the arrival of Titus and the Roman army. The final outbreak, says Tacitus<sup>‡</sup>, commenced under Gessius Florus, A.D. 66, who had exhausted their patience by his oppressions. Suetonius indeed ascribes the rebellion to the opinion so rife in the East that a universal empire awaited certain descendants of the Jews; Christ was of course the true subject of the prophecy, but the Jews appropriated it on the one head, as

**Zealots.**

**Simon.**

**Eleazar.**

**John.**

<sup>†</sup> E. H., lib. iii. 5—8.

<sup>‡</sup> Clinton, App., p. 235.

<sup>‡</sup> Hist., lib. v. c. 10.

did **Vespasian** and **Titus** on the other. The war began on the part of the Romans under the leadership of **Cestius Gallus**, president of Syria, who was summoned to quell the revolt: it was continued under **Vespasian**, whom **Nero** sent specially for the same purpose: and lastly, when he had been invested with the purple, **Titus** consummated the siege for which extensive preparations had been made by his father. So great however was the impression made upon his mind by the terrible internal discords which had opened a way to his arms, that he declined the congratulations of the multitude, and referred the overthrow of the city to the wrath of an offended God. It is observable the title "Judaicus" was never assumed by **Vespasian** or his son. The destruction of Jerusalem was effected according to the general computation, A.D. 70. The temple was burnt August 10, owing to the wantonness of a soldier, who set fire to it contrary to the will of the Roman general: after which ensued the capture of the whole city September 8. **Titus** ordered it to be levelled with the ground, except a part of the west wall and the three towers, **Hippicus**, **Phasaelus**, and **Mariamne**. **Josephus**, who had been made a captive at **Joppa** but afterwards liberated by the emperor, records that 1,100,000 persons fell by the sword or famine during a siege that only lasted half a year, a number without parallel; 100,000 were made captives, among whom were **Simon** and **John**. It is a remarkable circumstance that part of the Roman camp was pitched not far from the spot where **Christ** shed tears over the ill-fated city: that the siege was commenced contemporaneously with the feast of unleavened bread, on the 14th day of the month, the very time when the **Israelites** first entered the promised land under **Joshua**, as well as the period of the crucifixion: that the city was captured on a sabbath: and the temple burnt on the same day of the week, and of the month, on which **Nebuchadnezzar** had burnt the former temple; add to which the return of the sabbatical year when the type had become no longer necessary; the abolition of the sacrifices and ceremonies, which have never been revived since among the **Jews**, owing to the destruction of the temple: the dispersion of the **Jews** as a nation, the departure of the sceptre by the extinction of the **Herods**: and the fulfilment of the prophecy

CENT.  
I.

Vespasian.

Titus.

Josephus.

Remarkable coincidences.



CENT. of our Lord, who declared that one stone should not be left  
I. upon another.

Pella.

It is equally worthy of note, that the miseries inflicted upon the Jews were not shared by the Christian Church. The warning of our Lord had not been lost upon His little flock to flee to the mountains, and according to Eusebius a further revelation was made to the heads of the Church, intimating Pella as the most appropriate refuge. Hither at all events the Church retired. Signs which had been foretold were rife. Vespasian, Vitellius, and Otho, disputed the empire; Simon Magus, Theudas, Philetus, Hymenæus, Cerinthus, and other false teachers had arisen; wars, famines, and pestilences, were noticed throughout the world: and lastly the gospel had been, in a certain sense, preached to all nations. Then among the Jews themselves various omens are recorded. The cry of woe denounced against Jerusalem and the temple by Jesus son of Ananus for the space of four years till the actual siege; the voice heard in the inner court of the temple by the priests on the day of Pentecost, "Let us go hence," or, as Tacitus interprets it, that "the Gods were quitting it;" the brazen gate on the east which opened mysteriously at the sixth hour of the night; the star resembling a drawn sword; the comet which appeared over the city for a whole year, and many more, are recorded by the Jewish historian, and are rendered still more credible by the simple fact, that, even so, they fall short of the prophetic language with which they are described by our Lord.

§ 12.  
STATE OF  
THE GEN-  
TILES.  
Apollonius Tyanæus.

In the Gentile world the Christian religion only excited ridicule during the first century. It was literally "foolishness to the Greeks," as the Apostle says. A rival of our Lord had appeared in the great sorcerer Apollonius, called also Tyanæus from the place of his birth, who flourished under Domitian, and died in the reign of the emperor Nerva; his philosophy was derived from the Brachmans and the Pythagoreans; but the wonders and prodigies ascribed to him by Philostratus, who wrote his life in the next century, towards the end, are unnoticed by the previous and contemporary historians, Tacitus, Suetonius, Pliny, Plutarch, and Celsus. Lucian only mentions him, unless indeed it is

† Hist. v. 13.

another of the same name, to expose the false arts of his successor Alexander. By Hierocles the philosopher about the beginning of the fourth century he was compared to Christ, upon which Eusebius the historian composed a book, still extant, against Hierocles. CENT.  
I.

The characteristics of the heathenism which prevailed over the world at the time of the Christian era, were, for the most part, innumerable gods and goddesses, image-worship, and the deifications of the dead. The transmigration of souls was a popular doctrine. The philosophical systems of Pythagoras, Plato, and Zeno, were embraced throughout Italy and Greece. The Druids regulated religion in the West, the Magi in the East: the Brachmans occupied India. The rites and ceremonies appertaining to them respectively are detailed by the Christian apologists.

It is to be observed, however, that heathenism assumed a more spiritual appearance contemporaneously with the spread of the gospel. Demons were very generally recognised among the Greeks, about the time that the doctrine respecting angels received a considerable impulse among the Jews by the denial of it by the Sadducees; distinctions were made between the images and the spiritual beings worshipped under them; and Julian and Porphyry conspired in a later age to undermine Christianity, by developing the spirituality of the old religion. Demons.

The gradual silence of the oracles is likewise undeniable; and consequently the decay of the carnal idolatry upheld by them. By a remarkable coincidence it may be said to have commenced with the equally carnal law, and to have ceased with the law. Cicero, Lucan, Juvenal, and Plutarch, who wrote a treatise upon the subject, attest the decline; nor did Celsus or Porphyry attempt to controvert it. Eusebius assigns the reign of the emperor Adrian, as the time when they generally ceased; but the Delphian oracle survived till it was destroyed by lightning, under Julian, about the time that the attempt to restore the Jewish temple was checked by a still more miraculous interposition<sup>a</sup>. Many perhaps of the later responses ascribed to it are supposititious; for in- Oracles.  
Delphi.

<sup>a</sup> Præp. Evang. iv. 15.

<sup>a</sup> Vid. Peucer. De Præcip. Divin. Gen., p. 232.

CENT. stance, the celebrated one said to have been made to  
I. Augustus :

Παῖς Ἑβραῖος κέλεται με θεοῖς μακάρεσσιν ἀνίσσων  
 Τόνδε δόμον προλιπεῖν, καὶ Ἀἴθρην αἰθέρις ἰκέσθαι  
 Λοιπὸν ἔπιθι σιγῶν ἐκ βόμων ἡμετερέων<sup>b</sup>."

On the other hand it appears well authenticated that the oracles espoused the worship of the Jews before they ceased, who had become the bitterest enemies of the Christian faith. We find Porphyry attesting the response made to him upon oath<sup>c</sup>; and it was the line which he himself adopted, as did the emperor Julian. That Virgil alluded to the promised Messiah in the fourth Eclogue, was the belief of the early Fathers, not to mention Constantine the Great: but it has since been questioned. The Sibyline prophecies, in the form they have been handed down, it is universally admitted, are grossly interpolated; but the distinction made by a learned man<sup>d</sup> has been very generally received: that A.U.C. 678, a collection was made, and brought to Rome, of the Sibyline oracles, to supply the place of those King Tarquin had deposited in the capitol, which had been destroyed by fire, and that these, whether composed by the Jews, or by others who had access to the sacred books of the Jews, certainly did contain prophecies of the Messiah, and gave rise to the opinion already mentioned, that a mighty monarch was about to be born in the East.

## CHAPTER II.

§ 1.  
 STATE  
 OF THE  
 CHURCH.

THE commencement of the second century falls, according to Clinton, into the third year of the emperor Trajan; during which S. Clement vacated Rome, and was succeeded probably by Euarestus. Later accounts say he was banished to Cherson, a city beyond the Pontic sea, and underwent martyrdom there; but Eusebius and those who wrote before him, are silent on the subject. Bishop Pearson, it may be

<sup>b</sup> Vid. Boissard. De Div., sub. v.;  
 Apollo Pythius, p. 115.

<sup>c</sup> Περί τῆς ἐκ λογίων φιλοσοφίας.

vid. S. Aug. De Civ. Dei. xix. 23.

<sup>d</sup> Voss. De Sibyll. Oracl. § viii.:  
 comp. Bull. De Div. Jes. Christi, lib. iv.

observed by the way, has left a dissertation respecting the succession of the Roman Episcopate, which is involved in so much uncertainty. The death of the Apostle S. John is likewise said to have happened at Ephesus about the same time, in his ninety-eighth or ninety-ninth year. Some have imagined from the last chapter of his gospel that he is still in the body, like Enoch and Elias. S. Simeon the son of Cleophas continued to preside over Jerusalem, and is said to have attained his hundred and twentieth year; Cerdo, the fourth from S. Mark, over Alexandria; S. Ignatius over Antioch; Publius and Quadratus over Athens; S. Polycarp over Smyrna; Onesimus over Ephesus; Papias over Hierapolis.

The Christian religion was now generally diffused throughout the known world. In Asia; Palestine, Syria, Armenia, Arabia, Parthia, Babylonia, Asia Minor, with the islands of Cyprus and Crete: in Africa; Egypt, Cyrenaica, Libya, Æthiopia: in Europe; Greece, Macedonia, Thrace, Illyricum, Germany, France, Italy, Spain, Britain, may be mentioned among those who had received the gospel; and it had not only penetrated into the principal cities, but even into the villages and hamlets, as Pliny says. German Churches are mentioned by S. Irenæus\*, and by Tertullian†, which are probably to be looked for in the provinces subject to the Roman arms, and not among the barbarian hordes. The French Churches of Lyons and Vienne, suffered a bloody persecution under Marcus Aurelius, a detailed account of which is extant in a letter addressed by them to their brethren throughout Asia and Phrygia, which Eusebius‡ has partly preserved: they likewise dispatched S. Irenæus, then a presbyter of the latter Church, with a letter to the Roman bishop Eleutherius. These are the earliest monuments of the Gallican Church. Pothinus bishop of Lyons was among those who obtained the crown of martyrdom, and S. Irenæus became bishop in his stead. The account of the British prince Lucius, who is said to have applied to Eleutherius, bishop of Rome, for Christian teachers, is variously recorded, nor is the date certain. The Venerable Bede himself

C E N T.  
II.Death of  
S. John.§ 2.  
SPREAD  
OF THE  
GOSPEL.German  
Churches.

French.

\* Adv. Hær. i. 3.

† Adv. Jud. c. 7.

‡ E. H. v. 1.

CENT. does not assign the exact year. It is remarkable, Gildas  
 II.

never once mentions Lucius, while he asserts Christianity to have been introduced into Britain in the preceding century. His statement is rendered the more probable by the prevalence of many customs clearly borrowed from the East, whether through Gaul, or from a more immediate source. Antiquarian remains, which have since been discovered in the south-western parts, point to the same conclusion<sup>ε</sup>. It is more particularly confirmed by the Welch Triads. These traditionary records, it may be observed, consistently assert Bran, father of Caractacus, to have introduced the faith into Britain, having been converted at Rome, while detained there seven years a hostage for his son. He may have therefore been there with S. Paul. Further, in a Welch genealogy of the British Saints, Arwystli is mentioned as the spiritual instructor of Bran<sup>h</sup>, and by a singular coincidence, the Aristobulus of the epistle to the Romans is said by Dorotheus in his Synopsis, and in the Greek Menology, to have been ordained by S. Paul bishop of the Britons<sup>i</sup>. Again, the Pudens and Claudia mentioned by S. Paul, have been thought to be the same couple whose marriage Martial has celebrated as that of his friend Pudens to a foreign, elsewhere, it may be, British lady<sup>j</sup>.

Pantænus. The mission of Pantænus into India, and the discovery of the gospel of S. Matthew in a Hebrew version left there by the Apostle S. Bartholomew, rests upon a no less authority than that of Eusebius; but it has been questioned whether Arabia Felix is not the country designated under India, and whether the gospel was not that used by the Ebionites under the title before mentioned, *Tò καθ' Ἑβραίων*<sup>k</sup>. During the present age Christian seminaries were erected for the benefit of the brotherhood. Among these the catechetical school of Alexandria, said to have been established by S. Mark, occupied the first place. Pantænus, the Indian missionary, flourished as master of it with great repute. Clemens of Alexandria, well known by his writings, succeeded him; and

School of  
 Alexan-  
 dria.

<sup>ε</sup> Archæol. Journal, Dec. 1847. p. 311, 312.

<sup>h</sup> Triad. 18.

<sup>i</sup> Vid. Antiquities of the Cymry, p. 53—57; and Usser. Brit. Eccl. Antiq.,

c. 1.

<sup>j</sup> Epig., lib. iv. 13, and lib. xi. 54. ed. Delph.

<sup>k</sup> Vid. Euseb. E. H. v. 10. ed. Heinen. not.

after him the renowned Origen added lustre to it by his C E N T.  
celebrity. II.

Throughout Christendom the Old and New Testament § 3.  
were now considered the authoritative embodiment of the DOCTRINE.  
Christian faith; but when heretics appealed to it, as they  
never failed to do, they were sent back to the witness to  
whose keeping it had been confided, and refuted by a refer-  
ence to the invariable consent of the Church from the ear-  
liest age<sup>1</sup>.

Written Creeds were framed for the use of the "com-  
petent;" that of the Apostles, it is affirmed, that is to say Creed of  
the principal articles, originally for members of the Roman the Apo-  
stles.  
Church, besides which there were the germs of the Nicene  
Creed in the East.

In the primitive Church hitherto the entire truths of the  
gospel had been taught indifferently, "according to the pro-  
portion of the faith<sup>m</sup>," as S. Paul says; stress had not been  
laid upon one or more above the rest, all occupied attention  
equally and successively, and subtle refinements and undue  
prominence were unknown. The effect of the different here-  
sies which began to infest the Church was to enhance the  
importance of the particular doctrine they assailed, to con-  
centrate minds upon it, to analyze the exact meaning of  
it, to superinduce infinite speculations, and finally, dog-  
matic language respecting it. Those who had hitherto  
spoken in a loose way were made to speak within bounds,  
which the necessity of the case had imposed; and for the  
most part it happened that heresy seized the extreme ground  
on the right hand and on the left. The fact of the Incarna- Fact of the  
tion was the doctrine upon which the energies of the writers Incarna-  
of the present century were concentrated, and that against tion.  
a threefold adversary. 1. Against the Jews they proved the Against  
call of the Gentiles to have been originally contemplated in the Jews.  
the Divine Economy; that the law was never intended to be  
perpetual; that the Messiah had appeared, and had fulfilled  
the prophecies concerning Him<sup>n</sup>.

2. Against the heretics they proved<sup>o</sup> that there is one God Heretics.

<sup>1</sup> Vid. S. Iren. Adv. Hær., lib. iii. 1.  
and Tertull. De Præscript. Hæret.

<sup>n</sup> Rom. xii. 6. *κατὰ τὴν ἀναλογίαν  
τῆς πίστεως.*

<sup>o</sup> Vid. S. Justin Martyr. Dial. cum  
Tryph., and Tertull. adversus Judæos.

<sup>o</sup> Vid. Kaye's Eccl. Hist., c. vii.

CENT.  
II.

only named in the Scriptures, and consequently, that the Supreme Being and the Creator of the world are one and the same; that He is invisible, but not unknown; that our Lord Jesus Christ is a single personage, even the Divine Word; that He was sent by the Creator of the world to redeem mankind, and verily and truly took upon Him our nature in the womb of the Blessed Virgin. The settlement of these questions, it will be seen, intimately affected other disputed points; for instance, the supposed affinity between evil and matter, and the resurrection of the body. Again, the distinction of the Persons in the Divine Nature was likewise more fully maintained after Praxeas had impugned it. It was shewn that although the Word might appear a mere abstraction, the appellation of Son joined with it implied a personal existence; and in the same way passages of the Scriptures were produced to prove the Holy Spirit a distinct Person. On the other hand the Divine Unity was shewn not to be compromised by the admission of a Trinity. It is not to be denied that the language employed by the Fathers of the second century was afterwards reconsidered, and occasionally withdrawn, and carefully avoided by the orthodox, when controversies respecting the Trinity had introduced a greater exactness. Tertullian, it may be observed by the way, is said to be the earliest writer who employs the words "Trinitas" and "Persona," when speaking of the Persons in the Trinity.

Heathen.

3. With regard to the heathen, the Christian apologists<sup>p</sup> endeavoured to demonstrate the need of a better religion by exposing the worthlessness and helplessness of the old forms, and the innumerable inconsistencies of the philosophical systems; to eradicate prejudices, to anticipate objections to the external aspect of the new religion, and to substantiate the facts upon which Christianity rested, with the rational evidence that begets conviction in a candid mind. They satisfied reason while they challenged faith. They appealed in the first instance to the predictions of the prophets who had announced the promised Messiah, and for the genuineness of whose writings they could refer to the Jews, the avowed ene-

<sup>p</sup> Vid. Palmer on the Doctrine of Developement and Conscience, c. 1.

mies of the Christian faith. Secondly, they appealed to the personal history of our Lord, for the proof of which they not only could allege the written gospels, and unwritten and independent testimonies of those who had heard or seen Him or His followers, but the very writings of the Gentiles themselves, who had incidentally confirmed His existence. He had fulfilled the old prophecies by the events of His life; He had uttered many prophecies which had since been fulfilled; He had performed miracles that attested Him to be a Divine Person; and He had conferred the like power upon His Apostles. They pointed with morally demonstrative force to the visible Church which had existed ever since, and had gained converts throughout the world in a way all other religions and sects had utterly failed to do; and they called attention to the purity and intrinsic excellence of the Christian doctrine, contrasted with the depravities of the false systems which they so freely exposed.

The Apologies extant of the present age are the first and second of S. Justin Martyr, besides his dialogue with the Jew Trypho; a fragment of Melito bishop of Sardis; a treatise of Tatian against the Gentiles; the Apology of Athenagoras, and the three books of Theophilus addressed to Autolycus; the exhortation to the Gentiles of S. Clement of Alexandria, with the book called the *Pædagogus*. Tertullian has been already mentioned, but his Apology was scarce written before the commencement of the next century. The work of S. Irenæus against heresies has been specified: and we have allusions contained in the epistles of S. Ignatius, seven of which are considered genuine, to the earlier heresies of the Gnostics and Docetæ; other works of the above-mentioned writers illustrate Christian faith and practice generally.

Nor are the rites and ceremonies to be gained from a different source. Pliny says, in his letter to the emperor Trajan, that the Christians assembled upon a fixed day. This is principally to be understood of the first day of the week: Sunday, as it is called by S. Justin and Tertullian, adopting a Gentile phrase, or the Lord's day in the Apostolical Canons, which it is forbidden to fast upon, or the day of the Resurrection by S. Ignatius. Its observance was clearly sanctioned,

CENT.  
II.

§ 4.

rites and  
ceremo-  
nies.

Pliny to  
Trajan.

Sunday.



**C E N T.** if not instituted, by the Apostles themselves, who celebrated  
**II.** the Eucharist and made collections for the poor upon it.

**Saturday.** The Sabbath or Saturday was likewise for some time kept conformably with the practice of the Apostles: but not after the Jewish manner; it was viewed as a preparation for the Lord's day, and observed as a festival, fasting being prohibited by the same Canons as in the former case: whence S. Justin, in his dialogue with Trypho, denied that he kept the Sabbath. The Marcionites, who believed evil inherent in the material world, fasted on the seventh day, as being the anniversary of the completion of the creation. The same custom obtained afterwards in the Roman Church, to celebrate the day on which Christ lay in the grave. There were moreover assemblies on the fourth day of the week, on which our Lord was

**Wednes-  
day.**

**Friday.**

**Hours of  
prayer.**

**Antelucan  
assemblies.  
Houses of  
prayer.**

betrayed, and on the sixth day, the day of preparation or "parasceue," when He was crucified; these days are called "stationary," because the assembly was prolonged till 8 P.M., "half-fasts," for the same reason, and "fasts of the fourth and sixth day of the week." Mention of them, as fasts, occurs in the sixty-ninth<sup>a</sup> Apostolical Canon. As for the hour, we find prayers made at the third, sixth, and ninth hours of the day by the Apostles and first converts: a custom without doubt borrowed from the Jews: but afterwards they seem to have met about nightfall and day-break, to avoid interruptions from gentile persecutors: whence they were opprobriously styled light-haters and a light-hating people, and for the same reason their assemblies were called antelucan.

The places to which they resorted for the above-mentioned purposes were private houses, upper rooms, baths, porches, crypts, but especially the tombs of the martyrs, whose memory would add ardour and earnestness to the devotions of the worshippers; and the assemblies themselves were convened by a private communication from house to house, made through the deacons and deaconesses. The ordinary service performed at these meetings we learn from S. Justin, Tertullian, and Eusebius, and particularly from the Apostolical Canons and Constitutions, to have been briefly the following: 1. Psalms and hymns and spiritual songs, mentioned by the Apostle, which Pliny says were sung alternately to

<sup>a</sup> Al. lxi.

Christ as God. S. Ignatius is said to have introduced alternate singing into his Church<sup>r</sup>. Psalmody, perhaps, on the whole, commenced the service. 2. Portions of the Old and New Testament were read by a person called a reader: it was the lowest ecclesiastical office in these days. Tertullian mentions it. The custom of reading the Scripture clearly came from the synagogue. 3. Sermons or addresses to the people, afterwards called "homilies," ensued, explanatory, for the most part, of a passage which had been read: sometimes written, sometimes extempore. Presbyters were never allowed to preach in the presence of a bishop. S. Augustine was the first instance to the contrary in the African Church. Deacons were rarely, laity and women never, permitted to preach. Prayers, which on the Lord's day they offered standing, as well in honour of the resurrection, as in conformity to the stations of the Jews. Otherwise they were accustomed to kneel, especially upon fast days, to testify mourning, penitence, humiliation, and so forth, as did the Jews: and like them upon extraordinary occasions, they prostrated themselves upon the ground. But sitting was a posture disowned equally by the one and the other. Tertullian inveighs against those who did so, as acting contrary to the received customs and to the Scripture<sup>a</sup>. In one respect they presented a contrast to the Jews: namely, that while the latter prayed towards the west, Christians invariably turned themselves towards the east: some say that the east was the symbol of our Lord, who was called "the Orient," and "Light," and the Sun of Righteousness, in the Scriptures; others say that as He made His first appearance in the east, so He will appear again in the east at the judgment day. But let the cause be what it may, the practice occasioned Christians to be called "worshippers of the sun." Of the prayers that were used, the Lord's Prayer was the most universal, but it was afterwards restricted to the baptized. They prayed moreover, says Tertullian in his Apology, for the newly baptized, for the penitents, catechumens, and possessed with devils; for the emperors, the clergy, and the world generally; for peace, deferment of the last day, and the like; the people repeating the prayers after the minister and

C E N T.  
II.Lessons  
from Scrip-  
ture.

Sermons.

Lord's  
Prayer.<sup>r</sup> Vid. Pagi ad Baron. A.D. 400. n. 15.<sup>a</sup> De Orat., c. 12.

CENT. uttering "Amen" at the end with a loud voice; and with  
II.

Amen.

Oblations.

Invocation  
of the Holy  
Ghost.

Prayers  
for the  
departed.

Communion sent  
to the sick.

Kiss of  
peace.

Bidding  
prayer.

Love-  
feasts.

Infant  
baptism.

the prayers after the sermon the service of the catechumens ended. Then began the *missa fidelium*, as it is called: or communion service. First, oblations of bread and wine were made by the people at the altar. Non-communicants were ordered to withdraw by the deacon. The minister signed himself with the cross on his forehead; consecration was performed in a loud voice and the bread was broken; in the consecration prayer the invocation of the Holy Ghost upon the elements formed a prominent feature. Intercessions were made for the whole Church, including the departed. Martyrs were commemorated. Lastly the consecrated elements were distributed, the bishop or priest bearing the paten, and the deacon the cup to the people. They were afterwards sent by the hands of the deacon to those absent through sickness, or other reasonable cause. A mutual salutation took place at the conclusion of the prayers, as well as of the Communion; it was called the kiss of peace, and had been practised from the time of the Apostles; it is still used among the Greeks. A bidding prayer of the deacon, thanking, and episcopal benediction ended the ceremony. Confessions were made publicly, and in the face of the whole assembly; and public censures were passed upon delinquents; oaths likewise were taken, as Pliny says, by which they bound themselves not to commit adultery, robbery, and the like: not to break a promise, or purloin a pledge. These things done they departed, he adds, with liberty to return to the love-feast. As for the love-feasts they were a custom borrowed partly from the Gentiles and partly from the Jews; they were countenanced likewise by the precedent of the Last Supper; and, at the first, held in the evening about the same time. Afterwards they were deferred till the celebration of the holy Eucharist was over. They were called "feasts of charity," because they were a liberal contribution of the rich to feed the poor: they are said to have been held in the Church for the three first centuries, and were attended by the faithful generally without distinction.

Infant baptism is a clear fact in the present century. S. Irenæus expressly refers to it<sup>†</sup>, and Tertullian in his treatise

<sup>†</sup> Adv. Hær. ii. 39.

tise upon Baptism mentions sponsors<sup>c</sup>. The adults were required to go through a preparatory course, whence they are called "catechumens:" because the instruction they received was of a catechetical nature. At the end of three years they were declared "competent:" and after baptism were enrolled among the faithful; but immediately before baptism they went through a more strict discipline, fasting in sackcloth and ashes, with many prayers, renouncing the devil and his works, and making frequent confessions of the faith they were about to profess. The most solemn occasions for administering the rite were Easter and Whit-sunday Eves, but the time was not circumscribed and still less the place. Rivers, fountains, private houses, and even prisons, as we read in Acts, were not prohibited. Some add the sepulchres of the martyrs from 1 Cor. xv. 29, but the verse is variously explained; aspersion was allowed in the clinical baptism of a sick person or where water was scarce, otherwise immersion was the usual practice. Neither presbyters nor deacons could perform the ceremony without the consent of the bishop, but upon emergencies even lay-baptism was esteemed valid. The invocation of the Trinity was invariably used according to the form prescribed by our Lord, and the phrase "three baptisms" refers to the trine immersion, by which they paid honour to the three Persons. The ceremonies which followed baptism we learn from Tertullian were unction, the sign of the cross, imposition of hands, prayers for the neophyte made by the whole Church, and lastly the participation of the holy Eucharist. That children communicated is clear from the Constitutions<sup>d</sup>. Tertullian also mentions the tasting of milk and honey as a part of the ceremony.

The ancients employed many names to designate the holy Eucharist. It was called a remembrance, communion, assemblage, love-feast, oblation; it was called a sacrifice from SS. Irenæus and Justin downwards, as well as in the early liturgies; often however with the following epithets, "unbloody, rational," and the like<sup>e</sup>. It was usually celebrated on the Lord's day, but sometimes upon Wednesdays and

<sup>c</sup> c. 18.

<sup>d</sup> viii. 12 and 13.

<sup>e</sup> Vid. Johnson's Unbloody Sacrifice, part i. c. 2. § 1.

C E N T. Fridays, and even daily, and the first thing in the morning.

II.

Plain  
clothes  
used by  
the minis-  
ter.

The communicants partook of it fasting: bread and wine were the elements employed, but the wine was from the earliest age mixed with water, and it is highly probable Christ Himself so administered it. On the other hand the bread was leavened, and of the ordinary kind used at the love-feasts, while our Lord, it is clear, instituted it with unleavened bread. The bishop, or presbyter in his absence, consecrated the elements, the deacon administering the cup. The clergy seem to have worn only plain clothes while they ministered\*.

Those who received had undergone a due preparation, of which fasting, alms-giving, and prayer, were the principal parts. The elements were given into their hands with the appropriate words, to which they replied "Amen," and they received them either kneeling or standing. What remained of the consecrated elements was reserved for the sick and absent, or divided amongst the communicants: in the Church of Jerusalem they were burnt with fire like the peace-offerings under the law: but the remainder of the oblations were reserved for the love-feast, or divided amongst the clergy.

Binding  
and loos-  
ing.

1 Tim. v.  
20; vi. 5:  
Tit. iii. 10.

The ordinance of the Christian Eucharist there can be no question, was borrowed from the eucharistical postcœnium among the Jews; though it is not so clear when bread and wine were first employed in the feast of the Passover; the other sacrament, Baptism, had likewise been engrafted upon a rite long since practised in the synagogue; nor less so the power of binding and loosing, upon which was founded the whole superstructure of the penitential discipline. We have already noticed the exercise of the said authority by S. Paul: in his correspondence with the two bishops of his appointment, he enjoins a like course; and conformably we find it considered in the early Church one of the most important branches of the episcopal office. It was the duty of the bishop to rebuke, exhort, admonish, punish, and reconcile the lapsed. Among these were reckoned not only those who had apostatized, but those who had sacrificed to the heathen gods, or committed murder, adultery, theft, fornication, and the like. Excommunication was passed upon offenders with a

\* Vid. Vales. ad Euseb. E. H. vi. 19.

view to induce submission, there were two kinds, suspension CENT. II. from Communion constituted the less, and a total exclusion from the Church, the greater. The last was commonly notified to the adjacent and even foreign Churches; and till reconciled by his own bishop the offender was held universally excommunicate. When he had made his submission, he was admitted to the condition of a penitent; but the duration of his penance depended as well upon the depth of his contrition, as upon the magnitude of his offence. The express laws regulating it, however, belong to a later age. Martyrs and confessors were heard in behalf of the culprit, and by interceding for him often alleviated the length or rigour of the discipline imposed upon him: hence what are called "*libelli pacis*" were frequently supplicated in the prisons where they were confined, and in the time of S. Cyprian had actually grown into a great abuse. Libelli pacis.

A public confession of the crime by the delinquent, *Ἐξομολόγησις* as it is called, was indispensable to his restoration: but it was a privilege that was never allowed a second time<sup>b</sup>. Prostration upon the earth, tears, fasting, entreaties to be forgiven, Tertullian adds sackcloth and ashes, were the accompaniments. Absolution and reconciliation were administered by the Bishop in the face of the congregation, but not until the penitent had entreated pardon from the bishop, presbyters, deacons, and the whole assembly; it was tendered in a set form, and accompanied with imposition of hands and prayer. Those who were deemed incorrigible, or had lapsed a second time, were never restored to the communion of the Church, but continued under a perpetual anathema. The most solemn readmission of penitents took place before Easter; other rites are mentioned, especially towards the close of the century. There were only three festivals generally observed: the Lord's day, Easter and Pentecost, with the eves: martyrs were commemorated on the anniversary of the day they suffered. Fast days were likewise not strictly determined; but it was a common custom to fast before Easter. Some fasted one day, namely Good Friday, others more, others the whole week; many circumstances conspired to enhance the solemnity besides Absolution only once granted. Easter. Pentecost. Good Friday.

<sup>b</sup> Albaspin. Observat. ii. 5.

CENT. II. the memory of the Passion itself. Penitents were reconciled, catechumens baptized, and a more than ordinary preparation for the Holy Eucharist enjoined. S. Irenæus in his letter to Victor while mentioning the diversity that existed, adds according to one punctuation that some fasted forty days. And it is the opinion of Bishop Beveridge grounded upon the sixty-ninth<sup>c</sup> Apostolical Canon, as well as

Forty days  
of Lent.

Forehead  
signed with  
the cross.

Abstinence  
from blood.

Manners.

the said passage, that the forty days of Lent were observed as a fast in the second century. Others moreover fasted on the fourth and sixth day of the week ordinarily, till the stations were over. The custom of praying towards the east has been already noticed and explained. Prayers and oblations were made for those who had died in the true faith, even for martyrs, the intermediate state being esteemed imperfect and incomplete, though not without enjoyment and repose: nor the final bliss attainable before the general resurrection and reunion with the body. The sign of the cross was considered the distinguishing badge of the Christian profession: and that it was customary to sign the forehead with it upon all important occasions is clear from Tertullian<sup>d</sup>.

Abstinence from blood and from things strangled, was observed still conformably with the apostolical rule, and the more so to avoid the imputations heaped upon them by the Gentiles, who said that they banqueted upon human blood. Many other rites have been attributed to the age we are considering, but they are chiefly derived from works since proved to be spurious.

The manners of the early Christians were extolled even by those who were most opposed to them; and their mutual love was to the heathen inexplicable. Brothers and sisters were the terms by which they addressed each other, whence the whole Church is occasionally designated a fraternity: yet incest was one of the charges to which it gave rise; they prayed for their enemies, as S. Justin alleges in his second Apology: likewise for the emperors and magistrates, whom they obeyed when they could consistently with their Christian profession. They exercised hospitality, truth, candour, and benevolence: ministered to the sick, afflicted, and poor:

<sup>c</sup> Al. lxi.

<sup>d</sup> De Corona, c. 3.

avoided the games, spectacles, and impious ceremonies: C E N T. II.  
 stopped their ears when they heard blasphemy and wicked  
 language: panted to die for the gospel: applied themselves  
 diligently to the study of the Scriptures: in a word, lived  
 temperately, demeaned themselves meekly, and quitted life  
 cheerfully with a good hope.

Ecclesiastical polity presented a more systematic appear- § 5. POLITY.  
 ance in the present century than it had done in the first:  
 but it was the result of maturity, not of change. The epi-  
 scopal office throughout Christendom is incontrovertible as a  
 fact. Alexandria, Rome, Antioch, the Asiatic, and African  
 Churches are known to have been respectively subject to a  
 bishop. It is true that S. Polycarp only mentions presbyters  
 and deacons in his epistle to the Philippians, but it is not  
 unreasonable to suppose with Bishop Pearson that their  
 bishop may have been dead at the time, and the see vacant.  
 Pothinus and S. Irenæus have been already mentioned as  
 bishops of the Gallican Church, and according to the  
 Menology it would appear that Aristobulus had been placed  
 by S. Paul over Britain: not to mention the bishops of  
 Llandaff, who have been traced in a direct line to the con-  
 version under King Lucius\*. It seems clear that in the  
 second century episcopacy was coextensive with Christianity.  
 As for the epistles of S. Ignatius, which have been regarded Epistles of S. Ignatius.  
 as the palladium of episcopacy by those who assailed it, but  
 which only bear strong testimony to a plain historical fact:  
 without entering into particulars of the controversy re-  
 specting them<sup>†</sup>, it may be briefly observed, that seven have  
 been on the whole considered genuine since the days of  
 Voss and Usser, Hammond and Pearson, though Salmasius,  
 Blondell, and Daillé have strongly maintained the contrary:  
 and a recent discovery of the epistles to S. Polycarp, to  
 the Ephesians, and Romans in a Syriac version<sup>‡</sup>, omitting Syriac version.  
 many passages extant in the Greek together with other  
 fragmentary citations in the same language, though it may  
 confirm the genuineness of these epistles themselves, has  
 been thought, though it would seem unduly, to have

\* Antiquities of the Cymri, c. xi. p. xxv.—xlv.  
 p. 201.      † First edited by W. Cureton, 1845.  
 ‡ Vid. Pat. Apost. ed. Jacob, vol. i. See also his Vindiciæ Ignatianæ, 1846.



C E N T. re-opened the question not only how far they have been  
 II. interpolated, but whether the rest are genuine<sup>h</sup>. Mean-

Questions  
 about  
 Bishops.

while, to revert to the more immediate subject: the adversaries of episcopacy here raised the following doubts; whether bishops were placed over all, or only the most important Churches; whether they were not merely presidents of the presbytery, and not a distinct order: whether they were not advanced to the presidency, merely from the exigencies of the case, by a simple election and without consecration, partly out of respect to the age or gravity of the first presidents, who had been for the most part companions of the Apostles, or Apostles themselves, and partly to preserve peace, a view which it is needless to say would negative their apostolical institution, and bring them down to the level of a subsequent ecclesiastical appointment. And in addition to what has been already said on the subject, respecting the confusion of the titles in the first age, these doubts seemed countenanced by the undoubted fact, long since properly explained, that bishops stood at the head of a presbytery.

This had been the case with the Apostles themselves, as we learn from the Acts, whose institution the presbytery or college of presbyters, plainly were. "They were not merely ministers or servants to the bishop and to the Church," says a learned writer<sup>i</sup>, "but had also a share in the government and oversight of it, though subordinate to the bishop, and were his counsellors and assessors, without whose advice and consent he neither made rules nor canons for his Church, nor inflicted censures, nor disposed of the Church revenues, nor ordained presbyters:" they even joined with the bishop in the imposition of hands, when a presbyter was ordained.

Eutychius  
 in his  
 Orig. Eccl.  
 Alex.

Hence when Eutychius patriarch of Alexandria in the tenth century says that S. Mark appointed Annianus first patriarch of that see, and with him twelve presbyters who should upon his decease create one from their own body patriarch in his room, and so forth, he would only seem to be speaking consistently with earlier accounts. For he plainly attests the appointment of the first patriarch or, to speak more cor-

<sup>h</sup> Hussey's Sermons, Oxford, 1849.  
 Pref., p. xlii.—xxxix.

Brett, Ch. Gov., c. vi. p. 131. ed.  
 1710.

rectly, bishop of Alexandria by S. Mark: and secondly he asserts that the Alexandrian presbytery once possessed a privilege which afterwards fell into the hands of the provincial bishops, and, according to Selden<sup>k</sup> and others, was confirmed to them by the fourth canon of the first Nicene council.

CENT.  
II.

But it seems clear as daylight that it was election or suffrage<sup>l</sup>, not imposition of hands or ordination, which was vested in the provincial bishops by the fourth canon of the first Nicene council; and therefore it is infinitely more probable that election is the privilege which Eutychius means was once possessed by the presbytery, than that the Alexandrian presbyters ever enjoyed a power which it is not upon record that the other presbyteries of those days ever had, and to which not long afterwards even the schismatic Coluthus did not venture to aspire without feigning himself a bishop<sup>m</sup>: namely that of ordaining: a power which even S. Jerome<sup>n</sup>, who expressly mentions the circumstances of the Alexandrian presbytery, attests in the very next sentence of the same epistle to have belonged to the bishops exclusively: and with respect to which no canon can be alleged, by virtue of which it can be said to have been ever confirmed to them as a new privilege, like that of election above mentioned. Besides, unless mis-translated, Eutychius is plainly inaccurate when he speaks of a patriarch at all in the first and earlier centuries: therefore why should he be thought so accurate as regards his creation? Those who affect to believe nothing without contemporary evidence, should be cautious how they admit the testimony of a writer in the tenth century to weigh against the unanimous voice of the earliest extant authorities: for it is presumed that comparatively not very ancient authors writing under a false name can scarce be thought available on the other side<sup>o</sup>. The other assertion of Eutychius that provincial bishops were unknown throughout Egypt before the days of Deme-

<sup>k</sup> Selden, ad l. Eutyech. n. 18.

<sup>l</sup> On the word *καθ' ἑαυτὰς*, can. 4. Conc. Nic., vid. Balsam., Zonar., et Aristen. ap. Bever. Synod. ad l., et comp. ii. Concil. Nic. can. 3; and for the difference between *χειροτονία* and *χειροθεσία*, vid. Bever. ad Apost. can. 1.

<sup>m</sup> See the letter of the Mareotic presbyters and deacons, S. Athan., c. Arian. Apol. § 76.

<sup>n</sup> Ep. (ad Evang.) 101. (ed. Ben.)

<sup>o</sup> Ambrosiaster and the Pseudo-Augustine quoted by Gieseler, E. H., Per. i. Div. i. § 32. notes.

CENT. trius, who appointed three, is equally irreconcilable with  
 II. primitive practice elsewhere, and depending as it does upon  
 his sole authority, seems overborne not only by various express  
 statements to the contrary<sup>p</sup>, whose credit is perhaps as  
 good as his, but still more by the fact that two synods, almost  
 exclusively episcopal<sup>q</sup>, were convened against Origen under  
 the same Demetrius. But to return from a digression already  
 excessive. The only new order to be noticed is that of readers  
 mentioned by Tertullian. Deaconesses indeed are traced  
 back to the time of the Apostles, but they were confined to  
 those who were widows, and not easily distinguishable from  
 them; S. Paul indeed calls Phœbe a servant of the Church  
 of Corinth, and Pliny speaks of the female ministers among  
 Christians in his time, but it was not immediately that even  
 virgins were allowed to be chosen for the office.

Chief  
 Bishop. The term "order," was originally used to denote rank in  
 the state. The title of metropolitan does not appear to have  
 been known in the present century, but mention is made of  
 a chief bishop in the twenty-seventh Apostolical Canon, to  
 whom the other provincial bishops are required to pay the  
 same regard that was afterwards due to the metropolitan;  
 Ephesus, Cæsarea, Carthage, Rome, Lyons, are to be reck-  
 oned among the principal instances of the kind. It is like-  
 wise a disputed point whether the term "patriarch" had ever  
 been applied in the strict sense. Eutychius it is clear in  
 his account of the patriarchs of Alexandria before mentioned  
 adopts the language of his own time; and it is generally  
 acknowledged that the patriarch specified in the epistle of  
 the emperor Adrian, preserved by Vopiscus, is the Jewish  
 one. This office had commenced among the Jews after the  
 Jewish  
 Patriarchs. destruction of the temple; they had two patriarchs, one re-  
 siding at Tiberius and the other at Babylon. Salmasius  
 was the first who misinterpreted the passage of a Chris-  
 tian patriarch.

Papa. Papa, a word denoting "father," was a respectful name  
 for a bishop. Heraclas is so styled by Dionysius of Alexan-

<sup>p</sup> Selden, ad l. n. 22.

<sup>q</sup> 1st. *σύνδοδος ἐπισκόπων καὶ τιμῶν πρεσβυτέρων.*

2nd. *ὁ Δημήτριος ἔματις ἐπισκό-*

*ποις.* Phot. Bibl. § 118; comp. Huet. Origen., lib. i. 12. Photius by the way is quoting from the works of Eusebius and Pamphilus the martyr.

dria about the commencement of the next century, after- C E N T.  
wards Alexander and S. Athanasius are addressed in the same II.  
style. Bishops were even called fathers of fathers.

The see of Rome continued to preserve the primacy before mentioned, which had been enhanced by a well-earned reputation of charity, piety, and freedom from heresy. Foreign jurisdiction however it had none, and Victor, in his attempt to exercise undue severity towards the Asiatic Churches, was reprov'd by S. Irenæus and disregarded by the rest of the Christian world. This is the more remarkable, as S. Irenæus did not hesitate to appeal to it in his writings<sup>r</sup> as a general reference for the apostolical tradition, owing to the superior principality which it enjoyed; and as for the question under dispute, it is clear that Victor maintained the right side.

Every particular Church was governed by the bishop, presbyters, and deacons, but the chief authority both in the ministration of the word and sacraments and ecclesiastical jurisdiction, was understood to emanate from the bishop, and some offices he exercised exclusively. The oblations of the people were placed in his hands, and by him divided into four parts, for the clergy, for the needs of the Church, for the poor, and for his own use; a roll was kept, in which the names of the ecclesiastics of the Church were written, called a canon, whence the clergy were styled canonicals; and the whole together constituted the lesser diocesan synod, though strictly speaking the deacons did not take part in the deliberative proceedings, but only the bishop and his presbyters. Still less do we find the elders of the laity, as the phrase is<sup>s</sup>, ever speaking or voting in the assembly, though they may have added weight to it by their presence.

The bishops and presbyters of the neighbouring Churches occasionally met in a larger or small number as the exigency required, under the chief bishop already specified; but the subject will be more fully considered under "Councils." In

<sup>r</sup> Adv. Hær., lib. iii. 3. "Propter potiore principatitatem." Grabe (ad l.) remarks that S. Gregory Nazianz. has used equally strong language with reference to the Church of Constantinople, or new Rome, Orat. xxxi. (c. 10. ed. Ben.) spoken before the second

General Council. His words are Εἰς ἣν τὰ πᾶντα ἔθεν ἡμεῖς συντρέχει, καὶ ὅθεν ἀρχεται ὡς ἀποτολίου κοινοῦ τῆς πίστεως.

<sup>s</sup> Vid. Bingham Ant., B. II. c. xix. § 19.

CENT. the ordination of a bishop likewise, the first Apostolical  
 II.

Canon enjoins the presence of two or three bishops who naturally belonged to the neighbourhood, the chief bishop performing the rite. A single bishop sufficed for the ordination of the other orders. Imposition of hands and prayer, in all cases conferred the sacred office; the person so instituted was no longer a layman, nor could he return to a

*Χειροτονία*, though sometimes used in a wider sense.

secular life. Elections were made under certain restrictions, and chiefly from the roll of the Church in which the vacancy occurred; it was necessary for the person to go through the orders gradually, and not to be below a certain age. It is a very disputed point what power the people had<sup>t</sup>; but that of making objections seems universally allowed them; it probably varied with the age, and occasionally the laity seem to have had a like suffrage with the inferior clergy. Nomination however it would appear, and certainly confirmation, belonged to the bishop, or in the case of a vacant see to him who was afterwards styled metropolitan, but even here the voice of the people was often exerted with effect. Suffrage was the ordinary mode, lot occurs in the Acts, and seems to have been afterwards imitated in the Spanish Church; and it is from the Greek word that the clergy are so called, because they were regarded the lot or portion of the Lord.

*Χειροτονία*.

*Κλήρος*.

Married men ordained. Digamy.

Married men it is clear might be ordained, but there was a strong feeling against digamy or second marriage occasionally amounting to a prohibition. By the third Apostolical Canon, bishops, priests and deacons, are enjoined not to put away their wives: but, by the nineteenth, of those who enter into the sacred profession single, readers and singers only are named to whom marriage is allowed. Celibacy clearly was not imposed by law; at the same time it would be unfair not to acknowledge that superior excellence was universally attributed to a virgin life. Widowhood too was a state highly commended in the time of the Apostles themselves; still we find Dionysius bishop of Corinth objecting to a forced celibacy in a letter to the Church of Gnosus in Crete, with the answer of Pinytus their bishop, who upheld it<sup>u</sup>; S. Ignatius would deprecate constraint even more strongly<sup>x</sup>.

<sup>t</sup> Vid. Bingham, Eccl. Antiq. iv. 2.  
<sup>u</sup> Euseb. E. H. iv. 23.

<sup>x</sup> Frag. vi.; vid. Pat. Apost., vol. ii. ed. Jacob., p. 496, and Grabe, ad l.

The Councils of the second century were what were afterwards called provincial synods, held under the metropolitan or bishop of the metropolis of the province. The thirtieth Apostolical Canon orders them to be convened in the fourth week after Easter, and on October 12. Bishops and presbyters formed the authoritative part of the assembly, as the Apostles and elders had done before them; they sat and judged, except perhaps in a case affecting a bishop, of which it is probable only his compeers took cognizance; the deacons stood, and so did the laity who came to witness the proceedings. It is the opinion of Bishop Beveridge that what are called the Apostolical Canons were made at the provincial councils of the second and third century<sup>a</sup>. They were nevertheless convened in the present age chiefly for a twofold cause. 1. To counteract the heresies of Marcion, Artemon, Theodotus, and particularly Montanus and the Cataphrygians, which commenced about A.D. 180, during the episcopate of Anicetus, and occasioned synods throughout Asia, as we learn from Eusebius<sup>a</sup>. 2. To determine the paschal controversy, as it was called, between the quartodecimans, who celebrated Easter the third day after the fourteenth of the first month, without reference to the day of the week, and those who would only keep it upon a Sunday. Jerusalem, Antioch, and Alexandria, advocated with Rome the latter course; the former was maintained by the Churches of Asia Minor, who pleaded the tradition of S. John the Apostle. Councils were held on the subject at Ephesus under Polycrates, at Lyons under S. Irenæus, in Pontus under Palmas, at Corinth under Bachyllus, in Palestine under Theophilus and Narcissus, and at Rome under Victor. It has been already mentioned, that the Asiatic Churches were excommunicated for the practice which they upheld by the Roman prelate<sup>b</sup>, but his sentence was not satisfactory to S. Irenæus and other bishops.

CENT.  
II.  
§ 6.  
COUNCILS.

Twice a  
year.

Apostolical  
Canons,  
when made.

Paschal  
contro-  
versy.

§ 7.  
HERESIES.

The Gnostics, whose origin has been already considered, have been divided into two classes<sup>c</sup>; the Asiatic and the

<sup>a</sup> Bilson's Perpet. Gov. of Christ's Church, p. 392, cited by Brett, Ch. Gov., c. xiv. p. 329.

<sup>b</sup> Codex Can. Vindic., c. 2.  
<sup>c</sup> Eccl. Hist. v. 16.

<sup>b</sup> Vid. Heinichen ad Euseb. v. 24; Excurs. vi. vol. iii. p. 375.

<sup>c</sup> Vid. Mosheim, Eccl. Hist., B. I. Part ii. c. 5.

**CENT. II.** Egyptian; at the head of the former is placed Elxai, a Jew, who founded a sect called Elcesaites about the commencement of the present century; but Epiphanius, who mentions him, doubts whether he is not rather to be reckoned among the Judaizers.

**Saturninus.** Saturninus within a short interval disseminated the opinions which Menander had done before him, acknowledging however a twofold cause, God and matter, the latter essentially evil, but subject to a ruling principle; he taught at Antioch, and attracted many followers by his austere life; Cerdon and Marcion are classed under the same head, but belong to a somewhat later age. The first of these was a Syrian, and came to Rome soon after the martyrdom of Telesphorus, A.D. 138. Marcion arrived a few years after: he was son of a bishop of Pontus, and being refused communion for a breach of chastity, lapsed into the errors of his master Cerdon: yet afterwards he was conspicuous for his ascetic life; S. Polycarp we are told administered a sharp rebuke to him. Marcion developed the distinction introduced by his preceptor of a good and a just God, the former unknown, and the latter known; hence Christ was sent to proclaim Him, with whose benevolence mankind were unacquainted, and to redeem them from Him whose inflexible rigour would have cast them into outer darkness. Marcion is refuted by S. Justin in his second Apology, and by Tertullian who wrote five books expressly against him; Lucian, Apelles, Severus, and Blastus succeeded him, and originated many new sects. But the whole school seems to have condemned marriage, and exercised great mortification of the flesh.

**Bardesanes.** Bardesanes of Edessa propagated the like opinions about A.D. 172, but he himself afterwards returned a more orthodox profession; Tatian was an Assyrian, and converted by S. Justin at Rome, where he employed himself usefully for a time and composed a harmony of the Gospels. Afterwards, returning to the East subsequently to the martyrdom of S. Justin, he founded a new Gnostic sect, which, from the ascetic discipline they enjoined, were called Encratites.

The Egyptian or Alexandrian Gnostics, though they believed matter eternal, are said not to have held the eternity of a malignant Deity with the Orientals. They likewise for

the most part considered our Lord to combine two persons, C E N T.  
 Christ the Divine who descended upon Jesus the human at II.  
 His baptism; hence they did not deny the truth of His  
 human nature, though they could not assent to the fact that  
 "the Word was made flesh." Among these the first place is Basilides.

generally assigned to Basilides of Alexandria, who flourished  
 about A.D. 125, and introduced a sevenfold emanation from  
 the supreme Cause which he called æons; from two of these,  
 Power and Wisdom, emanated the highest angelic order, and  
 from it three hundred and sixty-five subordinate orders, over  
 whom a prince reigned named Abraxas. Basilides wrote twenty-  
 four books upon a gospel, but it is not clear which, especially  
 as he composed one that afterwards went by his name. He  
 likewise claimed to have two false prophets, Barcabas and  
 Barcoph, allowed sacrifice to idols and denial of our Lord,  
 when necessity required, and enjoined a five years' silence to  
 his followers like the Pythagoreans.

Carpocrates, whose birth-place was the same, followed Carpocra-  
 tes.  
 him; he considered Jesus a mere man, who by His example  
 shewed how to overcome the evil principle, and to be united  
 with the supreme God; he countenanced, and even com-  
 mended the grossest immorality.

Valentinus, from the same city, who had been an unsuc- Valentinus.  
 cessful candidate for a bishopric, arrived at Rome about the  
 same time with Cerdon: he considerably extended the system  
 of Basilides. According to him there were two principal  
 æons, from whom emanated two more which constituted his  
 first quaternion; from the two last of these sprung a second  
 quaternion which constituted his ogdoad. Then from the  
 two pairs in the second quaternion respectively were evolved  
 ten and twelve new creations, male and female like the rest,  
 and these thirty æons constituted his "pleroma," or fulness  
 of the heavens. Finally, from the desire of the last æon to be  
 united to the first, sprang a daughter, Achamoth, who being  
 excluded from the "pleroma," formed the "Demiurge," and  
 through him the nether world. One of the peculiarities of  
 his system is that it considered not only Christ but Jesus, to  
 have been creatures of the pleroma, and the latter to have  
 been one of the highest order. Innumerable sects are re-  
 corded to have ramified out of his school; for instance, that



**C E N T. II.** of Secundus, Ptolemy, Marcus, Heracleon and Calarbasus ;  
 not to mention the Ophites, Adamites, Cainites, Abelites, Sethites, Florinians, Antitactes and Prodicians, who are traced to the same source. Tertullian wrote a treatise against a man called Hermogenes, but he is not stated to have founded a sect.

**Montanus.** The Montanists were far more illiterate enthusiasts ; their founder Montanus was a Phrygian, born at a small village called Pepuza, which in his frenzy he styled the new Jerusalem : and his followers were designated Cataphrygians from his birth-place. He pretended to be under the immediate inspiration of the Paraclete, carried about with him two women Maximilla and Priscilla, supposed prophetesses, and enjoined a greater austerity than the rules of the Church required ; the object of his spiritual illumination, he said, was to develop the mysteries of the Christian religion, which had been only faintly shadowed by the Apostles : he likewise foretold a speedy millennium. Tertullian joined the Montanists towards the latter part of his life, which gave them a celebrity that did not strictly belong to them, and gained their particular extreme views a warm advocate.

**Theodotus.** To a distinct class belong Theodotus and Artemon, who  
**Artemon.** held the opinion already attributed to the Ebionites, but upon different grounds, that Jesus Christ was a mere man. Of these, Theodotus was a tanner who lived at Rome, and was excommunicated by Victor towards the last few years of the century. Artemon, who succeeded him, alleged that Victor had corrupted the faith, and proclaimed himself the restorer of it. With Praxeas, who had once been a Montanist, a very different heresy to those before noticed, originated. For discarding the distinction of Persons in the Divine Essence, that he might the better maintain the doctrine of the Unity, he taught that one and the same Being made, redeemed, and sanctified mankind under a triple name, suitable to the operation. This opinion Tertullian having pushed to the extreme consequence in his treatise against the author of it, the sect have been since called Monarchians, and Patripassians<sup>d</sup>.

<sup>d</sup> For a philosophical account of the earlier heresies see Neander's Hist. of the first three centuries, translated by Rose, A.D. 1841, vol. ii.

The schism respecting Easter will only require the additional observation, after what has been said, that the controversy had already occasioned a journey of S. Polycarp to Rome about A.D. 158; but though treated with the highest consideration by the bishop, Anicetus, and even invited to consecrate the holy Eucharist, he failed to adjust a question which was not finally settled before the Nicene council, which abrogated the Asiatic usage; still it was found long afterwards established in the British Church.

The principal ecclesiastical writers of the age, were S. Ignatius, bishop of the Church of Antioch, though it is not clear whether ordained by S. Peter or S. Paul, and whether second or third in the succession. Baronius and Alexander Natalis conjecture that Euodius was placed over the circumcision by S. Peter, and S. Ignatius over the gentile converts by S. Paul; and that upon the death of the former both congregations were united under our Saint. S. Eusebius and S. Jerome mention the seven epistles extant under his name; but whether even those were genuine which they report, and still more whether or how far what we possess are the same with those they enumerate, can scarce be said to be a settled point. Bishop Pearson, by his *Vindiciæ Ignatianæ* was thought to have settled the question in the affirmative before the revival of the controversy by the recent publication of the Syriac MSS., yet the inference sought to be drawn from them appears extremely debatable\*. S. Ignatius was martyred at Rome according to Clinton, Dec. 20, A.D. 115, who has recapitulated the various opinions respecting the date.

S. Polycarp, ordained bishop of Smyrna by S. John, it is said, and martyred in the eighty-sixth year of his conversion, or ministry, for opinions vary, at the advanced age of a hundred or more, in his own city, A.D. 166; so Clinton is inclined to fix it. He left a much admired epistle to the Philippians still extant: and we have likewise a most interesting letter of the Church of Smyrna with a full account of his martyrdom.

The letter of the Churches of Lyons and Vienne, preserved by Eusebius, which records the martyrdom of Po-

\* Hussey's Sermons, Pref. before cited.

CENT.  
II.

§ 8.  
ECCLESIASTICAL  
WRITERS.  
S. Ignatius.

- CENT. II.** thinus and others, is not less commendable. Papias, bishop of Hierapolis, who, S. Irenæus says, was a hearer of S. John, was a writer of ability, but wanting judgment; he put forward views respecting the millennium. Fragments of his works have been recently discovered. **Hermas.** Hermas flourished under M. Aurelius; but whether he, or his name-sake in the former century, composed the Shepherd, is uncertain. **Quadratus.** Quadratus, bishop of Athens after Publius, and a hearer of the Apostles, as Eusebius says in his Chronicon, addressed a learned Apology to the emperor Adrian in behalf of the Christians, but it has not been handed down.
- S. Justin.** S. Justin Martyr, born at Neapolis, a city of Samaria, a Platonic philosopher originally, but afterwards under M. Aurelius a Christian martyr; he left several works extant, of which the principal have been already mentioned. In his second Apology presented to the emperor M. Aurelius and the Roman senate, he foretold that the philosopher Crescens would be his ruin. Some expressions in his works require a favourable interpretation. **Melito.** Melito, bishop of Sardis in Lydia, led a virgin life in the same reign, and was contemporary with Apollinarius, bishop of Hierapolis. Besides the fragment already attributed to him, he is said to have defended the Asiatic custom of keeping Easter: and a letter of his is preserved by Eusebius containing a catalogue of the canonical books of the Old Testament, the same with our English Bible, except that Esther and Nehemiah are omitted, and the book of Proverbs is called also the book of Wisdom.
- Apollinarius.** Athenagoras flourished a little later, about A.D. 177: from a philosopher of Athens he became a Christian presbyter; besides his Apology, we have his oration concerning the resurrection of the dead; but it is observable that Eusebius and S. Jerome pass him by without mention.
- Athenagoras.** Hegesippus seems to have been a Jewish convert; and died under Commodus; he was the first ecclesiastical historian: but only fragments of his five books remain.
- Hegesippus.** Theophilus was a Gentile convert, and promoted to the see of Antioch, A.D. 169, according to one account; he ascribed his conversion to the demonstrative arguments which Christianity employed. Besides his three books addressed to Autolycus, a commentary upon the four Gospels

is doubtfully ascribed to him by S. Jerome, which is extant: C E N T. as well as another upon the book of Proverbs; his works II. against Marcion and Hermogenes have perished.

S. Irenæus had been a disciple of S. Polycarp, and of S. Irenæus. Papias according to S. Jerome; he became a presbyter of the Church of Lyons, and eventually succeeded Pothinus in the see. The only work he left behind him that has been handed down is his five books against heresies, which it seems certain had a Greek original, though others have maintained that he wrote in the Latin tongue; like S. Justin he occasionally requires a favourable construction to be put upon his statements; and his error about the age of our Lord at the time of His crucifixion, is noted by as early a writer as S. Augustine. S. Clement, a presbyter of Alex- S. Clement of Alexandria. andria, but Athenian by birth, flourished towards the close of the century; he was the disciple and successor of Pantænus in the Alexandrian school, and master of the renowned Origen. His eight books so justly celebrated, procured him to be called from them Stromateus; but they are not without historical, and even theological errors. Two other works have been already mentioned.

Tertullian, presbyter of the Church of Carthage, was ori- Tertullian. ginally a lawyer, but entered holy orders about A.D. 192. He became a Montanist, says S. Jerome, "about the middle of his life," which Cave interprets of his conversion, and fixes the date A.D. 199. It would seem that he had received some provocation at the hands of the Roman clergy, which drove him to take so decided a step. Of his works the three following only are said to have been written before his fall. 1, *De Baptismo*; 2, *De Pœnitentiâ*; 3, *De Oratione*; while four works extant, 1, *De Pudicitia*; 2, *De Fuga in Persecutione*; 3, *De Jejuniis*; 4, *De Monogamia*; were written expressly against the Church. Of the remainder, his Apology, five books against Marcion, works against Praxeas and against the Jews, are the principal, and to which appeal is continually made. S. Augustine charges him with material views about the soul, and even God. He is considered the first, as well as one of the most celebrated of the Latin Fathers however, though besides the above mentioned, other crude notions respecting the Son, respecting angels, the millennium, and a

CENT. future state, occur in his writings<sup>f</sup>. Other writers, e. g.  
 II. Tatian, who left a work against the Gentiles, Musanus, Bardenanes, Pinytus, Dionysius bishop of Corinth, Polycrates, and Apollinarius, may be passed over without more particular notice. Meanwhile we shall be inclined to excuse the errors and inaccuracies of the early Fathers, when we consider the circumstances under which they wrote. *We* have the experience of nearly two thousand years since the first establishment of the Christian religion; *their* predecessors were soon numbered, and heresy had scarce appeared in the first age. Arguing against one extreme, it is not wonderful that they occasionally fell into the other, and exposed to persecutions so often, we can scarce expect them to have had leisure to become good critics. Many were moreover imbued with philosophy, before they were converted to Christianity, and many may have been deceived by the spurious writings claiming authority from the great names under which they went.

§ 9.  
 SPURIOUS  
 WRITINGS

To mention a few of them. The various works attributed to the Patriarchs, Prophets, and Apostles, many of which S. Clement of Alexandria commends, but which were condemned by Pope Gelasius in a Roman synod, A.D. 494.

Hytaspes.  
 Sibylline  
 oracles.

To a different class belong the books of Hytaspes, and the Sibylline oracles in eight books, which, it has been already noticed, Voss shews were not composed by one and the same hand or in the same age. Some indeed have ascribed them to the Montanists; others to the Gnostics; Cave to the Alexandrian Christians, and Semler to Tertullian; Grotius to the Jews and Christians jointly. By Bleek the sixth and seventh books are thought to have been composed in the third century, and the two first not before the middle of the fifth century<sup>g</sup>.

A third class consists of those attributed to the writers already specified of the present age. For instance,

To S. Ignatius have been ascribed five letters addressed respectively, to Mary of Castabale, to Hero, to the inhabitants of Tarsus, Antioch, and Philippi; besides three which exist only in a Latin version, and are addressed two to S. John,

<sup>f</sup> Vid. Kay's Eccl. Hist. of the 2nd and 3rd centuries.

<sup>g</sup> Gieseler, Eccl. Hist., Per. i. Div. ii. § 50. note.

and one to the Blessed Virgin. They are generally considered forgeries of a much later age. CENT.  
II.

A book entitled *De transitu B. Virginis*, and published under the name of Melito, bishop of Sardis; other spurious works are attributed to him.

A history in five books of the wars of the Jews and destruction of Jerusalem, claiming to have been written by the historian Hegesippus.

Several works ascribed to S. Justin Martyr, e. g., *Quæstiones et Resp. ad Græcos*; *Quæst. cxlvi. et Resp. ad Orthodoxos*; *Expositio Fidei de S. Trinitate*; *De Providentiâ et de Fide*.

Theophilus, bishop of Antioch, is falsely charged with the authorship of a work called, *Commentaria Allegorica in iv. Evangelia*.

S. Clement of Alexandria, with commentaries upon the first epistle of S. Peter, and the epistles of SS. Jude and John. Tertullian with a book upon the Trinity. Erasmus even denied the treatise *De Pœnitentiâ* to be his; some poems, and a letter about Jewish meats, are moreover supposititious works bearing his name.

As for the fictions which have been connected with the bishops of Rome, they may be said to be innumerable as the sand, e. g. three decretal epistles in the collection of the pseudo-Isidorus ascribed to Anacletus; two of Euarestus to the Africans and Egyptians; three of Alexander to all people; two of Sixtus; one of Telesphorus, who styles himself Archbishop of Rome with Sixtus and Pius; two of Hyginus; four of Pius; two of Anicetus to the Gallicans; two of Soter to the Italians; one of Eleutherus to the Gallicans; several of Victor respecting the paschal controversy, all of which Blondell has shewn to be forgeries of the sixth, seventh, and following ages; nor do Petavius, Sirmondus, and others on the opposite side, even Baronius occasionally, maintain the contrary. Decretal epistles, as they are called, it is agreed commenced with those of Siricius, A.D. 385: with them Dionysius Exiguus begins his collection.

There were several translations of the Scripture made in the present century: § 10.  
VERSIONS  
OF THE  
SCRIP-  
TURES.

1. The Syriac version of the New Testament by S. Mark,

**C E N T.** say the Syrians, but the authorship is unknown ; its antiquity **II.** is considered unquestionable. The first editions of it omitted the controverted epistles general, and the Apocalypse ; whence some have supposed that it was made before the canon of the New Testament was completed. Pocock and L. de Dieu supply them. It is a faithful and literal translation, and occasionally throws light upon the original.

**Latin.** 2. The Latin versions of the Old and New Testaments used in the Latin and Roman Church, and towards the end of the century by Tertullian. That there were several, appears from a comparison of the passages cited by Tertullian and S. Cyprian. They were made from the ordinary Greek version, and not from the Hebrew ; and the most celebrated of them was that called the Old, or Vulgate, and Italian one, which S. Jerome afterwards altered and improved from Greek and Hebrew sources, to silence the calumnies of the Jews.

**Greek of Aquila.** 3. The Greek or Hellenistic versions of the Old Testament, e. g., that of Aquila, a native of Sinope, who had abjured Christianity to avoid excommunication, and attached himself to the Jews. He made a translation of the Old Testament under Adrian, to whom he was related, which affects to be literal, but glosses over the prophecies relating to the Messiah, and here and there perverts the sense. **Theodotion.** Theodotion of Ephesus, a follower of Marcion and afterwards a Jewish proselyte, composed a second in the reign of the emperor Commodus ; he was a more faithful translator, and consulted the Hebrew : his version of the prophet Daniel was read in the Church, and S. Jerome often follows him in his emendation of the Septuagint.

**Symmachus.** A third version appeared under the auspices of Symmachus, another Jewish proselyte, who afterwards became a convert to the Ebionites. He likewise made a collation of his labours with the Hebrew ; but he seems rather to have studied the general meaning, than to have rendered the exact words. It is doubtful whether he flourished under Lucius Verus, or somewhat later under Severus. The object of these men was, as the Fathers observe, to supersede the Christian versions, and put a different interpretation upon the prophecies and types which, it was asserted, our Lord had fulfilled. The

versions of Jerusalem and Nicopolis were made respectively under Caracalla and Alexander Severus, and are called the fifth and sixth versions. Origen employed them in his Hexapla or rather Octapla, when they had been discovered, after having been lost some time to the world.

The same causes which, we have seen, operated in the last century, still contributed to render Christians suspected by the government, and odious to the gentile world. That which more immediately entailed persecution upon them, was their refusal to acknowledge the divinity of the emperor, to swear by his genius, or to offer sacrifice in his honour; though they professed themselves ever ready to pray for his personal safety.

The third persecution commenced under Ulpian Trajan, otherwise a good prince, and lasted for the most part during his whole reign; but it was not so severe latterly, when the innocence of the Christians had become more apparent. The occasions which gave rise to it are recorded by Pliny in his celebrated letter<sup>a</sup>. The first step taken against them was to prohibit the love-feasts, societies, and midnight assemblies; they were likewise charged in the edicts with contempt of the gods. Prosecutions ensued, many of which took place before Pliny, who had been sent into Bithynia with proconsular authority. Afterwards at his instance the emperor forbid them to be sought out, but allowed the law to take its course, should informations be laid against them. Still later, according to Suidas<sup>1</sup>, his orders were, that they were not to be punished, when they voluntarily offered themselves. This was a considerable mitigation of the perils to which they were exposed; but innumerable martyrdoms are recorded from first to last, and neither age, rank, or sex, were spared. Pliny indeed in his letter doubts whether he should not except age.

Under Adrian the fourth persecution commenced, though Eusebius and Orosius seem to consider it a continuation of the third. It raged at Rome, and throughout Greece, Asia, Africa, and elsewhere, till about the tenth year of his reign; when by a rescript issued to Minucius Fundanus, proconsul

<sup>a</sup> Lib. x. ep. xcvi.

<sup>1</sup> Lex. sub. v. Τραυρός.



CENT. of Asia, which Eusebius gives in a Greek version, and S.  
 II.

Justin has affixed to his second Apology, the emperor even enjoined the punishment of the informant, should he fail to substantiate a valid charge against them. His lenity seems to have been occasioned by a letter of Serenus Gratianus, the previous governor, pleading the innocence of the Christians; and by the Apologies of Quadratus and Aristides, teachers of the Church of Athens, which were presented to him during his stay there.

Fifth.

The fifth or, according to some, the fourth persecution began under Antoninus Pius, and was continued under Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus. It seems certain however, that the former did not publish a direct edict against the Christians, though they were massacred in the provinces during his reign. Indeed, Melito says, he wrote letters to the Larissians, Thessalonians, Athenians, and the rest of the Greeks, amongst others, expressly to put down these illegal aggressions. But the edict Eusebius would ascribe to him belongs, as is testified by the title, to his successor M. Aurelius. Neander and others<sup>1</sup> have disputed the genuineness of the edict: but it contains similar injunctions to the rescript of Adrian above mentioned. The persecution however was clearly mitigated after a time under the former emperor: and it once more lulled under Marcus Aurelius after the deliverance of the Roman army, as it is said, by a miracle, through the prayers of the Christians. That rain was unexpectedly vouchsafed to the Roman army when in the greatest straits, and that the Marcomanni were discomfited by the thunder and lightning which accompanied it, is a fact recorded by heathen as well as ecclesiastical historians: both regarded it as a miraculous interposition, and referred it severally to the prayers of the heathen or the Christians. A trifling inaccuracy respecting the origin of the thundering legion, as well as respecting the effect it had upon the emperor in his future conduct towards Christians, may have disparaged the story: it may not satisfy the modern definition of a miracle, nor be demonstrable whether heathen or Christian prayers obtained the blessing which ensued; but the broad fact is not to be set aside: nor can it be main-

<sup>1</sup> Vid. Heinichen ad Euseb. Eccl. Hist. iv. 13.

tained that the emperor did not consider himself indebted to the God of the Christians, from the mere fact that, like Pharaoh, he afterwards "hardened his heart, and dealt untruly with His people."

The Martyrs who fell in the second century are far too many to be enumerated, and they included every rank, sex, and age. Among the principal were, S. Clement of Rome, thrown into the sea near Cherson, A.D. 100, according to the best accounts, and after two years' exile, say later authors. S. Simeon, bishop of Jerusalem, crucified in his 120th year, A.D. 107, under Atticus, governor of Syria, to whom he had been delated as one of the royal tribe of Judah, and a Christian.

Onesimus, mentioned by S. Paul, who fell at Rome the following year. S. Ignatius was carried from Syria to Rome, and there torn to pieces by wild beasts in the amphitheatre, A.D. 115, according to the latest authority. He had presided over Antioch thirty years say the Greek accounts. His letters are addressed to the Churches he passed in his way to Rome, who for the most part sent a deputation to salute him. One is indeed addressed personally to S. Polycarp; he courts martyrdom in a way that would almost appear excessive.

Many more illustrious persons suffered during the same reign; according to the Greek Menology ten thousand Christians were crucified upon Mount Ararat. Under Adrian there were scarce fewer or less conspicuous martyrdoms. Euarestus and Alexander, bishops of Rome, are reckoned amongst others. Tertullian records the astonishment evinced by Arrius Antoninus, proconsul of Asia, at the eagerness with which the Christians presented themselves before his tribunal to receive sentence. Many suppose this magistrate to have been the same with Antoninus Pius, the future emperor; others the Arrius Præsens whom Lampridius mentions.

In the persecution under Antoninus Pius and his successors, S. Justin perished in the metropolis, A.D. 165, and according to Cave under Marcus Aurelius. S. Polycarp at Smyrna the year following. Pothinus, bishop of Lyons, A.D. 177; the letter detailing his and other martyrdoms

<sup>1</sup> Ad Scap. ad f.

**CENT.** in the Gallican Church, Valesius thinks may have been  
II. written by S. Irenæus. Under Commodus, though a calm  
 had ensued, Apollonius, a Roman senator, was put to death,  
 it would appear, conformably with the injunctions of the  
 emperor Trajan: the informer however did not escape unpunished.  
 Eusebius adds several names to the list, which however belong  
 to a subsequent persecution under Decius<sup>1</sup>; and many stories,  
 which do not rest upon the best authority, connected with the  
 above-mentioned martyrdoms and others, have been handed down  
 by Nicephorus and Metaphrastes.

The remains or relics of the martyrs were collected by the devoted admirers who attended them, and were highly prized, and interred with ceremony. Every anniversary of the martyrdom they met at the tomb, offered alms and oblations with prayer and praise, received the holy Communion, and listened to a panegyric of the departed, containing a full account of his passion. These acts were afterwards allowed to be read in the churches. The first anniversaries we find celebrated were those of SS. Ignatius and Polycarp<sup>m</sup>. Martyrdom was held to confer baptism in the case of the unbaptized: and it was universally believed that martyrs were admitted to the full joys of heaven immediately<sup>n</sup>.

§ 12.  
**JEWISH  
 AFFAIRS.**  
 First in-  
 surrection.

The  
 second.

Meanwhile the Jews were dispersed throughout the world, especially Asia, Egypt, and Africa: but not without a constant struggle to regain their independence. The first insurrection took place under Trajan, A.D. 115, and extended over Palestine, Egypt, Libya, Cyrenaica, Cyprus, and the adjacent coasts. They made a horrible massacre of the Gentiles, waged open war against Lupus, prefect of Egypt, and commenced a march upon Jerusalem. They were repressed notwithstanding, and routed successively by the imperial generals in the different provinces. Nothing daunted they rebelled a second time under Adrian, who had provoked them by restoring the city, and introducing into it the worship of the Capitoline Jove. Spartianus adds, that

<sup>1</sup> Vid. Vales. ad Euseb. Eccl. Hist. iv. 15.

<sup>m</sup> Vid. Martyr. S. Ign., § vii., and Eccl. Smyrn., Ep. § xviii. apud Pat.

Apost., vol. ii. ed. Jacob.

<sup>n</sup> Dodwell, Diss. Cypr. xii. § 19 et seq.

they had been interdicted circumcision. At the head of the rebels was one called Barchochabas, or "the son of a star," who applied the prophecy of Balaam to himself, and claimed to be the promised Messiah. Rufus was president of Judæa when the disturbance commenced, but Julius Severus was eventually summoned from Britain to quell the revolt. For three years and a half, Bithera, which lay between Jerusalem and the sea, defied his attacks: and before the war concluded five hundred and eighty thousand Jews are said to have perished. Trypho, the adversary of S. Justin, was one of the fugitives. The Jews were henceforth forbidden the city, and its name was changed into *Ælia Capitolina*. The effigy of a sow was placed over one of the gates to commemorate the legend of *Æneas* and his city *Lavinium*; while opposite the ruins of the temple, a rival edifice was erected to the heathen deity, whose worship had originally provoked them. Even the Christian Church there experienced a like change: a gentile bishop held the see for the future, and the bishops of the circumcision ceased.

Two famous schools of the Jews deserve mention; the least celebrated was that of Jafna or Jamnia, which flourished anterior to the dispersion under Adrian; but the other, namely that of Tiberias, had not attained its zenith before the close of the century, when the renowned doctor R. Jehuda presided over it. Antoninus Pius is said to have cultivated his friendship; about the year A.D. 190, he completed his great work, the *Mishna*, or Talmudical text, in which is contained the whole of the oral or traditionary law, said to have been delivered to Moses on the mount, and handed down through Aaron, Eleazar, Joshua, and the prophets, through the Sanhedrim, through Simeon (who took our Lord in his arms), Gamaliel, and others, till it was confided to the keeping of Jehuda; his surname was "*Hakkadosh*," or "the holy:" and the word *Mishna*, the title which is given to his collection, means "repetition." The *Massora*, or traditionary canon by which the true reading of the Scripture is fixed, is ascribed to the same school by Aben Ezra and others, though Buxtorf is of a different opinion. After the death of Jehuda the school was re-

CENT.  
II.Jewish  
Schools.

Mishna.

Massora.

**CENT. II.** moved to Babylon, from whence it was again driven in the eleventh century.

**Talmud.** By completing the Mishna, Jehuda laid the foundations of a much larger work called the "Talmud" or "doctrine," of which the Mishna formed the text, and the Gemara or "completion," which embodied the various annotations made upon it, the commentary. The Gemara was collected towards the end of the third century by Johanan Ben Eliezer, and being united to the Mishna formed one folio volume, called the Talmud of Jerusalem. Afterwards another Gemara was compiled by the Babylonian school, which when subjoined to the former procured the whole to be called the Babylonian Talmud: but it was not completed before the sixth century.

**§ 13. HEATHEN.** Adrian and his successors in the empire were of a somewhat superstitious cast, and introduced many new rites and ceremonies into the old religion which were ably exposed by the Christian apologists. The oracles were still consulted, though they had experienced a visible decline. Christians were stigmatized in the foulest terms that wit or malice could invent, and the Sibylline books were forbidden to be read, because they favoured the new religion, and were retorted upon the heathen, as S. Justin says, in his second Apology. Even philosophers took up arms against the hateful sect, after it had risen into importance: and Christianity was called upon to contend with argumentative weapons against a more subtle adversary than those who simply threatened the rack or the stake.

Of these Crescens the Cynic was a conspicuous instance. He more than once opposed himself to S. Justin, and ultimately procured his death. He is said to have urged the emperor continually to persecute the Christians. Lucian of Samosata, said by Suidas to have been once a Christian and a preacher at Antioch, but with more probability educated in the school of Apollonius of Tyana, flourished according to some under Trajan, but better accounts say under M. Aurelius and Commodus. He belonged to the Epicureans: and assailed Christianity with the most indefensible of all weapons, ridicule.

Celsus, a philosopher of the same sect, though he chose

to assume the character of a Platonist, as Origen says, and many moderns have so considered him, wrote a book expressly against Christianity, called *Ἀληθὴς λόγος*, in which he repeats the usual calumnies urged against the Divine Founder of our religion and the professors of it: besides many strictures upon the narrative of the Old Testament, which have been since re-echoed by the sceptics of the eighteenth century. Origen answered his work in a masterly treatise of eight books, but Celsus had died before it appeared. There had been two philosophers of the same name: one of whom lived under Nero, and the other under the Antonines. It is the latter whom Origen refuted, and to whom Lucian dedicated his piece called "Alexander" or the "false prophet."

CENT.  
II.

## CHAPTER III.

THE third century begins with the ninth year of the emperor Severus, and according to Clinton the fifth year of the Roman prelate Zephyrinus.

§ 1.  
SPREAD  
OF THE  
GOSPEL.

Christianity was now spread over the face of the known world; but Nicephorus is wrongly alleged<sup>o</sup> to prove that it had been received in a quarter of the globe of which even Ptolemy was ignorant, America. Besides Zephyrinus already mentioned, the aged Narcissus, to whom miracles were attributed, as Eusebius says, by the congregation under his care, presided over Jerusalem; Serapion, renowned for his writings, over Antioch; Demetrius, first the favourer, afterwards the determined opponent of Origen, over Alexandria; Theophilus, who supported Victor in the paschal question, over Cæsarea. S. Irenæus still lived at the commencement of the age, and Tertullian, S. Clement of Alexandria, Origen, and others continued to a later date. Under Commodus the Churches had enjoyed rest and tranquillity, and had made considerable progress towards consolidation. Christians had

<sup>o</sup> Hist. ii. 41.

C E N T. been admitted to fill civil offices and emoluments : and the  
 III. persecution under Severus had scarce commenced.

In the provinces where the faith had been already planted, e. g., Palestine, Egypt, Syria, Asia Minor, Greece, Thrace, Italy, Spain, Gaul, Britain, and elsewhere, not only had the old Churches grown into greater importance and celebrity, but new Churches were formed by the diligence of the Christian missionaries. Origen, for instance, is said to have evangelized the Arabians ; Dionysius, afterwards confounded with the Areopagite, with his six companions, Gratian, Trophimus, Paul, Saturninus, Martial, and Stremonius, are said to have founded respectively the Churches of Paris, Tours, Arles, Narbonne, Toulouse, Limoges, and Clermont. In Germany, Cologne, Treves, Metz, Tongres, Liege, are referred to the labours of Eucharis, Valerius, Maternus, Clement, and others. Donald king of the Scots is said to have been converted A.D. 203 : whence the distich,

“ Christi transactis tribus annis atque ducentis  
 Scotia Catholicam cœpit habere fidem ;”

but whether Scotland or Ireland is the country specified, is uncertain. Spain likewise was not behindhand in the spread of the gospel, as is clear from the council of Illiberis or Elvira in the beginning of the next century.

But besides spreading far and wide, Christianity now began to affect society to the very core. Philosophers, as Ammonius, Ambrose, and S. Cyprian ; and persons of rank and consequence, as the prince of Arabia whom Origen converted, and others<sup>p</sup> Eusebius mentions, were reckoned among the converts : Mammæa the mother of Alexander Severus certainly sent for Origen and heard him : though her actual conversion is not so indisputable. The emperor Philip and his wife and son are likewise said to have been Christians ; but the fact has been equally controverted and maintained. It is not denied however that the Christians were favoured during his reign ; and it has been conjectured the emperor may have dissembled his faith for fear of irritating his gentile subjects. Eusebius mentions his exclusion from a church on the vigil of the passover till he should have

Case of  
 Mammæa.

Philip the  
 Emperor.

<sup>p</sup> Hist. v. 21.

undergone a public penance, but only speaks of it as a tradition: and when he records a correspondence between the emperor and his wife Severa, and Origen, he does not actually vouch for the genuineness of the epistles of the latter<sup>1</sup>.

For the doctrine of the third century we may appeal to the same authorities that were specified in the preceding age; and it may be observed that while the controverted epistles and the Apocalypse were gradually recognised among the canonical books of the New Testament, the canon of the Old Testament never included the Apocrypha. Some copies of the last of the Apostolical Canons indeed, which, by the way, has never been received by the Roman Church, mention the book of Judith and the three books of the Maccabees; but the earliest version omits them: so do the Constitutions, Melito before mentioned, and Dionysius the Areopagite in the work bearing his name. Origen reckons twenty-two books of the Old Testament which he says were received by the Jews<sup>2</sup>.

§ 2.  
DOCTRINE.

Apocrypha  
not included  
in the  
Canon of  
the Old  
Testament.

The principal Creeds were the Roman, or that of the Creed. Apostles, the Antiochian, and Alexandrine.

Of the Apologies, the work of Origen against Celsus is the most celebrated. Christianity is there demonstrated, not upon abstract grounds, but upon irrefragable facts; the author appeals to the miracles of our Lord; to the prophecies which were fulfilled in His Person; to the morality of His disciples; and to the propagation of His gospel; a further argument is drawn from the intrinsic excellence of the Christian religion: and finally the calumnies and impositions of Celsus, and of the other heathens, against Christians, are fully exposed. Tertullian had employed the same topics in his Apology: and in the second of the two books addressed to the nations, added a still more copious account of the heathen gods, and shewn how absurd they were who adored them.

Minucius Felix published a Dialogue called Octavius upon the same subject.

During the same century Noetus and Sabellius gave a fresh impulse to the Trinitarian controversy, which the heretic Praxeas had originated. Of these, the former looked upon

Errors of  
Noetus and  
Sabellius.

<sup>1</sup> Euseb. E. H. vi. 34 and 36.

<sup>2</sup> Vid. Euseb. E. H. vi. 25.



CENT. the Son as a mere title indicative of a particular relation:  
 III.

Of Paul of  
 Samosata.

δμοούσιος.

the latter, as a portion or emanation of the Divine Nature. The Sabellians held that as in a simple man were combined body, soul, and spirit: and as in the sun, the solar body, light, and heat: so in the Divine Nature there were properties, energies, accidents, and the like, besides the subject: but not a separate Personage. The Word and Wisdom of the Godhead were compared to the word and wisdom of a man, occasionally emitted and withdrawn. Counter analogies were alleged by the defenders of the faith. Children are of the same substance with the parent, but they are not the same persons: the plant is of the same substance with the seed, but they are not the same thing; the stream is of the same water with the fountain, but the fountain is not called the stream, nor the stream the fountain. Meanwhile, from the Creeds and from Scripture, three Persons in the Godhead were fully proved. On the other hand, Paul of Samosata, following Artemon, asserted our Lord to have been a mere man, explained His apparent pre-existence by a reference to the Divine foreknowledge, and, by a singular coincidence, argued, that were He allowed actual pre-existence, He would be proved to have the same substance with the Father. So that were the word "substance" regarded in a material sense with Paul, it would infer a duality, which was the error of the Manicheans: or, regarded in a more subtle sense, would seem to involve Sabellianism. These extreme consequences appear to have weighed so with Dionysius of Alexandria, who opposed Sabellius as well as Paul, and the council of Antioch, who deposed the latter, that they avoided the use of a word, which afterwards may be said to have embodied orthodoxy; though Dionysius\* in his letter to the bishop of Rome of the same name, expressly disclaims the slightest hesitation of the doctrine contained in it. Novatian, it may be observed, has left a work upon the Trinity, in which he closely follows Tertullian; some phrases in it are objectionable, but it is considered orthodox upon the whole. Indeed most of the ante-Nicene Fathers while they held the true doctrine respecting the three Persons in the blessed Trinity, have employed language occasionally, which a more

\* Ap. S. Ath. De Dec. Nic. Syn., § 25, and De Syn. 44.

mature experience proved wholly inconsistent with it. Petavius<sup>c</sup> would charge them with heresy from the erroneous expressions to be found in them; but Bishop Bull<sup>a</sup> acquits them on the ground that elsewhere it is clear that they meant nothing that was not orthodox.

The Novatians contributed to the examination of a more practical doctrine; namely, that of repentance. They maintained that those who had lapsed in the persecutions, ought never to be restored to the communion of the Church; they considered baptism invalid when conferred by those who had lapsed, or communicated with the lapsed, and re-baptized those who came over to them; consequently they held the character of the minister to be essential to the validity of the sacrament. Against the first point S. Cyprian and others maintained that the bowels of mercy were never closed to the penitent; and while they enjoined penance with the schismatics, they did not, like them, refuse the fruits of it in a subsequent reconciliation. The other questions occasioned a little more difficulty; indeed the last appears not to have engaged the attention of the present age. S. Cyprian himself re-baptized heretics, on the ground that true baptism out of the Church was impossible. Stephen, bishop of Rome, was of a very opposite judgment, and had the old custom on his side. They had hitherto been re-admitted by prayer and imposition of hands only, says Eusebius<sup>\*</sup>. At the same time S. Cyprian pleaded the authority of his predecessor Agrippinus, and a provincial synod; and Dionysius of Alexandria, who followed his predecessor Heraclas in the opposite course<sup>†</sup>, admits the synods of Iconium and Synnada to have ruled a different practice in the East. Again, there were two sorts to be considered: those who had apostatized, and those who had never been in the true fold; but it is needless to enter into the controversy more minutely: we need only state that eventually the Church adopted a middle course, by re-baptizing only those who had not been baptized in the name of the Trinity. S. Cyprian will furnish a full account of the controversy in his epistles.

The last thing to be noticed is, that many words occur in

<sup>c</sup> Theol. Dog. De Trin.  
<sup>d</sup> Defensio Fid. Nic.

<sup>a</sup> Eccl. Hist. vii. 2.  
<sup>†</sup> Ap. Euseb. Eccl. Hist. vii. 7.

**CENT.** the Fathers and Writers of the day, to which modern controversies have affixed a new, and widely different from the primitive, sense: e. g., "tradition," "sacrifice," "oblation," "altar," "priest," "merit," "satisfaction," "penance," "confession," "indulgence," "fast," "exorcist," "pope." As Cardinal Bona says: "It is true that we retain many words that are common to us and the early Fathers: but in a sense not less widely different from that which was once attached to them, than our times are removed from the first centuries<sup>1</sup>." So too many customs were practised under a different view, from what they have been in a later age; e. g., prayers for the dead were offered under the idea that they were with Christ, and in a peaceful, quiet, tranquil, happy, place: a refreshment, paradise, eternal home. The ancients did not admit of a place of penance beyond the grave: but they considered the intermediate state imperfect, and awaiting consummation at the general resurrection; and they believed the dead prayed for the living, as did the living for the dead.

§ 3.  
RITES AND  
CEREMONIES.

The rites and ceremonies of the Church multiplied proportionably with the spread of the same. They are to be gathered from the writers to be mentioned who have left works extant. Hitherto they had been borrowed for the most part from a Jewish original: we now meet with many transplantations of a different kind, introduced clearly for the sake of the gentile converts. The expedient has been often attacked and vindicated.

Κυριακός.

It is a disputed point whether Christians had churches or basilicas solemnly consecrated and set apart in the present age. Baronius, Bellarmine, Valesius, Fuller, Selden, and others, answer in the affirmative. That churches are spoken of is unquestionable<sup>2</sup>: and we find houses of prayer, recorded even to have been built for the purpose. The edifice so appropriated was called the Lord's house, whence the well-known "kirk." Many of these buildings were destroyed in the persecution under Diocletian: but they were of a very simple description, entirely free from ornament and pageantry. Private houses, upper rooms, crypts, caves, prisons, and the like, were used as in the last century, particularly during the persecutions: but under Alexander Severus, the

<sup>1</sup> De Reb. liturg. i. 18. § 1.

<sup>2</sup> Euseb. E. H. viii. 1.

Philips, and Gallienus, they assembled with comparative security. CENT.  
III.

The assembly was called a congregation, collection, church, station, and so forth. Psalmody, reading of the Scripture, sermons, prayers, oblations, the breaking of bread, and the kiss of peace, still formed the constituent parts of the service. Alms were collected, and penitents underwent a public discipline. The pulpit or desk from which the reader read the lessons was called the "tribunal," "ambo," or "catasta:" The tri-  
bunal. and was elevated for the benefit of the audience; it was situated in the "ναός" or "nave:" and was distinct from the other bema, which included the sanctuary, where the Bema. bishops and presbyters ministered.

At the upper end of the chancel<sup>b</sup> was a semicircular building called the apse; and here in a semicircle above the altar Apsæ. were ranged the throne of the bishop, and the thrones of his presbyters, on the right hand and on the left round him. The deacons stood near them, but were not allowed to sit: and none below deacons ordinarily could enter the sanctuary. It seems indeed to have been the custom originally for men and women to approach the altar at the celebration of the holy Eucharist, and communicate there standing as Dionysius says<sup>c</sup>: but the former were afterwards prohibited in the Trullan canons<sup>d</sup>, and the latter in those of Laodicea<sup>e</sup> some centuries earlier. It is observable that one of the charges alleged against Paul of Samosata, was, that he had erected a (singularly) lofty tribunal and throne for himself in his church<sup>f</sup>.

Besides the oblations of bread and wine made at the altar by the people, oil for the lamps, and incense for the time of Incense. the holy oblation are sanctioned in the third Apostolical Canon; Tertullian indeed seems to discard incense: but Bp. Beveridge<sup>g</sup> conceives that he only spoke for the custom of the African Church, and that it was used elsewhere.

Baptism was administered perhaps with a little more ceremony, now that converts had become more numerous and

<sup>b</sup> Vid. Bingham Antiq. viii. 6. § 9.

<sup>c</sup> Vid. Euseb. E. H. vii. 9, et Vales. ad l.

<sup>d</sup> Can. lxix.

<sup>e</sup> Can. xlv.

<sup>f</sup> Euseb. E. H. vii. 30, et Vales. ad l.

<sup>g</sup> Cod. Can. Vindic. ii. 2. 5.

CENT. various, and the Church more consolidated. The Constitutions<sup>b</sup> specify, the three years to be passed as a catechumen, and lay stress upon the renunciation of the devil, and unction before as well as after baptism. S. Cyprian mentions exorcism as a preparatory rite. Baptism was immediately followed by a second unction, imposition of hands, and the sign of the cross, which was called the sign or seal of the Lord: and the Holy Ghost was invoked upon the baptized person by the bishop. In his absence the latter part of the ceremony was deferred: otherwise it always accompanied the former. But as the consecration of the chrism appertained exclusively to the bishop, whose occasional absence was unavoidable, the circumstances which led to the frequent omission of the complement, eventually made baptism and confirmation a distinct ceremony. The kiss of peace, the taste of honey and milk, and the white garments usually worn eight days, and afterwards laid up in the church, were among the rites appertaining to the newly baptized. Easter and Pentecost were seasons more strictly observed for the administration of the sacrament: but it was a great mistake which led some to wait for a more mature age to be baptized. Tertullian inveighs greatly against them in his work upon the subject.

Eucharist celebrated in the morning instead of the evening.

The manner of celebrating the holy Eucharist was upon the whole the same with the last century. S. Cyprian in his letter to Cæcilius<sup>1</sup> explains at large the reasons which induced the change from the evening to the morning. Occasionally, indeed, it was celebrated in the evening, and even after supper: particularly the evening on which our Lord instituted it. Communion was celebrated upon the Sabbath, or Saturday, and on the Lord's Day still more generally: but S. Cyprian, upon the Lord's Prayer, would intimate that they were by some celebrated daily. All the faithful who were present in the church communicated: and none would have thought of departing without having done so. Not only the clergy, but the laity were bound by the same rule<sup>k</sup>. The bread was leavened, the wine mixed with water, the office performed in the vulgar tongue, and with a

<sup>b</sup> Lib. viii. 32; comp. vii. 41, 42.

<sup>1</sup> Ep. lxiii. ed. Ben.

<sup>k</sup> Can. Apost. ix. et x. (al. vi. et vii.)

loud voice: and the people responding "Amen" at the end of the consecration. Unleavened bread did not come into use till the age between Photius and Michael Cellularius, patriarchs of Constantinople: the latter of whom protests against this innovation of the Western Church<sup>1</sup>. It is likewise acknowledged<sup>2</sup> that both kinds were administered to the people till the twelfth century. S. Cyprian complains that in his time some used water to the exclusion of wine. The custom of allowing infants to communicate continued as long as the end of the fifth century<sup>3</sup>. It was carried to the sick and absent, and occasionally with the bread dipped in the wine. Private confession began to be recognised in the Eastern Churches as a preliminary.

CENT.  
III.Leavened  
bread.Both kinds  
admini-  
stered.Private  
confession.

The love-feasts were now celebrated after the Eucharist, and in the crypts, or private dwellings. Contributions were sent by the faithful; whence some have absurdly supposed that the term "missa" originated. Mabillon and Bona have placed the matter beyond a doubt, that it refers to the dismission of the catechumens primarily, and next of the whole assembly.

Origin of  
the term  
"missa."

The principal fast-days were the fourth and sixth days of the week, especially before Easter. Origen, at least so translated, mentions the days of the quadragesimal fast. Dionysius of Alexandria testifies how strictly Passion-week was generally kept as a fast: some continuing without food two, three, four, and even the whole six days<sup>4</sup>. Bishop Hooper<sup>5</sup> makes a probable conjecture that the Christian Lent, or Spring fast, was derived from the Jews: at all events their modern penitentials frequently enjoin a forty days' penance. The Sabbath, or Saturday, was observed as a fast by the Roman Church towards the close of the century. The Eastern Church on the contrary kept it as a festival to condemn the Marcionites, who mourned over it as the day on which the creation was consummated of the material world. Whole fasts were kept until the evening: half fasts ended at the ninth hour: universally they were said to be dissolved by a refecton.

Fourth and  
sixth days  
of the week.Lent de-  
rived from  
the Jews.

Saturday.

Whole and  
half fasts.

<sup>1</sup> Bona De Reb. Liturg. i. 23.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. ii. 1. 18. § 1.

<sup>3</sup> Bingham, Antiq. xii. 1. 3. •

<sup>4</sup> Vid. Historical Account of Lent ascribed to Bp. Hooper, Part i. c. 5.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., Part ii. Rep.

**CENT. III.** The festivals were the Lord's day, Easter, and Pentecost, with the eves: Saturday being considered the eve of the Lord's day; but the whole period between Easter and Pentecost was a festive time: and neither fasts nor stations were permitted to interfere with it. Martyrdoms were likewise celebrated upon their anniversaries.

**Burial of the dead.** Great attention was paid to the sepulture of the martyrs: whose bodies were interred in the cemeteries by the "Copiatæ," or officers for the purpose, with suitable ceremony. The corpses were washed, embalmed, and otherwise adorned. Eusebius has preserved a *locus classicus* upon the subject: funerals took place generally during the day: but in the night occasionally when persecution raged; hence torches are said to have been used in that of S. Cyprian. Panegyrics were spoken in honour of the departed: the anniversaries of the martyrs were called birth-days, and oblations for them, and for the dead generally, were applied to the relief of the poor and widows; even the Eucharist was occasionally given to the dead. With what view prayers were made for them, has been already explained.

**Exorcisms with sign of the cross.** Other rites were the constant use of the sign of the cross, accompanied with a silent invocation of Him who bore it: especially in a time of danger, and in exorcisms; hence it was called a sign or symbol of the Passion.

**Prayer thrice in the day.** Prayer was made thrice in the day, morning, noon, and evening, after the manner of the Jews. S. Cyprian commends the third, sixth, and ninth hours; it was made towards the east, standing or kneeling, as in the last century: Tertullian adds, with the arms outstretched occasionally to typify the cross. The prayers themselves were the same with those mentioned in the preceding age. Exorcisms had been practised from the first and were continued; they presented a strong contrast to the then vain exorcisms of the Jews and Gentiles; for it is clear that they had also a Jewish original; devils were adjured in the name of the Lord Jesus, and commanded to depart; prayer and the sign of the cross were the principal parts of the ceremony; the efficacy of the

<sup>9</sup> E. H. vii. 22; cf. c. 16.

<sup>1</sup> Vid. Acta Proconsul. S. Cypr.

<sup>5</sup> De Orat. Dom., p. 215. ed. Ben.

<sup>6</sup> De Orat. 12.

latter is a circumstance to which the Fathers continually appeal. While miraculous powers were rife in the Church, exorcisms were not confined to a distinct order, but they began to constitute one towards the end of the third century. Origen<sup>a</sup> says that even private Christians cast out devils in his time.

C E N T.  
III.  
Exorcists  
not a distinct order.

The Constitutions<sup>z</sup> caution virgins against a vow that is not wholly voluntary or that is made rashly; and S. Cyprian continually mourns over the virgins who had corrupted themselves; professions of virginity were nevertheless rapidly on the increase: but persons do not appear to have taken a vow in the modern sense.

Virginity.

The manners of the Christians betokened the same deep piety before noticed: they prayed, watched, and fasted incessantly; while they practised the most ardent charity. Tertullian in the second book of the work addressed to his wife, and S. Cyprian in his treatise *De Opere et Eleemosynis* mention the good offices towards the poor, widows, sick, captives, dying, and afflicted, that were customary. Large collections were made in the richer Churches, Rome and Carthage for instance, for the same laudable objects. S. Cyprian in his letter addressed to the bishops of Numidia<sup>y</sup>, says that he had sent them 100,000 sester tia to redeem the brethren who had been taken captive by the barbarians. Great strictness was observed in the celebration of the holy Eucharist, and even natural infirmities were by the canons considered a temporary bar to keep persons away from the Communion.

Works of  
mercy.

Again, Christians abstained carefully from the games, shows, and other amusements, that seemed to have the least affinity to the religion of the heathen. The Ancyran canons impose severe penance upon those who attended gentile banquets and wore a festive garment upon a heathen feast-day. At the same time internal corruptions increased, as might be expected, with the number of the converts: each subjecting a new variety of the old man, so complex, but so inextricably rooted in the heart, to the system appointed to be his cure: and too many not choosing, alas! to abide wholly by the prescription. Eusebius complains bitterly<sup>z</sup> of the envy,

Gentile  
feasts in-  
terdicted.

<sup>a</sup> Vid. Bingham Antiq. iii. 4. 1.  
<sup>z</sup> iv. 14.

<sup>y</sup> Ep. lx.  
<sup>z</sup> E. H. viii. 1.



CENT.  
III.

hatred, malice and strife, that infected rulers and people during a protracted calm before the Dioclesian persecution; indeed he had done so generally before the previous persecutions: nor shall we ever be able to form a correct estimate of the Divine judgments, till we can bring ourselves to make a hearty confession of the corruptions which occasioned them.

Difference  
between  
African  
and Latin  
Churches  
about pe-  
nance.

Still the discipline of the Church had rather increased than retrograded since the last century, but in the African and Oriental Churches it was more severe: in the Roman and Latin of a more lenient nature. The discipline of the last may be gathered from what Cornelius says in his celebrated epistle<sup>a</sup>. Sometimes even the African Church relaxed her rigour, as in the Decian persecution: the reasons of which are stated by S. Cyprian in his letter addressed to Antonianus<sup>b</sup>. Tertullian, however, after he became a Montanist, declaimed vehemently against what he considered bespoken degeneracy.

The lapsed  
divided  
into vari-  
ous classes.

The lapsed, regarded generically, were those who after baptism had polluted themselves with idolatry, murder, or adultery: the three great offences, as S. Cyprian calls them in his treatise *De lapsis*. Idolatry moreover had its various grades: it was either voluntary, or coerced by torture: direct, when accompanied with a positive denial of our Lord or persecution of His followers: or indirect, when a person had frequented idolatrous feasts. Those who had apostatized or abjured Christ were likewise of two kinds: those who had sacrificed or offered frankincense<sup>c</sup> to the heathen gods; and those who had received certificates<sup>d</sup> from the magistrate, that they had virtually professed idolatry. Even these last have been subdivided into a triple class.

Penance  
called a  
sacrament.

Excommunication was the sentence passed upon the lapsed; after which they were obliged to supplicate to be admitted as penitents in the most abject way. It was a favour not unfrequently refused: especially to those who had lapsed a second time, to murderers, and idolaters. These were even allowed to die unreconciled to the Church. So greatly was penance valued, that S. Cyprian calls it a "sacrament;" and

<sup>a</sup> Euseb. E. H. vi. 43.  
<sup>b</sup> Ep. lii.

<sup>c</sup> "Sacrificati." "Thurificati."  
<sup>d</sup> "Libellati." "Libellatici."

it was only to be obtained by the deepest contrition and humility, accompanied by the outward acts of fasting, and weeping, prostration before the doors of the church, and a garb of sackcloth and ashes. CENT.  
III.

But the first and principal act connected with it was the public confession already mentioned, made in the face of the Church from the earliest age. Private confession found its way into the Eastern Church after the Decian persecution, about A.D. 260, and a presbyter was added to the ecclesiastical roll\*, whose peculiar office it should be to take care of the penitents, and to receive confessions. Such a custom was however unknown to the African Church, though there can be no doubt that counsel and advice were asked privately of the bishops and presbyters, as the emergency required. Presbyter  
appointed  
to receive  
confes-  
sions.

Canonical satisfaction was the next step after public confession: penitents were excluded from the church, days, months, and years, according to the magnitude of the offence: outside the doors, exposed to the cold and weather, they lay in sackcloth and ashes upon the earth, fasting, and weeping, and entreating to be forgiven. The *forum externum*, or outward regimen of the Church, however, rigorous as it was, did not supersede the necessity of the true penitence which it was designed to evoke, namely that of the heart. Satisfac-  
tion.

It is perhaps doubtful whether the four orders of penitents had been fully developed in the present century: stations, as they were called, from the different positions in which they were placed. 1, "the mourners," who stood weeping outside the porch; among whom may be reckoned Natalius the confessor, who lapsed into heresy under Severus<sup>f</sup>. They are mentioned by S. Gregory Thaumaturgus in his Canonical Epistle, where he speaks likewise of the next orders: e. g. 2, that of the "hearers," whose station was within the porch, in the vestibule, and reached to the catechumens: beyond them, 3, the "prostrate," so called, because they were allowed to stay and join in the prayers made for them, and receive imposition of hands by the bishop: and lastly, 4, the "by-standers," who were allowed to witness the celebration of the holy Eucharist, but not to communicate. Neither the Ancy- Mourners.  
Hearers.  
Prostrate.  
Bystand-  
ers.

\* Soc. Eccl. Hist. v. 19; Soz. vii. 16.

<sup>f</sup> Euseb. E. H. v. 28.

CENT. ran nor Nicene canons, it is observable, mention the first order, though they do the rest.

Time for passing through the stations.

The time for passing through the different stations differed according to the nature of the offence, as well as the custom of the Church. In the African Church, it has been already observed, murderers, idolaters, and even adulterers were never allowed a reconciliation; and their penance only terminated with life. In the days of S. Cyprian, however, the discipline was not so stern; and they were eventually restored, as in the Roman Church.

Occasionally reconciliation was not given, but upon a death-bed: otherwise after a set time. Sometimes absolution was granted, but without communion. To those who had lapsed through violence, S. Cyprian enjoins a three years penance: but the periods were more precisely fixed in the next age.

Lapsed clergy.

Clergy who had lapsed were received again, but only to lay-communion, as the sixty-second<sup>s</sup> Apostolical Canon enjoins; their office was considered absolutely cancelled by the offence.

Those who had lapsed into schism or heresy were obliged to make a full disclosure publicly of the errors to which they had attached themselves; as Dionysius says<sup>h</sup> was the rule of his predecessor Heraclas.

Prayer with imposition of hands.

After the prescribed discipline had been gone through, and not before, the penitent was absolved publicly with imposition of hands and prayer, restored to the peace of the Church, and admitted to communion with thanksgiving. Absolution was usually given at the altar, and upon a set time: the Lord's day for instance, or during the week before Easter. To the sick or dying it was administered in a private house. It was called "the prayer for penitents with imposition of hands<sup>i</sup>," and consequently was couched in the deprecatory form. So far as the *forum externum* appertained, it restored the penitent to his share in the privileges of the visible Church: but as regards the *forum internum*, or conscience of the offender, it was esteemed a ministerial act, and presupposed the forgiveness of the sinner by God, through the prayers of the

<sup>s</sup> Al. liv.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>h</sup> Euseb. E. H. vii. 7.

<sup>i</sup> Marshall's Penit. Discipl., c. 2. P. i. § 3.

Church. A form occurs in the eighth book of the Constitutions<sup>k</sup>: the power to confer it was held to emanate from the bishop, and through him to the presbyters. S. Cyprian would appear to have delegated it to the deacons upon extraordinary emergencies<sup>l</sup>: it was never granted a second time.

CENT.  
III.

Even allowed to be said by a deacon.

Penance was occasionally relaxed in the case of the sick or dying: but chiefly through the intercession of martyrs and confessors, whose "letters of peace" have been already mentioned. They had grown to a great abuse now; and were a subject of complaint to S. Cyprian and the Roman clergy<sup>m</sup>.

Bishops, presbyters, and deacons, exercised the same functions and privileges that they did in the last century, and constituted the clergy, or administrative ecclesiastical body of the different Churches. Thus letters written in the name of the clergy, or addressed to the clergy of a certain place, were understood to include the bishop, presbyters, and deacons of the same.

§ 4.

GOVERNMENT.

Bishops are often styled heads of the Church, rulers, presidents, papas or popes, and the like. S. Cyprian speaks of the "strength of the episcopacy," and of the "episcopal chair." They had moreover a lofty throne, though perhaps not a tribunal. S. Cyprian is said<sup>n</sup> to have put off, before his execution, certain vestments which Baronius and others have considered peculiar to his office: but it is a question whether they have not affixed a modern sense upon the words<sup>o</sup>; besides, the genuineness of the Acts themselves are doubted. It was the prerogative of the bishop to convene the clergy, ordain ministers, set a seal to, that is confirm, the baptized, preside in the synod; but his authority did not extend beyond his see. S. Cyprian's epistle to Jubajanus, that of Cornelius to Fabius, the Apostolical Canons, and the third and eighth books of the Constitutions, may be consulted on the subject. At the same time it is never to be forgotten that the bishop stood at the head of his college of presbyters; and that they were his assessors, colleagues, and advisers, and had a share in the government of the Church. In his absence, or with his consent, they preached, reconciled

Vestments attributed to S. Cyprian.

College of presbyters.

<sup>k</sup> c. 9.

<sup>l</sup> Ep. xii.

<sup>m</sup> Ep. xxix. et xxx.

<sup>n</sup> Vid. Acta Procon. S. Cypr.

<sup>o</sup> Bingham, Antiq. vi. 4. 18.

**C E N T.** penitents, and consecrated the holy Eucharist. Ordination  
**III.** and confirmation appear to have been the only two rites of  
 which they were now debarred the exercise. The deacons  
 besides the care of the church, offices towards the poor,  
 sick, and others, exercised many duties appertaining to the  
 public service, and relating to the catechumens, penitents,  
 and congregation of the faithful generally. Presbyters and  
 deacons were originally styled from the church in which they  
 ministered: a presbyter of Carthage, a deacon of Alexandria,  
 and so forth; it resembled our modern title.

Presbyters  
and dea-  
cons how  
styled.

During the present century, what are called the minor  
 orders, were gradually introduced; and though not ordained  
 with imposition of hands, or allowed to approach the altar,  
 or liable to the same deposition with the superior clergy, they  
 were never permitted to return to a secular life. Their busi-  
 ness was to minister to the higher orders. To notice them  
 specifically; readers have been already mentioned; sub-  
 deacons occur in the letter of the Roman clergy to the  
 Carthaginian<sup>p</sup>, and elsewhere. Cornelius says there were  
 seven deacons and as many sub-deacons in the Roman  
 Church<sup>q</sup>; a number to which it seems to have adhered.  
 They performed certain offices hitherto laid upon the dea-  
 cons, kept the doors, gathered the oblations, went errands  
 for the bishop, and the like.

Readers.  
Sub-dea-  
cons.

**Acolythes.** S. Cyprian twice mentions acolythes<sup>r</sup>: and Cornelius enu-  
 merates forty-two in the Church over which he presided; but  
 they do not seem to have been known in the East. They  
 appear to have lit the candles at the evening service, but  
 were not "taper-bearers" in the modern sense.

Exorcism did not originally constitute a separate order,  
 but was reckoned among the extraordinary gifts of the Spirit.  
 Bishops and presbyters were the chief exorcists hitherto, but  
 towards the close of the century the office began to be ex-  
 clusive. It is not perhaps clear whether S. Cyprian so con-  
 sidered it, though he frequently mentions it: exorcism had  
 been long before practised among the Jews, and now formed  
 a part of the ordinary baptismal antecedents. Hence not  
 only the possessed, but the catechumens were under the care

Exorcist  
and cate-  
chist often  
the same  
person.

<sup>p</sup> Inter Ep. S. Cypr. ii.

<sup>r</sup> Ep. xxxvi. et lv.

<sup>q</sup> Euseb. E. H. vi. 43.

of the exorcist: and for the same cause he often combined the duties of the catechist. CENT.  
III.

Psalmists or singers are mentioned in the Constitutions: Singers.  
door-keepers there, and by Cornelius in his epistle. These Door-keepers.  
seem likewise to have had a Jewish original, and they relieved the sub-deacon in a part of his province.

Metropolitan is a name that does not occur; but the thing existed: hence the Nicene council, when maintaining the rights of the metropolitans, says, "let the ancient customs hold good." We find S. Cyprian not only presiding over the synods of proconsular Africa, but over the Numidian and Mauritanian bishops who had met at Carthage. Metropolitans how far known.

The see of Rome still occupied the first place; but S. Cyprian, Dionysius of Alexandria, and Firmilian of Cappadocia only style the Roman prelate colleague, brother, and fellow-bishop, and even rebuke him. The Spanish Churches in the controversy respecting Basil and Martial appealed from the sentence of Stephen to S. Cyprian and the African Church. Faustinus of Lyons likewise brought his complaints respecting Marcian of Arles to S. Cyprian. At the same time it is to be admitted that S. Cyprian speaks of the see of Rome as the "chair" and "seat of S. Peter:" "the principal Church:" using nearly the same expression with S. Irenæus above mentioned; and to it refers the "origin of the sacerdotal unity." The expression of Cornelius, however, which is twice repeated<sup>a</sup>, that there should be one bishop in the Catholic Church, is understood to imply nothing more than the unity of the episcopate. And it is observable that we do not hear of the Roman prelate presiding over any but his own provincial synod. But in the controversy between Stephen and S. Cyprian about re-baptizing, the former, however intemperately, maintained the view which has ever since been considered the orthodox one. Expressions of S. Cyprian about Rome.

The laity, brotherhood, or fraternity, as they were called, enjoyed important privileges, as in the past age. They were present at the synods, elections, ordinations, examinations, penances, absolutions, resolutions concerning the lapsed, and the like; so much so that S. Cyprian affirms that he did Privileges of the laity.

<sup>a</sup> Can. vi.

<sup>b</sup> Ep. lv. p. 86. ed. Ben.

<sup>c</sup> Euseb. vii. 43, et ad S. Cyp. Ep. xlv. Vid. Baluz. ad l.

**CENT.** nothing without the consent of the people<sup>2</sup>. The letter of the second council of Antioch which deposed Paul, goes in the name of the bishops, presbyters, deacons, and churches, that is, the people. So in the council of Carthage, over which S. Cyprian presided, a large number of the laity were present, and the same at the Elviran synod<sup>7</sup>. Elsewhere they are said to assist at the deliberations, especially respecting elections and ordinations, where they clearly had a voice<sup>2</sup>. Hence Tertullian in his Apology speaks of approved elders deputed to represent them; and S. Cyprian in his twenty-eighth epistle mentions a consultation, not only with his colleagues, but with the whole people.

**III.**  
Letters in  
the name  
of the  
clergy and  
laity.

Dress of  
the clergy  
not distinc-  
tive.

The dress of the clergy was still the ordinary dress of the age: ecclesiastical vestments did not begin to be conspicuous before the time of S. Gregory the Great. Ordinations were likewise pretty much what they had been; and married clergy were common. At the same time, by the tenth canon of the council of Ancyra, deacons are to be deposed who marry, unless they made a special declaration, when ordained, that they were unable to live single: and by the first canon of the council of Neocæsarea held about the same time, a priest who marries is to be removed from his order without reserve.

§ 5.  
**COUNCILS.**

S. Cyprian is said to have expressed a wish for a general council to terminate the controversies of the day: but the synods that were convened were still only provincial, and the result of a friendly intercourse that subsisted between the Churches of the same province, who met under the presidency of the prelate styled in the Apostolical Canons the chief bishop.

Provincial  
synods.

Occasionally indeed we find these meetings conducted upon a larger scale: and several provinces sending representatives under a common head. The councils of Antioch held about Paul, seem to have been attended by nearly the whole of the East, including Egypt. S. Cyprian presided over Numidian and Mauritanian, as well as African bishops. Cornelius over not only Roman but Italian. Further, the results of these synods were mutually communicated by the

<sup>2</sup> Ep. v. ad fin.

<sup>7</sup> Vales. ad Euseb. vii. 30.

<sup>\*</sup> Vid. S. Cypri. Ep. xxxi.; Constit. Ap. viii. 4.

East and West: but western bishops did not attend eastern, CENT.  
III.  
nor eastern bishops western synods; still less did the presidency of the Roman prelate extend beyond Italy, though the editors of the councils make the African and Carthaginian councils held under Stephen: and Baronius lays stress upon the synodical epistles of Polycrates to Victor, of S. Cyprian to Cornelius and Stephen, and of the Antiochians to Dionysius. Yet the last address not only Dionysius, but Maximus of Alexandria, for instance: the Africans not only Stephen, but Jubajanus and the Numidians: while on the other hand we find the bishop of Rome and the Roman clergy sending synodical letters to the Easterns and Africans.

The councils held in the present century were most numerous: and combined African, Egyptian, Arabian, Syrian, Asiatic, Italian, and Gallican. Of these the most important were; 1. the African and Carthaginian, the first of which was held under Agrippinus about re-baptizing heretics, A.D. 217, of which S. Cyprian speaks<sup>a</sup>: it was attended by the bishops of Africa and Numidia; the 2nd was that of Carthage, the first held under S. Cyprian A.D. 254: it was occasioned by the schism of Felicissimus, and decreed the re-admission of the lapsed after a performance of the prescribed penance<sup>b</sup>; the next was the second of Carthage, convened the following year under S. Cyprian, and for the same cause<sup>c</sup>. Felicissimus had fallen into one extreme, Novatian into the other, respecting the lapsed; the synod agreed to a middle course. A fourth African council was assembled A.D. 256, to consider the case of a refractory deacon, and to decide about infant baptism, which was pronounced valid, though administered before the eighth day from the birth of the child<sup>d</sup>. A fifth African council was held the following year, to consider the question of the Spanish bishops, Martial and Basil, who had lapsed, and whose case had been submitted to S. Cyprian and his synod by the Spaniards<sup>e</sup>; and finally, two more councils were held, in which heretical baptism was pronounced invalid: the first comprising the bishops of Africa and Numidia, and the second, with the addition of

1st. African.

1st. Carthaginian.

2nd. Carthaginian.

2nd or 4th. African.

3rd. or 5th. African.

Two more African synods.

<sup>a</sup> Ep. lxxi.<sup>b</sup> Vid. Ep. xl., xlii., lii., lv.<sup>c</sup> Vid. Ep. liv.<sup>d</sup> Vid. Ep. lix. et lxxv.<sup>e</sup> Ep. lxxviii.



**C E N T. III.** the Mauritanians. The years A.D. 256 or 258 are variously assigned to them; the latter date accords with S. Cyprian's martyrdom. The second synod protested against the conduct of Stephen, who had threatened to excommunicate the African Church: that he did not do so, seems probable, and that S. Cyprian regained his friendship, but without altering his opinions. 'At all events it appears from the eighth canon of the council of Arles, that the African Church had not ceased to rebaptize heretics: while S. Augustine affirms that S. Cyprian remained in the unity of the Church.

**Of Iconium.**

2. The synod of Iconium was celebrated about the same time with the preceding, and about the same question, over which Firmilian presided: his letter exists in a Latin version among those of S. Cyprian<sup>g</sup>, and in it he passes a sharp censure upon Stephen; the council was attended by the bishops of Cappadocia, Galatia, and Cilicia, and the baptism against which it pronounced chiefly was that of the Cataphrygians. The same thing may be said of Firmilian that has been said in the case of S. Cyprian: and it is equally clear that the Orientals for some time rebaptized, like the Africans<sup>h</sup>.

**Of Antioch.  
The first.**

3. The synods of Antioch, however, were by far the largest and the nearest approach to a general council. Of these the first was held with reference to the Novatians, and to it Dionysius of Alexandria, the bishops of Egypt, Cappadocia, Palestine and Cilicia, were summoned; Demetrian, who had succeeded Fabius, being bishop of the see<sup>i</sup>.

**Second.**

The next was a still larger assembly, and was attended by bishops of Cappadocia, Pontus, Palestine, Arabia, and very many more, with presbyters and deacons, says Eusebius<sup>k</sup>. Dionysius of Alexandria was invited, but old age prevented his attendance. The heresy of Paul, who had succeeded Demetrian in the see, caused it; but he managed for the time to escape condemnation.

**Third.**

The third was held about five years after the last, A.D. 269, Aurelian having succeeded Claudius in the empire. In it Paul was condemned, and by the intervention of the

<sup>g</sup> Vid. Vales. ad Euseb. vii. 5. On the other hand see Mosheim, *De Rebus Christianis ante C. M.*, p. 579—587.

<sup>h</sup> Ep. lxxv.

<sup>i</sup> Vales. ut sup.

<sup>j</sup> Vid. Euseb. E. H. vi. 46.

<sup>k</sup> E. H. vii. 28.

emperor eventually deprived of his see. Domnus was appointed in his place: and a dispatch was sent to Rome, Alexandria, and elsewhere, announcing the resolution of the synod, and requesting the usual communicatory letters for the new bishop. Baronius exhibits a Creed which he assigns to the council: but in the acts of the council of Ephesus, from which it is taken, it is expressly referred to that of Nice: and mention is made of the Paulianists, it may be added, in a Nicene canon<sup>1</sup>.

4. Synods were held at Rome under Cornelius, A.D. 254, Of Rome at which not only Roman, but the Italian bishops attended, to consider the case of the lapsed, as well as against Novatian. Another is said to have been held under Stephen, subsequently to the first Carthaginian council, which decreed heretical baptism invalid: and here Stephen is by some considered to have carried his threat into execution against the Africans.

Other synods are recorded of Alexandria, Mesopotamia, and elsewhere. Bostra, Cirta, Narbonne, for the particulars of which, as well as for a fuller account of those already mentioned of the past and present century, the Collections of Harduin, Coletus, and Mansi, may be consulted.

The heresies and schisms which for the most part gave rise to them, may be gathered from the writings of Tertullian, Eusebius, Epiphanius, S. Augustine, Philastrius, Theodoret, and the acts of the councils themselves.

Tertullian, it has been already observed, wrote against Marcion, Hermogenes, and Praxeas: and these with many more are to be found in the condemned list of the third council of Constantinople under Constantine Pogonatus. It would be superfluous to dwell upon the insignificant heresies which appeared suddenly, like meteors, only to be extinguished: that of Beryllus, bishop of Bostra, for instance, who taught that Christ before His Incarnation did not exist as a distinct Person in the Godhead, but whom Origen re-claimed; the Arabians, who said that the soul perished with the body till the general resurrection, and were convinced by the same; the Elcesaites, before mentioned, who repudiated the writings of S. Paul, and did not consider the denial of our

<sup>1</sup> Can. xix. Vid. Vales. ad Euseb. E. H. vii. 30.

- CENT. III.** Lord a vital question<sup>m</sup>. The different heretical peculiarities maintained by Noetus and Sabellius, who followed Praxeas, respecting the Trinity, have likewise been noticed. Of these Noetus was a native of Smyrna, Sabellius, who flourished a little later, a presbyter of Ptolemais, the chief city of Pentapolis, a province of Libya Cyrenaica. It was the recoil from Sabellianism which afterwards sent Arius into the opposite extreme: and Dionysius of Alexandria who opposed it was accused by the Pentapolitans before the Roman bishop upon a like charge, and afterwards claimed as a prime authority by the Arians, till rescued by S. Athanasius, who wrote a special treatise in his defence<sup>n</sup>. **Nepos.** Nepos was another heretic, against whom Dionysius appeared<sup>o</sup>; he was a bishop of the same country, and advocated carnal views respecting the millennium; but otherwise was praised for his writings.
- Paul of Samosata.** Paul of Samosata perhaps produced the greatest commotion of the eastern heretics before Arius. He had succeeded Demetrian in the see of Antioch, and proud of his acquaintance with the renowned Zenobia, and with a view, it is possible, to convert her, as she had already evinced a prejudice for the Jewish faith, he began to deny the Divinity of our Lord about the same time that Sabellius had impugned His Divine Personality. So far therefore as the Godhead is concerned, he is thought to have entertained the same views with Sabellius; but he considered Christ a mere man, upon whom the Wisdom or Reason of the Father had descended. He was a vain, ostentatious man, and perhaps the first who departed from the simplicity of a Christian bishop, and affected worldly pomp and luxury. The namesake prelates of Rome and Alexandria opposed him, as did the two councils of Antioch: the first of which met A.D. 264, under Valerian, and the second A.D. 269, under Aurelian. The first he managed to elude by his ambiguous language: but at the last he was detected and exposed by Malchion, a presbyter of his own Church. Paul kept possession of his see for a short time, through the influence of Zenobia, after the second synod: but appeal being made to the emperor, his cause was referred to the Roman and Italian bishops, and the decree of
- Refuted by Malchion.**

<sup>m</sup> Vid. Euseb. E. H. vi. 33, et 37, et 38.

<sup>n</sup> De Sentent. Dionys.  
<sup>o</sup> Euseb. vii. 24.

the council carried into effect with regard to the possession of the episcopal house<sup>p</sup>. CENT.  
III.

Manes was the author of a much more extensive heresy a few years before; its origin<sup>q</sup> indeed is historically referred to a Saracen named Scythianus, and his disciple Terebinthus or Budda, who married his widow, and succeeded him in his fortune. Manes became slave to the latter and eventually his heir; his original name was Cubricus: that which he adopted, and by which he is known, is a Syrian, or, as others assert, a Chaldee word; his followers were called Manichæans, or quasi-maniacs, from the similarity of the Greek word denoting insanity. His heresy, says Eusebius<sup>r</sup>, was a compound of the innumerable heresies that had preceded it: and it is perhaps the most formal attempt that had been made to combine Christianity with the Persian philosophy; the basis of it consisted in the recognition of two eternal principles, the endless vicissitudes of a strife between them, and the necessary connexion between evil and matter; antecedent revelations concerning these mysterious subjects had been imperfect and incomplete, and therefore Manes appeared as the promised Paraclete to elucidate the whole doctrine. Eusebius mentions that he appointed twelve apostles after the example of our Lord, and others assert that he had likewise seventy-two disciples or bishops, and under them presbyters and deacons<sup>s</sup>. Many absurd notions were attributed to him respecting the sun, moon, and air, as abodes of the beatified spirits: his discipline was rigorous in the extreme, especially that enjoined his esoteric followers, whom he termed the elect; he either denied the books of the New Testament, or pronounced them greatly interpolated. His sect spread rapidly throughout Christendom: but especially throughout Egypt and Africa, Persia and Arabia. S. Augustine, who narrowly escaped it, admirably portrays it in his Confessions and treatise "De utilitate credendi;" and S. Cyril records<sup>t</sup> that the founder was strenuously opposed by Archelaus, bishop of Carrha, into whose diocese he had in-

Scythia-  
nus.  
Budda.  
Manes.  
His origi-  
nal name.

Narrow  
escape of  
S. Augus-  
tine.

<sup>p</sup> Vid. Heinichen. ad Euseb. E. H. vii. 30.

<sup>q</sup> Vid. Epiphan. Hær. lxxvi.

<sup>r</sup> Eccl. Hist. vii. 31.

<sup>s</sup> Vid. Mosheim, Eccl. Hist., book i. part ii. cent. iii. c. v. § 10.

<sup>t</sup> Catech. vi. § 30.

**CENT. III.** truded, and eventually met with the just reward of his impiety in a violent death at the hands of the Persian king, Varanes I.

**Hierax.** Hierax of Leontopolis, a bookseller, founded a sect whose ascetic opinions corresponded with the Manichæans, but whose doctrine, says S. Hilary<sup>a</sup>, was peculiar about the Trinity.

**Favourers of Origen.** There were two principal schisms in the present age which excited attention, not to mention the disagreement between the bishops of Palestine who favoured Origen, and Demetrius of Alexandria, who, though favourable to him in the early part of his career, procured his condemnation and subsequent deposition<sup>x</sup> in the two Alexandrian synods held about him.

**Novatus a presbyter of Carthage.** The first schism was that of the Novatians, of whom there were two joint leaders, bearing nearly the same name, Novatus and Novatian; the former was a presbyter of Carthage, the latter of Rome. They are frequently confused by Theodoret, Eusebius and the Greeks generally. They had indeed originally pursued a diametrically opposite course; Novatus, in the absence of S. Cyprian during the two years of his exile, having been among those who had communicated with the lapsed, for which and for other misdemeanours he had incurred virtual excommunication<sup>y</sup>; henceforth he had become the leader of a party, and had joined cause with one Felicissimus, a deacon. Novatian, on the contrary, who had been a rival of Cornelius in the Roman see, had advocated the greatest rigour towards the lapsed, and denied the right of the Church to reconcile them. A coalition was nevertheless made between him and Novatus at Rome upon the arrival of the latter, and with the help of three Italian bishops, whom he suborned, he surreptitiously foisted himself into the episcopal office, and established a schismatic communion<sup>z</sup>, which affected extraordinary purity, and continued estranged from the Church to the days of the ecclesiastical historian Socrates, who favoured them, and is by many thought to have belonged to them. The sixth and

**Novatian a presbyter of Rome.**

<sup>a</sup> De Trin., lib. vi. 12.

<sup>x</sup> Vid. Vales. ad Euseb. E. H. vi.

<sup>y</sup> S. Cypr. Ep. xlix.

<sup>z</sup> Euseb. E. H. vi. 43.

tenth chapters of the epistle to the Hebrews were constantly quoted by them: whence the Roman Church for a long time demurred to the authority of the epistle. It is needless to repeat the synods by which they were condemned: among their opposers were S. Cyprian, Cornelius, Dionysius of Alexandria, Firmilian of Cappadocia, Theoctistus of Cæsarea, Helenus of Tarsus, and others. The Church agreed generally to the re-admission of the lapsed after penance, but made a difference between the discipline imposed upon those who had sacrificed, and those who had only received a certificate.

CENT.  
III.

The second schism arose out of the first, and divided the Eastern and Western Churches. The Novatians rebaptized the Catholics who joined them, and the African and Eastern Churches did the same by the heretics generally who came over to them. S. Cyprian and Firmilian defended the practice against Stephen of Rome, who advocated mere imposition of hands conformably with the primitive custom. Dionysius of Alexandria favoured the latter, while he acknowledged the tradition pleaded by the former. The letters of S. Cyprian to Jubajanus, Pompey, Magnus, Quintus, and Stephen: and that of Firmilian to S. Cyprian against Stephen, besides the Acts of the Carthaginian and Iconian synods, contain a full account of the matter.

Schism  
about re-  
baptizing  
heretics.

Valesius, Blondell, and others, conclude from the letter of Dionysius of Alexandria that Stephen never actually excommunicated either S. Cyprian or Firmilian. Baronius infers differently: and it would seem, in the case of Firmilian, with more probability: for Firmilian says in his letters that Stephen had not only excluded the eastern deputies from intercourse and communion, but even house and home: nor did S. Cyprian himself escape without vituperation. Peace was restored however between the latter and Stephen; and in the letter to Pompey, Stephen is once more called "brother." At the same time neither the Africans or Asiatics altered to the western practice.

S. Cyprian  
and Fir-  
milian  
versus  
Stephen.

The Greek writers who flourished in the present age were, first and foremost, Origen, born at Alexandria, A.D. 185, according to Clinton, who places his death, which happened at Tyre, A.D. 253. His father Leonidas underwent martyrdom under Severus, A.D. 202. Many questions have been

§ 7.  
WRITERS.  
Origen.

**C E N T.** raised concerning his name, parentage, and identity. First, **III.** whether his name is derived from *ὄρος*, a mountain, or Horus the Egyptian deity, or from a Hebrew word: "Adamantius" and the like, it is clear, were names applied to him from his indefatigable labours. It is likewise tolerably certain that his parents were Christians, though Porphyry asserts the contrary. Whether there were not two Origenes contemporaries and pupils in the same school, as Valesius and Huetius maintain, is a further point: these with other questions respecting his subsequent history, are fully discussed by Huetius in the preface to his works.

One or two.

Succeeds S. Clement in the catechetical school.

Ordained presbyter.

A confessor under Decius.

His works.

In his eighteenth year Origen commenced private instructions of the catechumens, and not long after succeeded his master Clement in the catechetical school: he visited Rome under Zephyrinus, and again returned to his charge; but in the sedition which distracted his native city, we find him withdrawing to Palestine, and making Cæsarea his abode. At the request of Demetrius he left Palestine, where he had been treated with the greatest consideration by Theoctistus and Alexander, bishops of Cæsarea and Jerusalem respectively, and even allowed to expound Scripture in the church as a layman. Then he returned to Alexandria, but the next time occasion took him to Cæsarea he was ordained presbyter by the two bishops before mentioned, in his forty-third year. This and other irregularities excited the indignation of his bishop, and while one synod decreed his exile, a second deposed him. Henceforward to the end of his life the scene of his history was laid in the East. He underwent torture under Decius, but survived till the end of the following reign. The heretics whom he brought over have been already mentioned; likewise the important personages whom he is said to have interested in the Christian cause: his labours, piety, zeal, mortification, sagacity, profundity, have never been exceeded, and can scarce be paralleled. Of his works perhaps the most distinguished, though not the most valued, is his *Tetrapla*, *Hexapla*, or *Octapla*, as it is called: in which were compared, and ranged parallel, two Hebrew versions of the Old Testament: the one written with Hebrew, the other with Greek characters: the versions of Aquila, Symmachus, of the LXX, and Theodotion, and of Jerusalem, and Nicopolis lastly,

which had been recently discovered. His commentaries on CENT. III. the different parts of the Bible that are extant, have been a good deal disparaged by the Latin version of Ruffinus, and the same is to be said of his treatise *Περὶ ἀρχῶν*. His work against Celsus has been already mentioned, and that entitled "A refutation of all heresies" has been pronounced genuine by a recent Editor\*. His practical as well as literal interpretation of S. Matt. xix. 12, has been strongly repudiated in the Church; and numerous errors respecting God, angels, free-will, the Trinity, the Incarnation, and judgment-day, mostly attributable to his partiality for the Platonic philosophy, have been laid to his charge; not to mention the excess to which he occasionally carried his allegorical interpretations; whence the proverb so common respecting him: *Ubi bene, nemo melius: ubi male, nemo pejus*. Among his opposers are His opposers. Demetrius, S. Methodius, Eustathius of Antioch, Apollinaris, Theophilus of Alexandria, Epiphanius and S. Jerome; among his supporters and admirers, besides the Pales- Supporters. tine bishops, S. Gregory Thaumaturgus, Pamphilus, Eusebius, Didymus of Alexandria, Ruffinus, Palladius, John of Jerusalem, S. Chrysostom, and others.

S. Hippolytus, likewise a martyr, contemporary and friend S. Hippolytus. of Origen, and bishop of Ostia, according to general accounts, for these three facts are disputed together with his era<sup>b</sup>, which probably falls under Alexander Severus: the only work extant that is unhesitatingly assigned to him is a treatise called "A demonstration concerning Antichrist."

Julius Africanus, confused with a writer of the same name Africanus. by Eusebius and Suidas, according to Valesius, though others have judged differently<sup>c</sup>, flourished about the same time, and wrote a chronology from the beginning of the world to the birth of our Lord in five books; and a letter to Origen on the history of Susannah. If however Eusebius is not mistaken, other works are to be ascribed to him.

S. Gregory, bishop of Neocæsarea, whence his usual sur- S. Gregory Thaumaturgus. name, called also Thaumaturgus from the numerous miracles attributed to him, and elsewhere Theodorus; was originally a Gentile, but converted by Origen, whose school he fre-

\* Emman. Miller in Præf. Oxon. 1851.

<sup>b</sup> Vid. Cave, Hist. Lit., a. v.

<sup>c</sup> Vid. Heinichen, ad Euseb. vi. 31.



**C E N T.** quented with his brother Athenodorus. Both attended the  
**III.** first council of Antioch against Paul, and S. Gregory died the same year. He left a canonical epistle behind him, as well as a short exposition of the faith, but critics have disputed their genuineness. Many miracles are ascribed to him by S. Basil and others, especially S. Gregory Nyssen, who wrote his life. S. Basil says<sup>d</sup> he was called a second Moses even by his adversaries.

**Dionysius of Alexandria.** Dionysius of Alexandria was likewise a convert to the teaching of Origen, and successor of Heraclas in the see; he was surnamed the "Great" by Eusebius and other early writers, by whom many fragments of his works have been preserved: he wrote against Sabellius, Novatus, Nepos, Hierax, and Paul; underwent exile under Valerian, and died in the same year with S. Gregory Thaumaturgus.

**S. Methodius.** S. Methodius, surnamed Eubulius, first presided over Olympus and afterwards over Tyre. Clinton affirms that he suffered martyrdom A.D. 312, but his era is not quite certain. He opposed Origen, and wrote a treatise upon the Resurrection expressly against him, which may be the reason why he is not mentioned by Eusebius. Other inferior writers may be passed over.

**Minucius Felix.** Of the Latins the most renowned were Minucius Felix, an African by birth, and a Roman lawyer. He is supposed to have lived in the age between Tertullian and S. Cyprian; his dialogue, called Octavius, has been already mentioned.

**S. Cyprian.** S. Cyprian was a convert to the preaching of Cæcilius, a Carthaginian presbyter, and hence surnamed after him. He began life as a rhetorician, was ordained presbyter A.D. 247, and the following year elected, greatly against his will, to succeed Donatus in the see. Clinton has placed his martyrdom A.D. 258. He was a great admirer of Tertullian, whom he called his master, but is universally admitted to have excelled; while for piety, zeal, and charity combined with wholesome discipline, few have ever more deservedly acquired a greater name. His epistles abound with valuable information respecting ecclesiastical manners and discipline, nor less his minor works, e. g. *De lapsis*, *De unitate Ecclesie*, *De Oratione Dominica*; but he has been greatly interpolated, and

<sup>d</sup> De Spiritu S., c. xxix. § 74.

many writings falsely ascribed to him. The same may be said of the life which Pontius his deacon left behind him, together with the account of his martyrdom, of which there are at least three different editions. Trithemius affirms Pontius to have been the person who converted the two Philips.

C E N T.  
III.

Novatian the schismatic, and coryphæus of the Puritans, was a presbyter in the Roman Church, and competitor for the see with Cornelius. His work upon the Trinity contains several objectionable expressions about the Holy Ghost; besides which a treatise *De cibis Judaicis* is usually assigned to him.

καθαρὸς.  
Novatian.

Other writers, as Victorinus, bishop of Passaw, a city on the Drave, Caius a presbyter of the Roman Church under Caracalla, and many more, do not require particular notice; and a fuller account of the preceding may be seen in S. Jerome, and Eusebius in the fifth, sixth, and seventh books of his history.

The spurious productions of the age are well-nigh numberless; to the first class of which belong those falsely palmed upon Tertullian, Origen, Africanus, SS. Cyprian, Gregory Thaumaturgus, Methodius, and others. Cave supplies a full account of them under the different authors to whom they are referred. Other pieces still more palpably supposititious are extant: e. g. the sermons ascribed to Zeno, bishop of Verona, said to have undergone martyrdom under Gallienus; homilies attributed to Eusebius of Alexandria; a Synopsis of the life and death of the prophets, apostles, and disciples of our Lord, bearing the name of Dorotheus, bishop or presbyter of Tyre, not to be confounded with the presbyter of Antioch of the same name, whom Eusebius mentions in his seventh book, or the chamberlain of Diocletian, whose martyrdom he recounts in his eighth book.

§ 8.  
SPURIOUS  
WORKS.

Synopsis  
of Doro-  
theus.

The Acts of the Martyrs for the most part constitute another class; that is, of those who suffered under Severus, Maximin, Decius, Gallus, Valerian, Diocletian, and Maximian, professing to have been taken by a public notary, and deposited among the public acts. They were classed

Acts of the  
Martyrs.

\* Vid. Cave, s. v. Pontius Hist. Lit.

**CENT.** among the apocryphal writings by Gelasius in a Roman synod. Eusebius was the first to make a catalogue of the different martyrs: and his precedent it was, which, in a much later age, gave rise to the martyrologies in the Western Church, to which the Venerable Bede, Florus, Usuardus, and others, contributed, as well as to the Menologies in the Eastern Church. To some of them Baronius would attach weight, but Sirmondus, Valesius, Rigaltius, and others, have pronounced against them indiscriminately; and Godeau remarks, in the preface to his *Ecclesiastical History*<sup>1</sup>, that they are for the most part false, or interspersed with puerile fables, and innumerable anachronisms.

**Apostolical Canons.**

To a third class belong the Apostolical Canons, which Bishop Beveridge thinks were the productions of councils in the second and third century. That there were more than fifty before the close of the present age, appears from the council of Constantinople, held under Nectarius, A.D. 394, where the sixty-sixth, or, according to others, the seventy-seventh is cited. Dionysius Exiguus, however, only translated fifty; others divide them into eighty-five; Cotelierius into seventy-six; Daillé refers them improbably to the fifth century.

**Constitutions.**

The eight Books of the Constitutions bearing S. Clement's name are referred to a writer of the third century by De Marca, Blondell, Morinus, and others. Daillé assigns them to the fifth century, like the Canons, and says that they appeared a short time before the decree of Gelasius and the Roman synod, A. D. 494; the genuineness, however, of the decree has been greatly questioned. Upon the whole they are generally referred to the ante-Nicene age, but many consider that they received subsequent additions in the next century.

**Recognitions and Clementines.**

The Recognitions, and Clementines, ascribed to the same author, were composed about the same time, and so was the Clementine Epitome which contains a brief account of the acts, travels, and discourses of S. Peter. These works throw considerable light upon the manners and customs of the primitive Church.

<sup>1</sup> *Histoire de l'Eglise, Paris. 1653.*

Besides the previous imputations under which the Christians laboured, magic arts formed a new charge; and whatever calamities befel society, were attributed to the spread of the new religion. CENT.  
III.  
§ 9.  
PERSECUTIONS. Ulpian, the great lawyer, amongst others, fomented prejudices against them; and the zeal, moreover, which the Christians themselves displayed in the occasional destruction of the heathen temples, idols, and altars, provoked merciless retaliation.

The sixth persecution, according to the usual reckoning, The sixth. occurred under Severus, after a transient lull under Commodus, Pertinax, and Julian. Even Severus is said to have favoured the Christians in the early part of his reign<sup>e</sup>. The persecution began A. D. 202 or 203, and raged throughout the empire. Jews as well as Christians were proscribed in the edict. So severe were the trials to which the Christians were exposed under it, that Eusebius mentions a writer<sup>h</sup> who considered the appearance of Antichrist to be fast approaching. Egypt, however, suffered principally. Origen lost his father Leonidas, who was beheaded, as well as seven pupils who attended his school, Plutarch, Serenus, Heraclides, Heron, another Serenus, a woman called Herais, and Basilides, with whose name is coupled the renowned Potamiana. Elsewhere S. Irenæus is said to have headed the list in the Gallican Church, but his martyrdom is exceedingly doubtful<sup>i</sup>. Equally so that of Victor, who appears to have died before the persecution commenced. Two African ladies, Perpetua and Felicitas, are frequently extolled by S. Augustine for the constancy with which they suffered, the account of which is affixed to the Oxford edition of Lactantius, *De morte persecutorum*.

The seventh persecution is reckoned to have happened under Maximin the Thracian, and a sheer barbarian, A. D. 235. Seventh. Eusebius accounts it the sixth indeed, and Sulpitius does not mention it, as he reckons only nine. But it was not a general so much as a local one; and it was chiefly directed, as Eusebius says, against the heads of the Church only<sup>k</sup>. Firmilian says, in his letter to S. Cyprian, that it had been preceded by a long and uninterrupted peace, and Maximin, who

<sup>e</sup> Vid. Tertull. ad Scap., c. 3.

<sup>h</sup> E. H. vi. 7.

<sup>i</sup> Vid. Cave, Hist. Lit., s. v.

<sup>k</sup> E. H. vi. 28.

**C E N T.** had slain Alexander, seems to have excited it, under the apprehension that the Christians would avenge his death in consequence of his kindness to them. Pontianus bishop of Rome is said to have been one of the most conspicuous victims. Origen composed a treatise upon martyrdom to console and strengthen the sufferers.

**Eighth.** The eighth persecution, A.D. 250, which was by far the most bloody that had been experienced, is said to have arisen from a like feeling towards the memory of Philip on the part of his successor Decius, that Maximin had evinced in the previous case. It is graphically described by S. Cyprian, Dionysius of Alexandria whom Eusebius quotes, Eusebius himself, Sulpitius, Orosius, and others; and though it only lasted two years, innumerable persons underwent martyrdom, as appears from the catalogue<sup>1</sup>. Among these Fabian bishop of Rome, Babylas of Antioch, and Alexander of Jerusalem were the most illustrious. Babylas, it is observable, is said to have been the bishop whom Eusebius records to have repelled the emperor Philip at the church-door: Suidas<sup>m</sup> and others make the emperor Decius or Numerian. S. Cyprian having received a Divine warning to flee remained away from his see till the death of the tyrant: but during the interval his counsels and earnest prayers were never wanting to his flock. S. Gregory Thaumaturgus, and Dionysius of Alexandria, pursued the same course. Neither sex nor age were spared; many proved unequal to the ordeal, and lapsed and apostatized in the way before mentioned. Epiphanius<sup>n</sup> even reckons Origen among those who offered incense, and Petavius in his *Animadversions* will not question the story: though it is rejected by Baronius, Halloix, Raynaldus, and Valesius. Eusebius and Ruffinus, it is needless to say, are silent about it; on the contrary the former records the wonderful constancy displayed by him amid his tortures<sup>o</sup>. Porphyry likewise, who falsely accused Ammonius of the same thing, would have been sure to have mentioned it; while the prejudice which Epiphanius cherished against Origen is quite sufficient to disparage his testimony. The commencement of the monastic life may be dated from

Fabian,  
Babylas,  
Alexander.

<sup>1</sup> Euseb. E. H. vi. xl.—xlii.

<sup>m</sup> Suidas, s. v. Babylas.

<sup>n</sup> Hær. lxiv.

<sup>o</sup> E. H. vi. 39.

the Decian persecution : numbers having fled into the desert to avoid seizure. Paul of Thebes is accounted the first Christian eremite. CENT.  
III.

The ninth persecution, or the eighth according to Eusebius, Sulpitius, S. Jerome, and others, who pass over either that under Hadrian or Maximin, took place under Valerian towards the end of his reign, and lasted forty-two months : Macrianus seems to have been the chief instigator of it ; and it raged throughout Egypt, Africa, Palestine, Italy, and elsewhere. S. Cyprian received his crown A.D. 258 ; Lucius S. Cyprian, and Stephen bishops of Rome preceded : and Xystus successor of the last, accompanied him. His martyrdom is by the Greeks erroneously placed under Decius ; as is also that of Laurentius the deacon, who would not endure to be left behind Xystus his bishop<sup>p</sup> : but suffered upon a gridiron over a slow fire, and maintained the most unexampled constancy to the last. In the Martyrology he is styled arch-deacon, a term unknown to the present age, but which afterwards was applied to the deacon in attendance upon the bishop. After Valerian the Church seems to have enjoyed continual peace till the last persecution under Diocletian : Aurelian indeed towards the latter part of his reign is said by Eusebius in his history<sup>q</sup> to have threatened molestation : and in his Chronicon, that being omitted under Hadrian, it is called the ninth persecution. S. Augustine likewise speaks of it as such : and so Baronius considers it, alleging the additional evidence, though doubtful, of the Martyrologies. The tenth persecution which commenced A.D. 303, lasted as many years as there were persecutions. Eusebius supplies a full account of it in his eighth book, and so does Lactantius in his treatise *De morte persecutorum*. Diocletian and Maximian, Galerius, Maximin, Maxentius, and Licinius, were respectively concerned in it. One edict of the first of these enjoined the destruction of the churches, and of the sacred books of Christians : and deprived Christians themselves of the rights and privileges of the state, whence the term “ traitors ” was applied to those who surrendered the Scriptures to escape death. Other edicts enjoined torture : and a fourth, in the second year of the persecution required that

<sup>p</sup> S. Amb. De Offic. l. 41.

<sup>q</sup> E. H. vii. 30.

**CENT. III.** Christians should be compelled to offer sacrifice. Potamo, bishop of Heracleopolis, insinuated at the council of Tyre that Eusebius the historian had been forced into compliance with the last<sup>r</sup>. A remarkable instance of the cruelties that were practised occurs in what happened to the inhabitants of a small town of Phrygia<sup>s</sup>, who were said to have embraced Christianity to a man, and to have been burnt to a man in the church in which they had taken refuge. Again it is asserted that six thousand Christians composing the Theban legion, suffered martyrdom by the order of Maximian, in a valley of the Pennine Alps<sup>t</sup>. Eusebius indeed would seem never to have heard the story, and Lactantius, S. Ambrose, Sulpitius, and Orosius, are silent. Further, Eucherius bishop of Lyons has been quoted as the chief authority, but Pagi considers his letter spurious<sup>u</sup>. According to the Greek accounts Apamea in Syria was the place where Mauricius and his fellow-soldiers fell<sup>x</sup>. Gregory of Tours, on the other hand, Venerable Bede, Usuardus, Ado, Sigebertus, and the Acts which Pagi considers genuine, attest the common story. A more particular account of the martyrs in a work like the present is impossible: what is called the Diocletian Era, as well as the deaths of the chief persecutors, will be considered under a future head.

§ 10.  
JEWISH  
AFFAIRS.

Jewish  
and Samaritan war.

The state of the Jews was abject and forlorn; they were dispersed over the world, as Tertullian says in his Apology, without a home, without a king, human or divine; and they were not even allowed to have a sight of their native land from a distance<sup>y</sup>, under Hadrian. Severus was equally rigorous: and obtained a triumph over them in a war, designated by Eusebius in his Chronicon, the Jewish and Samaritan war. Indeed for the most part those emperors who persecuted the Christians persecuted the Jews also. Caracalla, Spartianus says in his life, favoured them; so did Alexander Severus, who is said to have kept images of Abraham as well as Christ among his household gods<sup>z</sup>. He allowed them likewise to

<sup>r</sup> Vid. Vales. in vit. Euseb., p. xxxix. et xlvii. ed. Heinich.

<sup>s</sup> Euseb. E. H. viii. 11; Lactant. Inst. Div. v. 11.

<sup>t</sup> Vid. Gibbon. Decl. and Fall, c. 16, note 143.

<sup>u</sup> Ad Bar. Annal, A.D. 297. n. 1.

<sup>x</sup> Vid. Surium De Prob. Sanct. Hist., vol. iv. p. 244.

<sup>y</sup> Euseb. E. H. iv. 6.

<sup>z</sup> Lamprid. in vit. Alex. Sev.

return to their country, and to have their own patriarch, under whom were apostles, rulers of the synagogue, presbyters, and attendants or deacons, as Epiphanius says<sup>a</sup>: whence the emperor himself was called derisively the Syrian high-priest, and "ruler of the synagogue:" and it may be made a question whether Valerian had not a Jewish adviser<sup>b</sup>. Certain it is that not only exorcism but magic arts were professed by the Jews, and frequently charged upon them at the time of which we speak: especially judicial astrology.

The completion of the Talmud of Jerusalem in the present century was mentioned in the last: schools were now erected near Babylon of which Sora and Pundebita were the chief; and in them originated the heads of the second order of doctors called Amorajim, or Gemarists, because they composed the Gemara which formed the Babylonian Talmud. These were far more numerous than those who had a hand in the Talmud of Jerusalem, and hence the former is invested with greater authority.

To revert to the gentile world, Alexander Severus, Gordian, Philip, and Gallienus, certainly favoured the Christians, and so did Severus, Valerian, and Aurelian, for a time, respectively. But whether the Christians had liberty to erect churches, in the strict sense, is not quite clear. Alexander Severus adjudged a place to the Christians which had formerly been public property, but was by them converted into a place of worship, when some owners of a cook-shop claimed it<sup>c</sup>. Eusebius mentions the overthrow of churches and houses of prayer in the Diocletian persecution, as he had said in the preceding chapter, that in the calm anterior to it spacious churches had been erected, as the old edifices were insufficient to contain the worshippers<sup>d</sup>. The desk of the reader likewise and the episcopal throne seem to indicate buildings of a formal nature. On the other hand, besides the hostile edicts of the emperors who persecuted them, Christians encountered even more deadly foes in the prefects occasionally, the lawyers, and philosophers. For instance, Plautianus, prefect of the city under Severus, whom Spartianus mentions: Scapula, proconsul of Africa, to whom

CENT.  
III.

Talmud  
of Jeru-  
salem.  
Schools of  
Sora and  
Punde-  
bita.

§ 11.  
HEATHEN  
WORLD.

Prefects,  
&c., hos-  
tile to  
Christian-  
ity.

Plauti-  
anus.  
Scapula.

<sup>a</sup> Hæc. xxx.

<sup>b</sup> Euseb. vii. 10.

<sup>c</sup> Lamprid. in vit. Alex. Sev.

<sup>d</sup> E. H. viii. 1 et 2.



CENT. Tertullian addressed a petition, with certain presidents there  
III. specified, Vigilus Saturninus, president of Africa, Hermi-

Hermi-  
an-  
us,  
Deme-  
trian,  
Theotec-  
nus.

Ulpian,  
Julius  
Paulus,  
Porphyry.

nianus of Cappadocia, and others; not to omit Demetrian under Decius, to whom S. Cyprian wrote so boldly: and Theotecnus whom Eusebius mentions. Among the lawyers, Domitius Ulpian the friend and official of Alexander Severus, and Julius Paulus counselled evil against them; and Malchus, or more commonly called Porphyry, was one of the bitterest and most formidable enemies they ever had; he was a native of Tyre, a hearer of Longinus and Plotinus, and originally, it is said, a Christian\*. Suidas affirms that he wrote fifteen books against Christians: among his refuters were S. Methodius, Eusebius, Apollinaris, S. Augustine, and S. Cyril: he is called by the last, in his work against Julian, "the father of calumnies." Theodosius the Great passed a law enjoining his impious books to be burnt.

§ 12.  
MISCEL-  
LANEOUS  
EVENTS.

Ambrose  
reclaimed  
by Origen.

Among the miscellaneous events of the age may be classed some remarkable conversions, e. g. Heraclas of Alexandria, SS. Cyprian, Gregory Thaumaturgus, and Dionysius of Alexandria: who after they had abandoned heathenism became the greatest ornaments of the Church; Origen reclaimed Ambrose from Gnosticism: and under the same head are to be mentioned Marcus, Valens, Marinus and others. Among illustrious men were Philip the prefect, often confounded with the emperor, as is his daughter Eugenia attributed to the latter; Simplicius a Roman senator, who flourished under Alexander Severus: Arianus president of Egypt, under Decius; Astyrius a senator under Valerian, Demetrius proconsul under Galerius, Gorgonius and Dorotheus of the first rank and quality under Diocletian: not to repeat other more conspicuous instances above mentioned; other conversions are recorded of a more miraculous nature: that of Basilides for instance; conformably to the prediction of Potamiæna, who appeared to him moreover the third day after her martyrdom.

Basilides  
by Pota-  
miæna.

Gentile  
persecu-  
tors how  
punished.

A further subdivision may be devoted to the Divine judgments which antiquity records befel the gentile persecutors. Lactantius has left a most interesting treatise upon the sub-

\* Soc. Eccl. Hist. iii. 23; S. Aug. De Civ. Dei x. 26, et Leon. Coq. ad l.

ject<sup>f</sup>, nor do the writers of the Augustan History, nor CENT.  
III.  
Herodian, Eutropius, Zosimus, Aurelius Victor, and others, deny the facts. Spartianus relates the deaths which Nero, Domitian, and Hadrian, experienced in a former age; misfortunes in the present century are said to have befallen Severus after his persecution: violent deaths took off Maximian, Decius, and Valerian, the two last under the most aggravated circumstances. Aurelian was assassinated by his friends. Diocletian had his last moments embittered to the highest degree, and probably died violently, though accounts vary as to the exact mode. The same may be said of his partner Maximian. Galerius died of a foul and loathsome disease. Maximin, Maxentius, and Licinius, are recorded to have perished miserably in the next age.

Among  
others  
Diocle-  
tian.

Miraculous gifts were still common in the Church, as S. Irenæus has abundantly testified<sup>g</sup>. Narcissus and S. Gregory Thaumaturgus have been already mentioned as those to whom they were vouchsafed. Origen in his first and second books against Celsus appeals to the prophecies that were spoken, the miraculous cures that were performed, and particularly the devils that were cast out, by the Christians of the present age: and his testimony is the more valuable as it occurs in a work against a subtle foe. Tertullian, S. Cyprian, and Eusebius attest that the gift of casting out devils was shared by the faithful generally. It is not to be denied indeed that the same mistaken zeal, through which we have spurious works without end for every genuine one, invented a like proportion of false miracles for every well-attested one; and hence the scepticism, which has been, naturally enough, engendered in the one case and the other: a candid enquirer, however, will not grudge the labour of discriminating between what is true and what is false, where it can be done, for the sake of the truth.

Miracles  
not un-  
common.

It will be necessary to refer to the Old Testament for the commencement of the eremitical life. Such a life, it is clear, was not unknown under the old Dispensation; we have companies of the prophets, as a peculiar body, mentioned in the days of Samuel and Saul<sup>h</sup>. The Decian persecution, it has

Compa-  
nies of the  
prophets  
in the Old  
Testa-  
ment.

<sup>f</sup> De morte Persecutorum, comp. Tertull. ad Scap.

<sup>h</sup> Vid. Bivar. De Monach. Vet. Test. i. 8.

<sup>g</sup> Vid. Euseb. E. H. v. 7.

C E N T. been already observed, originated the inhabitants of the desert  
III.

Paul of  
Thebes  
the first  
Christian  
hermit.

under the Gospel. Paul of Thebes betook himself to the Egyptian fastnesses at the early age of fifteen, according to S. Jerome: and remained ninety years there, till he was succeeded by S. Antony, who was present when he breathed his last A.D. 343. His life is graphically portrayed by

S. Antony.

S. Jerome, and still more so, that of S. Antony by the great S. Athanasius. S. Antony soon peopled the wilderness with admirers, while he preached against the Arians with equal success.

The seven  
sleepers.

Among the more legendary tales of the age, which were sadly too prolific, may be mentioned that of the seven sleepers, as they were called, who are said to have fallen asleep in a cave during the Decian persecution, and to have awoke in the reign of Theodosius the younger, a period embracing nearly two centuries. Baronius inclines to the opinion that they were really martyred, but returned to life at the time specified<sup>1</sup>. A later writer says, "The truth seems to be that their relics were then discovered<sup>2</sup>". Their names occurring in the Martyrologies and Menologies unanimously, it seems certainly probable that they had a real place among the Decian martyrs, but the legend connected with them, without doubt, has imperiled their historical existence. Laertius, it may be observed, tells a like story about Epimenides, and Pliny mentions that he was said to have slept fifty-seven years in a cave<sup>3</sup>. Equally incongruous and incredible is the account of

S. Ursula.

the British S. Ursula, and her companions, whose country, date, and number are still a problem. In the words of a recent writer before quoted, All the Acts which have been published have been universally rejected<sup>4</sup>; and though the tombs shewn at Cologne are numerous, it is not attempted to be maintained that 11,000 virgins shared her fate.

Diocletian  
Era.

The last thing to be noticed is the Diocletian Era, called also that of the martyrs, which commenced with the first year of his reign, A.D. 284. It is still used by the Egyptian Christians under the latter name: though, strictly speaking, the two are not coincident, the persecution not commencing

<sup>1</sup> Ad Martyrol. Rom. Jul. 27.

Nat. Hist. vii. 53.

<sup>2</sup> Butler, Lives of the Saints, *ibid*.

<sup>3</sup> Lives of the Saints, Oct. 21.

<sup>4</sup> Diog. Laert. in vit. Epim. Plin.

note.

before A.D. 303. It was substituted by the emperor in his pride for the Actian era: that, for the future, events might date from his reign. It was used for a long time throughout the empire, especially in the East: but it was eventually superseded by the Christian or Dionysian era, as it is called, from Dionysius Exiguus, who flourished under Justinian, and through whose instrumentality it was brought into notice.

CENT.  
III.

## CHAPTER IV.

THE fourth century begins with the eighteenth year of Diocletian and the sixteenth of the partnership of Maximian in the empire, and four years before they abdicated. The extent of the Church was now commensurate with the known world, and in the bishops who attended the councils of Arles and Nice, we recognise representatives of a Christendom that had become universal. Eborius, Restitutus, and Adelphius, are the prelates who are said to have represented the British Churches at the former synod: York being the see of the first, London of the second, and Lincoln or Llandaff, it may be, of the third<sup>a</sup>.

§ 1.  
STATE  
OF THE  
CHURCH.

British  
sees.

Among the eminent doctors still alive may be mentioned S. Methodius, Arnobius, and Victorinus bishop of Passaw; Marcellinus, who presided over Rome, is said to have sacrificed about the commencement of the persecution: nor does S. Augustine do more than presume him innocent, till the Donatists had established better proofs of his guilt<sup>o</sup>; however he afterwards underwent martyrdom. Over Alexandria presided Theonas, to whom succeeded Peter, after him Achillas: and after him Alexander, who was bishop when Arius commenced his heresy. Cyril the third from Paul was succeeded in the Antiochian see by Tyranus or Tyrannus. Zabdas was the thirty-eighth bishop of Jerusalem after S. James accord-

<sup>a</sup> For the first, vid. Hussey ad Bed. Eccl. Hist. iv. 12; and for the second, Antiq. of the Cymry, p. 81 et seq.

<sup>o</sup> Vid. S. Aug. De unico bapt. c. Petit. 16; Baron. Annal., A.D. 302 n. 88—103.

CENT. ing to Eusebius : after him came Thermon or Hermon, and  
 IV. after him Macarius, one of the Nicene Fathers. The Byzantine see was held by Domitius, said by Zonaras and others to have been brother of the emperor Probus, and father of Probus and Metrophanes who successively followed him in the see. Other bishops are enumerated by Eusebius<sup>p</sup>.

Although the general persecution did not commence before the year A.D. 303, Galerius, son-in-law of the emperor, had been for some time fomenting a prejudice against the Christians ; and many had fallen in the different provinces before the promulgation of the first edict. The ten years' carnage which ensued more than compensated for the previous tranquillity which they had enjoyed : and so completely did the persecution appear to have answered the ends of those who originated it, that a coin of Diocletian commemorated the overthrow of the Christian name<sup>q</sup>. Still the aspirations of the heathen were destined to receive a far greater frustration than they had themselves effected in the opposite case : the persecution had scarce raged three years when Constantine succeeded his father in his share of the empire : and his subsequent conversion, combined with the overthrow of his enemies, raised Christianity to twice the eminence from which it had fallen in the opinion of the world, whether the motives which swayed him were sincere, or the benefits conferred by him solid, or the reverse. His father Constantius had favoured the Christians before him : his mother Helene shared the same feelings : his adversaries Maximian, Maximin, Maxentius, and eventually Licinius, persecuted them, and on the other hand they were a powerful and united body. Two miraculous appearances, however, cannot but have weighed with him : the first of which was the sign of the cross seen by him in the heavens, bearing for a motto, "Conquer in this," before the battle with Maxentius—a narration of which Eusebius avers to have heard from the lips of the emperor himself<sup>r</sup>. The other occurred the subsequent night, when Christ appeared to him in a vision, bearing the same sign, and directing his use of it as a standard. Modern critics have not been slow to avail themselves of the

<sup>p</sup> Εὐ τοῦτο  
 νικῶ.

<sup>p</sup> E. H. vii. 32.

<sup>q</sup> "Nomine Christianorum deletio."

<sup>r</sup> Vit. Constant. i. 28 et seq.

discrepancies between Eusebius, Lactantius, and others, who have recorded these two miraculous events : and considerable ingenuity has been exercised to explain away the first short of a miracle : it need only be added that a sacred standard called the Labarum was actually made, and borne before the army ; in which the Greek letter X, which exhibits the shape of a cross, was intersected by the Greek letter P, which stands second in the Sacred Name which it was intended to symbolize—thus ✠ Still his conversion was, to say the most, a very gradual one. Different edicts to stay the persecution were issued about A.D. 312 ; in which year his *Quinquennalia* were celebrated, and the calculation by indictions, a period embracing fifteen years, commenced : the first, second, and third indiction, it may be observed by the way, meaning the first, second, and third years of the indiction, and not indictions themselves. At the same time nothing seems more clear than that he deferred his baptism to his death-bed. The story that he received it at the hands of Sylvester, bishop of Rome, A.D. 324, is universally rejected ; and Valesius even affirms that he only became a catechumen as his end approached\*. The gradual establishment of the Christian religion however during his reign is a fact which may be viewed without reference to the personal convictions of the emperor. Licinius indeed after his rupture with him offered a temporary obstacle : but his death, which occurred A.D. 324, removed the only impediment to the progressive advance which had been made for the twelve years preceding : and successive edicts paved the way for the total abolition of the idolatrous forms.

CENT.  
IV.

Quinquennalia or fifth anniversary of Constantine's reign.  
Indictions.

The purport of the earlier edicts was to stop the persecutions : to recal the exiled : to release the prisoners, and those condemned to the mines : to restore houses, lands, cemeteries, and the like, which had been appropriated by the Gentiles : to renew civil rights and privileges which had been forfeited : to rebuild or repair churches and occasionally to endow them : to provide for certain immunities of the clergy, and so forth. Afterwards gentile temples were ordered to be closed, profane rites interdicted : idols, altars, and images overthrown in the

Edicts in favour of the Christians.

\* Ad vit. Constant. iv. 61.

**C E N T.** principal towns; and only permitted in the hamlets and vil-  
**IV.** lages, whence the term "pagans" began to be applied to the  
 heathen. Theodoret indeed says that heathen temples were  
 not destroyed in the present reign<sup>t</sup>: but Cedrenus, Euna-  
 pius, and others assert the contrary towards its close. The  
 same thing occurred under Constantius and Constans: but  
 the most effectual consummation took place under Theodosius  
 the Great in the latter part of the century.

Further, temples, shrines, and the like, which had been used  
 by the Gentiles, were, after adequate purification, converted to  
 a Christian purpose. The fixing of the cross upon them was  
 one of the chief means employed to hallow them. A law of  
 Honorius and of Theodosius the younger upon the subject<sup>u</sup>  
 occurs in the Theodosian code. Laws were likewise made by  
 Constantine and his successors intrinsically affecting the new  
 religion they had adopted<sup>t</sup>; relating, for instance, to the  
 confirmation of the ecclesiastical constitutions, the main-  
 tenance of the Catholic faith, and the like, which may be seen  
 in the sixteenth book of the code before mentioned. Again  
 the emperors distinguished themselves by the erection of  
 churches with great pomp and ceremony; for instance, that  
 of the Apostles, and afterwards of S. Sophia, at Constantino-  
 ple: that called the Martyrion over the holy Sepulchre, and  
 that of Tyre so elaborately described with the dedication by  
 Eusebius, and many more specified in the same author<sup>v</sup>.  
 Christian schools flourished under the same auspices: and  
 constitutions were made to regulate their studies, professors,  
 teachers, masters, emoluments, privileges, and the like, by  
 Constantine and those who succeeded him, especially Valen-  
 tinian the elder, under whom the capital became a distin-  
 guished abode of the arts and sciences<sup>t</sup>. The principal of  
 these seminaries were that of Constantinople, Ephesus, Nico-  
 media, Cæsaria, Palestine, Berytus, and Antioch, in the East:  
 of Alexandria in Egypt: of Rome in Italy: of Treves and  
 Marseilles in France. That of Constantinople moreover  
 boasted a splendid library: first enriched by Constantius,  
 afterwards by Valens and others. Pamphilus the martyr

Staurope-  
gium.

Churches  
of S. So-  
phia; the  
Martyrion;  
of Tyre.

Christian  
Schools.

<sup>t</sup> E. H. v. 21.

<sup>u</sup> xvi. tit. 10. l. 19 et 25.

<sup>v</sup> Vid. J. A. Fabric. Lux. Sal. Evang.

c. 13.

<sup>t</sup> Vit. Constant. iii. 25 et seq.

<sup>u</sup> xiv. Cod. Theod. tit. 9.

bequeathed his collections to that of Cæsarea, which Eusebius the historian greatly augmented.

C E N T.  
IV.

Ecclesiastical revenues for the support of the clergy, poor, and churches themselves were liberally increased by grants of the lands, houses, and income, which had been enjoyed by the ministers of the old religion: as well as by tithes legally enforced; charitable bequests were sanctioned and encouraged; the goods of the martyrs and confessors who had died intestate and without heirs were secured to the churches. Eusebius records many imperial constitutions on the subject, and others are to be seen in the code.

Revenues  
of the  
Church.

Thus aggrandized, and made to reflect the splendour of the empire, Christianity began to attract converts, not merely by the intrinsic excellence contained in it, but by the outward lustre that had been shed around it; and those who desired the protection of the Roman arms, could scarce avoid embracing a religion not only prominently, but exclusively maintained by them. It can hardly excite wonder therefore that the number of the more insincere believers increased. But these remarks by the way. The Armenians had probably received the gospel partially from the earliest time, but in the present century Gregory the son of Anax, having converted Tiridates and his nobles, was ordained first bishop of the Armenians by Leontius of Cappadocia. Frumentius, called the apostle of the Indians, having adventured into the parts of Abyssinia or Æthiopia bordering upon Egypt as a boy under the conduct of one Meropius a philosopher, after incredible vicissitudes, converted the young king of the Auxumitæ, whose guardian he had been appointed, and returning to Alexandria was ordained by S. Athanasius, and sent back bishop of the colony. It is said that the Æthiopic Church still continues to receive her bishop from Alexandria, and is dependent upon it\*. A Christian woman who had been taken captive by the barbarians is reported to have converted Iberia. The Marcomanni were brought over through the instrumentality of S. Ambrose, who had instructed their queen. The Goths who had been expelled by the Huns, and inhabited Thrace, Mæsia, and Dacia, were with the Sarmatians vanquished by Constantine the Great, and persuaded

Armenians.

Abyssinians or  
Æthiopians.

Iberians.

Marcomanni.

Goths and  
Sarmatians.

\* Mosh. Eccl. Hist., book ii. cent. iv. P. i. c. 1.



**CENT. IV.** by him to embrace Christianity. Theophilus their first bishop attended the Nicene council. Afterwards Valens converted a much larger number of them under a king called Fritigern, and in the days of a celebrated bishop, Ulphilas, who probably succeeded Theophilus; but by the arts of the court of Constantinople, both the bishop and the nation embraced Arianism.

Heathen  
temples.

Paganism was not however entirely extinct. The most celebrated temples were closed but not destroyed. At Rome, for instance, there was the capitol; at Alexandria the temple and idol of Serapis; at Daphne, that is, in the suburbs of Antioch, the temple and idol of Apollo and Diana; at Gaza a not less ancient and celebrated temple, with many more. Further, the games, shows, and festivals were not abolished: temples without the walls were even preserved by a special edict, from the connexion which they had with them. It was a long time before the rights and privileges of the idolatrous priests were annulled: and the vestal virgins are said to have remained unmolested under Valentinian the elder. Indeed after the resuscitation of the heathen rites and ceremonies by the apostate Julian they were allowed to remain through the connivance of his successors, Jovian, Valentinian the elder, Valens, and Gratian, till they experienced a final overthrow under Theodosius the Great; not but that innumerable words and customs have been derived from them, and having been perpetuated eighteen centuries and upwards in a Christian world, bid fair to descend to the latest posterity.

§ 2.  
DOCTRINE.

The canonical books of the Old Testament enumerated in the writings of Eusebius, SS. Athanasius, Cyril of Jerusalem, Gregory Nazianzenus, Jerome, and Epiphanius, are the same with what Origen says we received from the Jews. The fifty-ninth Laodicean canon indeed mentions "the lamentations of Baruch" after Jeremiah. Creeds were very numerous: and many fathers, e. g., SS. Hilary, Gregory Nazianzenus, Basil, Jerome, Victorinus and Epiphanius recite different versions. Eusebius rehearsed the old oriental one before the Nicene council. That council, as well as the first of Constantinople, published a fresh one. Ruffinus expounds the Aquileian: another was composed by the Roman Damasus. The date of the Athanasian Creed is uncertain, but it was probably

Creeds.

Nicene.

Constanti-  
nopolitan.

Athana-  
sian.

framed by a member of the Latin Church, it may be the CENT. IV. Vercellensian Eusebius<sup>b</sup>.

From a comparison of it with the earlier Creeds we may see how much more technical and precise doctrinal statements had become. A brief sketch may now be given of the causes. The controversy respecting the fact of the Incarnation assumed a more subtle appearance the nearer it approached the absolute reality of the truth involved in it; so that heresy considered abstractedly, and without reference to the deductions which might be made from it, closely resembled orthodoxy, and in a great measure employed the same language. The grosser oppositions of the Gnostics and Ebionites had been seen through and abandoned; and it had been argumentatively established, that is to say, sufficiently to silence gainsayers, that the Author of the Christian religion had not only been Very Man, but a Divine Personage; so that when Paul revived the question he was already virtually condemned; and lastly, the clear results of the disputations which Praxeas, Noetus, and Sabellius, had raised, has evicted His distinct Personality, contradistinguished from a mere quality, accident, or abstraction, in the Godhead. Moreover, the specific nature of the Holy Ghost had been vindicated side by side with that of the Son. Rightly, Arius, therefore, did S. Athanasius correct Eusebius, when he said that Arius denied the existence of the Son anterior to the Incarnation<sup>c</sup>. The question he raised was a widely different and far deeper one; he disputed the eternal generation, including, as it did necessarily, the consubstantiality and co-equality of the second Person in the Trinity. The result of the last heresy had been to prove that the Person of the Son of God became the Son of Man. Pressing therefore upon the natural associations connected with the word "Son," Arius endeavoured to shew the necessary priority of the Father. Hence those watchwords of his party: *Ἦν ποτε ὅτε οὐκ ἦν οὐκ αἰὲν πάτηρ οὐκ αἰὲν υἱός· οὐ γὰρ ἦν ὁ υἱός πρὶν γεννηθῆ· ἀλλ' ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων γέγονε καὶ αὐτός· οὐκ ἦν ἄρα πάτηρ ὁ Θεὸς πρὶν ὁ υἱὸς γεννηθῆ*. Then Prov. viii. 22 was alleged, in which Wisdom says, "The Lord created me." Col. i. 15, in which

Denied the eternal generation of the Son.

Ὁ Κόσμος ἀκτιστέ μοι.

<sup>b</sup> Bona De Div. Psalm. mod., c. xviii. § 1.

<sup>c</sup> Vid. S. Ath. De Nicæn. Syn. Dec. § 3.

CENT. our Lord is called "first-born of every creature." Phil. ii. 3, IV. to prove His exaltation dependent upon His Incarnation. Heb. Πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως. i. 4, to prove that He had been at a given time raised above the angels. 1 Cor. xv. 28, to prove that His kingdom would only last for a time. Again, they distinguished between His existence as the "implicit and explicit Word;" and while 'Ενδιαθέτος et προφορικός. they admitted the pre-existence of the Word, asserted that He was not called "Son" till He became Man. Lastly, the 'Αγέννητος. word "unbegotten," was the middle term by which Eunomius attempted to prove complete dissimilarity between the Father and the Son, being applicable to the former to the exclusion of the latter. On the other hand the orthodox 'Αει Πάτηρ ἀει Υἱός. language was, "ever Father: ever Son." His consubstantiality was established in the very idea of His Sonship; His co-eternity in that He is called the Word, the Wisdom, and Power of the Father; His co-equality in that He is called Heb. i. 3. "Brightness of His glory: express Image of His Person," and the like; only it was to be remembered that the Father was always the Father, and never the Son; and the Son always the Son, and never the Father. The orthodox said of the Son that He was different in that He was begotten; but the same in that He was God; a different Person but the same Substance. This verse, "I and My Father are one," exactly conveyed the distinction, and refuted the Arians and Sabellians. 'Ἄλλος ἄλλ' οὐκ ἕλλο. S. John x. 30. in the same breath. The practical consideration was likewise urged, that the Son is adored, praised, and supplicated, equally with the Father; that we are baptized into the name of the Son as well as of the Father; and that by partaking of the Son we are made partakers of the Father. Consequently, those who considered the Son a creature committed idolatry, while those who denied His consubstantiality worshipped two gods. Admit two gods, says S. Athanasius, and you follow the heathen; deny two Persons and you follow the Sabellians. The four orations of S. Athanasius against the Arians, and his treatise *De Nicanis Decretis*, give a fair insight into the controversy; that *De Incarnatione Verbi* admirably exhibits the true doctrine; while S. Basil's work against Eunomius exposes the extreme Arians or Anomæans.

Though the Arian controversy for the most part turned upon the Divinity of the Son, that of the Holy Ghost was

incidentally brought under notice, and maintained by the same arguments. He is not only described in the Scriptures as a Spirit, but as a Personage, and very God. At the same time because He is ranked third in the baptismal form, the doxology, creed, and grace, the Anomæans demurred to His Divinity, and even ventured to say that He was a creature of the Son, and consequently a further degree below the Father. All things were made by Him, that is the Word, they argued, so therefore was the Holy Ghost. On the other hand S. Basil, in the work above mentioned, as well as the treatise *De Spiritu Sancto*, shews that He was no less a divine Person. He assisted at the creation; contrived the Incarnation; by Him the old man is regenerated; through Him devils are cast out; He separates to the ministry; through Him sins are remitted; He inspired the prophets and apostles: He is often called God; He filleth the world; Holy Scripture is said to be "by inspiration of God," because it is His work. It is observable that S. Basil, in the latter treatise, after alleging the tradition of the Church respecting His Divine personality, says, "It is not enough for us that it is the tradition of the Fathers, for they likewise followed the intent of the Scriptures<sup>d</sup>." S. Basil himself, it may be observed, had incurred no little suspicion on account of a somewhat unusual form of the doxology which he had adopted; but, like Dionysius, he avers his orthodoxy, and endeavours to explain his language. One Nature and a triplicity of Persons in the Godhead henceforth were carefully distinguished, and accurate language guarded against mis-statements as well as mis-conceptions in the doctrine of the blessed Trinity.

C E N T.  
IV.S. Basil in  
his treatise  
*De Spiritu*  
*Sancto*.Θεόπνευ-  
στος.  
2 Tim. iii.  
16.φύσις.<sup>1</sup>  
ὑποστάσεις  
v. πρόσω-  
πα.

Of the Apologies of the present age it need only be observed that they repeated the arguments already mentioned, and refuted the objections made against Christianity. The work of Arnobius entitled *Adversus Gentes*, the Institutions of Lactantius, the two great works of Eusebius, *Præparatio Evangelica*, and *Demonstratio Evangelica*, the still greater work of S. Augustine *De Civitate Dei*, with the ten books of S. Cyril against Julian, are the chief authorities on the subject. Other points besides the above-mentioned will be illustrated by the acts of the councils to be found in the different

Christian  
Apologies.<sup>d</sup> De Sp. S., c. vii.

CENT. collections elsewhere specified, as well as by the sixteenth  
 IV. book of the Theodosian code\*.

- The same remark holds good that was made before, respecting the difference between the sense which many words bear now, and the later one affixed to them in a subsequent age.
- Merit.** Petavius attests the sense in which the word "merit" was understood by the ancient Church. "All the ancient Fathers, especially S. Austin, and the Roman and Catholic Faith consenting with them, do acknowledge merits in this sense, that no merits go before the grace of God, and that these very merits do depend wholly on grace and on the free promise of God<sup>f</sup>." "Satisfaction," said with reference to the Church, was a scandal repaired: with reference to God he was said to make "satisfaction" who supplicated the pardon of his sins.
- Satisfaction.**
- Free-will.** "Liberty," "will," and "free-will," were opposed to the notion of a necessary cause without or within man, which destroyed his free agency. Not that grace was trenched upon, but that the error of the Manicheans was avoided. Statements however respecting the freedom of the will were considerably modified in the controversy with the Pelagians.
- Indulgence.** "Indulgence" was a term frequently used to denote mitigation or relaxation of the ecclesiastical discipline according to the discretion of the bishop. "Penitence" generally signified a performance of the penitential discipline which was the outward token of a sincere repentance. The word "exomologesis" implied public penance generally, or more particularly public confession<sup>g</sup>. Private confession indeed had been introduced after the Decian persecution, but Nectarius abolished the office of the
- Penitence.** penitentiary. "Sacrament" had a very wide use; it is equivalent to a "sacred sign" with S. Augustine: hence marriage, imposition of hands, unction, and the like were called "sacraments:" it is also used to denote a mystery; for instance the "sacrament" of the Incarnation and so forth. The word
- Sacrament.**
- Mass.** "mass" or "missa" signified originally a dismissal; the first being that of the catechumens before the celebration of the Eucharist, the last that of the faithful after celebration; hence it came to be used for the Divine service generally.
- Holy Table or Altar.** That which was known by the name of the "Holy Table" was

\* Ed. Gothofred.

Cited by Bramhall, *Ans. to Mil-*

letiere, P. i. D. 1.

<sup>g</sup> Vid. Allaspin. *Observat.* ii. 26.

also called "Altar:" first because upon it were deposited the offerings of the people, and secondly because the commemorative sacrifice of the Eucharist was made upon it. In the same way "sacrifice" was understood of the commemoration of the actual Sacrifice upon the cross: whence the phrase "sacrifice of remembrance," and "unbloody;" or else metaphorically of prayer and praise, whence the epithets, mental, spiritual, reasonable, immaterial, without smoke; and the expressions, incense, offerings of prayers, or else of the oblations of bread and wine made by the people, and styled offerings, gifts, holy gifts, and so forth. The words "to be transmuted," "transformed," "changed," "transfigured," and the like, applied to the elements: the change not being deemed one of substance, but of use: not a physical but a moral change: from a common and ordinary, to a sacred and mystical use. The baptismal waters were considered to undergo the same change; hence the following adverbs, "mystically," "symbolically," "spiritually," are frequently joined with the above. The phrase "forms of bread and wine," SS. Ambrose and Augustine employ to designate the elements generally, but not the accidents without the substance. By a fast was meant a total abstinence from all food till the evening, or at all events till the ninth hour. The word *quadragesima* did not always signify a fast of forty days: between the death of our Lord upon the cross and His resurrection are supposed to have lapsed about forty hours, whence some have derived the origin of the name. The words "pope," "patriarch," "cardinal," and the like, bore a different sense from what they afterwards had: e. g., bishops were generally called "popes;" metropolitans or exarchs of the diocese were improperly styled "patriarchs;" "cardinal" presbyters, and deacons, were the chief of the presbyters or deacons of a particular Church. It is needless to multiply examples. Again, the Fathers of the fourth century were not free from the like singularities and conceits to those already noticed in the ante-Nicene age. Lactantius, among others, held that the Holy Spirit was not a substance. S. Hilary that Christ was impassible. S. Basil that heretics are to be re-baptized. S. Chrysostom over-rated the powers of the natural will. Many held that the soul was propagated from father to son continuously, that is,

CENT.  
IV.

Sacrifice.

θυσία ἀνα-  
μνήσεως et  
ἀναιμακ-  
τος.θυσία νοη-  
τή, πνευ-  
ματική,λογική,  
ἅγιος,  
ἄκαπνος.εὐχῶν θυ-  
μιάματα,

προσφορά,

προσφορά,  
δῶρα, ἄγια  
δῶρα.μετα ποιῆ-  
σθαι, μετα-στοιχειού-  
σθαι, μετα-

βάλλεσθαι,

μεταμορ-  
φούσθαι.species.  
jejunium.

Pope.

Patriarch.  
Cardinal.

CENT. *ex traduce*, as the phrase was; many considered angels  
IV. corporeal.

S. Augustine maintained that infants who died unbaptized were not admitted into heaven. "It is not upon all questions of the Divine law," says a wise author, "that the ancient consensus of the holy Fathers is to be diligently ascertained and observed by us: but only, or at all events chiefly, upon the rule of faith. . . . These, however, we must believe, with this understanding, that whatever either all or the majority, as in a council of masters agreeing together, have confirmed by openly, frequently, constantly, receiving, holding, and delivering in one and the same sense; this should be regarded as indisputable, certain, and settled. But whatever opinions any one, be he ever so learned and holy: be he bishop, confessor, or martyr, hath advanced beside all, or at least contrary to all; this should be regarded as his own peculiar, secret, and private opinion; and be distinguished from the authority of a common, public, and universal decision: lest, with the greatest peril of everlasting salvation, after the irreligious custom of heretics and schismatics, we cast aside the ancient truth of universal doctrine, and adopt the novel error of one individual<sup>b</sup>." Not a word more need be said on the subject. One remark remains to be made respecting prayers for the dead; of which neither the doctrine nor practice can be classed with the foregoing because it prevailed universally. The intermediate state, it has been already observed, was considered by the ancients, essentially peaceful and free from care, but incomplete: they prayed therefore that the departed might rise to a more blissful consummation. With Origen however commenced the idea of a fiery ordeal through which it would be necessary that all should pass at the judgment day: a trial that would result in the entire purification of the righteous, who would immediately be admitted to the full joys of the heavenly Jerusalem: but in the conviction and eternal torments of the wicked. Thus a further object was introduced into the prayers for the dead: namely, that they might have a merciful trial at the judgment day, nor was it inconsistent with the original notion of the intermedi-

Prayers for  
the dead.

Origen  
starts the  
idea of a  
fiery ordeal  
at the  
judgment  
day.

<sup>b</sup> Commonit. adv. Hær. c. xxxix. (xxix. Flower's Tr.)

ate state. It probably arose from the very ancient tradition CENT.  
IV. which asserts that as the first destruction of the earth was effected by water: so the last will be effected by fire: as S. Peter hints: and that as in the first, not only the lower 2 Pet. iii. 7. orders of the creation, but mankind likewise shared: so the result of the last will be vengeance upon the wicked, but the righteous will be saved as at the first. It may be added that there are many passages in the New Testament which seem to countenance the doctrine by the way in which fire is brought into connexion with the regeneration of the elect. e.g. S. Mat. iii. 11; S. Mark ix. 49; 1 Cor. iii. 13. Besides Origen, Lactantius, SS. Hilary, Basil, Gregory Nazianzenus, Jerome, and Ambrose, express the like sentiments: but it clearly was not with them a doctrine necessary to be believed. On the other hand, Tertullian in the African Church first adventured the notion of a fiery trial in the intermediate state: and S. Cyprian, led probably by his authority, repeats it: but both in the most obscure terms. Tertullian. S. Cyprian in the intermediate state. S. Augustine mentions both views hesitatingly: but not in the same passage; nor will he accept, while he will not oppose the latter; he was however the first Father who made the distinction that prayers for the dead were mere thanksgivings for the very good: but real propitiations for the not very bad: while prayers uttered for the very bad only tended to the consolation of the living. There is not indeed any necessity why such a distinction might not find a place in the former and more consistently primitive doctrine, which Archbishop Usser proves to have been held in the Saxon Church in the time of the Venerable Bede and S. Dunstan<sup>1</sup>.

Rites and ceremonies had increased in the present age to so great a degree that S. Augustine complains that they were a heavier burden than had ever been imposed under the law. § 3. RITES AND CEREMONIES. Dedication or consecration of a church was accompanied with hymns, prayers, and thanksgivings: Eusebius delivered a panegyric oration at the dedication of the church of Tyre which he records<sup>2</sup>: and other bishops, it would appear, were accustomed to do the same<sup>1</sup>. But the most solemn rite was the erection of the cross with prayer (stauropegium), as well

<sup>1</sup> Vid. Answer to a challenge by a Jesuit, c. 7. p. 182.

<sup>2</sup> E. H. x. 4.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., c. 8. ad l.



**CENT.** in a place where a new church was to be built, as where a  
**IV.** gentile temple was to be purified<sup>m</sup>. This part of the ceremony was always performed by the bishop. A church was solemnly dedicated to God and His service, but frequently with respect to the memory of one or more of His saints. S. Augustine expressly draws the distinction, "We do not," he says, "erect temples to our martyrs as gods, but memorials to them as dead men whose spirits live with God: nor again do we build altars in them to sacrifice to the martyrs, but we offer sacrifice to one God, the God of the martyrs, and our own<sup>n</sup>" Churches were called basilicas as well from the sanctity attaching to them as from the splendour with which they were built. Their form, as may be supposed, was not always the same. That built over the holy Sepulchre was round: that of the Apostles in the form of a cross<sup>o</sup>. Others were oblong in the figure of a ship, as the Constitutions enjoin<sup>p</sup>, with the front or chief entrance facing the east. That part we call the body, was frequently built "in the form of a trulla," says Bingham, that is, "a great round arch or sphere." But to describe the parts more specifically. The first was the "porch" with a court open to the sky; the second, the "vestibule," answering to that of the Jewish temple, and separated from the porch by the court which was surrounded with cloisters: it is also called "narthex," with reference to the penitents; the third, the "nave" or body of the church, where the faithful were ranged, the men divided from the women: and probably the latter on the north or right side of the church<sup>q</sup>; it answered to the holy place in the Jewish temple; and fourth, which answered to the holy of holies, the "bema, the chancel, altar-part, sanctuary, presbytery," as it was called, and still later, the "choir." It was occupied exclusively by the clergy. The precise situations of the penitents will be mentioned hereafter. The court and the porticos round it were used to bury the dead. At Rome indeed the catacombs had been used by the early Christians for the last-named purpose: having been originally the subterranean galleries dug to provide the materials for building Rome.

**Porch.**      **Vestibule.**  
 πρὸς-  
 λαίον.  
**Nave.**  
**Bema.**  
**Court.**

<sup>m</sup> Gothofred, ad xvi. Cod. Theod.  
 Tit. x. l. ult.  
<sup>n</sup> De Civ. Dei, xxii. 10.

• Bingham Antiq. viii. 3.  
<sup>p</sup> ii. 57, et Cotelier. ad l.  
<sup>q</sup> Durant. De Rit. Eccl. i. 18.



**C E N T.** as the hours of prayer, the eighteenth Laodicean canon specifies "vespers." The Constitutions the time of the cock-crowing after vespers, and matins before the third hour<sup>t</sup>.  
**IV.** Forms are to be found in the same authority.

Vespers.  
 Cock-crowing.  
 Matins.

Feast of  
 the Nati-  
 vity.

Days of  
 the Apo-  
 stles and  
 martyrs.

On the Lord's day, and from Easter to Pentecost inclusively, the twentieth Nicene canon enjoins Christians to pray standing. Saturday was still kept as a festival in the Eastern Church, and the holy Eucharist administered upon it. The feast of the Theophany, or Epiphany, that is, of the Nativity, was now observed by the Egyptian, African, and Syrian Churches on the 6th of January, upon which day they likewise celebrated the baptism of our Lord. In the Western Church it was observed on the 25th of December; whence the Eastern Church eventually, says S. Chrysostom, altered to the same day<sup>u</sup>. The 6th of January remained for some time appropriated to the baptism, as we learn from the Constitutions<sup>x</sup>; subsequently the adoration of the Magi was included. The days of the Apostles, of S. Stephen, the proto-martyr, and the rest of the martyrs, are specified in the same place; the vigils were more and more observed, with appropriate ceremonies, especially that before Easter; the churches were crowded, tapers lit, and even consecrated to be borne by the neophytes; baptism and the holy Communion were administered; psalms and hymns detained the congregation till the time when the event of the resurrection was thought to have taken place.

Lent.

The quadragesimal fast is mentioned as a fast of weeks in the forty-ninth Laodicean canon; the Roman Church, however, only fasted three weeks, and these exclusive of the Sabbath and Lord's day, as Socrates records<sup>y</sup>. The Alexandrian Church observed six weeks; that of Constantinople seven, under the same restrictions. Further, the imperial constitutions prohibited shows to be exhibited, convicts executed, marriages celebrated, debts exacted, during the holy season. And the Laodicean canons, so often quoted, forbid the nativities of the martyrs to be kept, and even the Eucharist to be consecrated, except upon the Sabbath, or the Lord's day, as long as it lasted.

<sup>t</sup> viii. 34, et Cotelier. ad l.

<sup>u</sup> Homil. in Nativ., vol. ii. ed. Ben.

<sup>x</sup> viii. 33.

<sup>y</sup> E. H. v. 22, et Vales. ad l.

Trine immersion continued to be the manner in which baptism was administered; aspersion was allowed in the case of the sick or infirm: the solemn seasons were the same; lighted tapers were given to the recipient, emblematical of the illumination of the blessed Spirit; whence baptism was called "illumination;" the baptistery, "the illuminatory;" the baptized, "newly illumined or enlightened," and the like. The injection of salt into the mouth of the baptized, the taste of wine, honey, and milk, the wearing of the white garments or chrisoms eight days, the kiss of peace, were still reckoned among the ceremonies. Unction after baptism is enjoined in the forty-eighth Laodicean canon; it was accompanied with imposition of hands, and followed by a participation of the holy Eucharist. The manner in which it became the distinct rite which we call confirmation has been already noticed. In the thirty-eighth canon of the council of Elvira, where lay-baptism, provided it be that of a person who has kept his vow, and is not a bigamist, is allowed, imposition of hands by the bishop is enjoined as the perfecting rite. Baptisteries, or stone fonts of a large size, began to be used, but they did not stand inside the church. The recipients went down naked into the water, which action, as well as the putting off the garments to do so, had a mystical import. Decency was consulted by means of the deaconesses in the case of the women, whose font was separated by a partition from that of the men.

CENT.  
IV.φωτισμός  
φωτιστή-  
ριον· νεο-  
φώτιστοι  
εὐ φωτι-  
σθέντες.Baptiste-  
ria.

There are many notorious instances in which baptism was put off contrary to the canons; Constantine the Great and his son Constantius, Theodosius the Great and Valens, may be specified; indeed S. Austin himself is a case. The eighteenth of the African canons forbids baptism and the holy Eucharist to be administered to the dead; the thirteenth Nicene canon enjoins the latter, which it calls a most necessary *viaticum*, to be administered to the dying; customs which doubtless arose from the supposed absolute necessity of the sacraments. In the same spirit those penitents who had died unreconciled were occasionally restored to communion after death<sup>a</sup>.

Instances  
of baptism  
deferred.

The administration of the holy Communion, though cele-

<sup>a</sup> Albaspin Observ. i. 10.

C E N T. brated with more state, retained most of the usages of the  
 IV. last century. Oblations were made by the people; the bread was leavened; the consecration performed in a loud voice, and the bread broken; both kinds were administered, and given into the hands of the recipients. Neither Sirmondus, Petavius, nor Bona, deny these facts<sup>a</sup>. Of the names by which the ancients designated the Eucharist some have been already specified; many more may be seen in the treatise of Suicer upon the subject<sup>b</sup>. The Sabbath and Lord's day continued to be the days upon which it was usually administered, though the Western Church preferred the fourth or sixth day of the week to the former. Not only catechumens, but all who did not partake, were ordered to withdraw before the Communion office commenced. S. Chrysostom frequently inveighs against those who stayed behind, but did not receive; indeed, the second canon of the council of Antioch ordains such to be cast out of the Church<sup>c</sup>. The general custom was to communicate fasting, and in the morning; but Socrates mentions Churches about Thebes and Alexandria that did the exact reverse.

Lay-communion.

That of strangers.

Pre-sanctified communion.

What is called "lay-communion" means that without the chancel and among the laity; it was a degradation made for the delinquent clergy. Baronius, Bellarmine, and others have interpreted it to signify communion in one kind: but Bona has entirely proved the explanation untenable. Another kind of communion was that "of strangers:" also used as a punishment, and interpreted to mean one kind like the last, but equally without evidence; what it was is a controverted point, but it probably implied admission to the public prayers only, without participation of the Eucharist. A third kind was called pre-sanctified communion, when the consecrated elements had been reserved as they always were during Lent: consecration being only allowed upon the Sabbath and the Lord's day, as before noticed. This too has been explained in the same way with the two preceding, but it is equally certain that both kinds were reserved and administered<sup>d</sup>. S. Ambrose is the first author who designates exclu-

<sup>a</sup> Sirmond. Disq. de Azymo. Petav.

De Publ. Pœnit.: Bona De Reb. Liturg.

<sup>b</sup> De Nominib. S. cœnæ.

<sup>c</sup> Vid. Cassander. Liturg., c. 30.

<sup>d</sup> Vid. Bingham, Antiq. xv. 4. 12. et 5. 1.

sively the communion service by the word "Missa;" the origin of the term has been already stated: and it is constantly to be found in the plural number. CENT.  
IV.

The discipline of the Church is to be seen enacted in the Ancyrean canons 4—9, the eleventh Nicene, the canons of S. Basil, and the canonical epistle before mentioned of S. Gregory Thaumaturgus. One, three, or four years, according to the crime, were allotted to the station of "the mourners;" these stood without the porch, exposed to the weather, begging the clergy and people as they entered to intercede for them; hence probably their designation. Among "the hearers," those who had sacrificed compulsorily were ordered to stand one year, those who had done so voluntarily three years: those who had committed murder five years; their place was within the narthex or vestibule, which was shared by the catechumens, the possessed, and, under Christian emperors, by pagans and Jews. The station of "the prostrate" was by far the longest: seven years frequently for murder and adultery: sometimes a whole life. These stood within the nave behind the ambo, and were dismissed before the communion service: but not without the prayers of the congregation, and the episcopal benediction which they prostrated themselves to receive: whence their name. Station  
of the  
mourners,  
  
οι χεῖμαζόμενοι  
of the  
hearers,  
  
of the  
prostrate,

The "by-standers" occupied the same place with the faithful, and remained through the whole service, but did not communicate: not that they are to be considered exceptions to the rule that those who did not communicate should withdraw; two, three, four, and even seven years are assigned to the station. Albaspinæus and Morinus supply many more particulars\*. of the by-  
standers.

Even women occasionally performed public penance, as the example of Fabiola mentioned by S. Jerome<sup>f</sup> proves; but much of the ancient rigour was abated by the indulgences or relaxations of the canonical discipline which were now granted by the bishops under the sanction of the twelfth Nicene, and fifth Ancyrean canon. S. Ambrose, who first employs the word in the technical sense, granted indulgence in a notable Indul-  
gences.

\* Albaspin Observat., lib. ii.; Morin. De Pœnit.

<sup>f</sup> Ep. lxxxiv. ed. Ben.

C E N T.  
IV.

Office of  
the peni-  
tentiary.

Lighted  
tapers.

Clergy  
separated  
from their  
wives.

Remains  
of the  
Martyrs.

case to the emperor Theodosius<sup>\*</sup>. The removal of the penitentiary by Nectarius, which Socrates and Sozomen record, together with the duties of his office, has been differently explained. Sirmondus holds that Nectarius by his deed abrogated public confession<sup>b</sup>. Marshall and others dwell upon the fact that he abolished the office of a private confessor<sup>1</sup>.

To turn to the more novel customs of the age generally; lighted tapers began to be used towards the close of the century in the day-time during the readings of the gospels and other parts of the public service. Baronius and others, among whom is Bona<sup>k</sup>, derive the custom from the Jews: but it has been excepted that the Jewish custom was to extinguish lamps in the morning. Lactantius had disowned it previously with scorn, as if it came from the Gentiles: and the thirty-fourth canon of the council of Elvira forbids it, apparently upon the same grounds. Funeral processions were likewise adorned with lights: and the heathen had here certainly set the example. Probably, however, as was the case with incense, most of these customs had a Jewish as well as a Gentile origin: and the Fathers are to be understood as ridiculing the gentile superstitions connected with them. Fasting likewise underwent modifications: a particular abstinence being recognised in the "dry fare" specified by the fiftieth Laodicean canon. Siricius about A.D. 385 issued a decretal epistle, by the seventh clause of which bishops, priests, and deacons, are forbid to live with their wives. SS. Ambrose and Jerome maintained equally strong views about celibacy. The Gangran synod on the other hand anathematized those who condemned married priests.

The dead bodies of the Martyrs had been honoured from the first; the ashes of S. Polycarp were collected by his flock with the most scrupulous care<sup>1</sup>. The remains of S. Ignatius had been transported from Rome to Antioch, and deposited in the church cemetery without the city<sup>m</sup>; but under Theodosius the younger they were removed into what had been the temple of Fortune within the city, with great pomp

<sup>\*</sup> Theodoret, E. H. v. 18; Sozom. E. H. vii. 26.

<sup>b</sup> Hist. Penit. Publ., c. 8.

<sup>1</sup> Penit. Discipl. of the Prim. Ch., c. 2. part i. § 1.

<sup>k</sup> Rer. Liturg. i. 5. 2.

<sup>1</sup> Eccl. Smyrn. Ep. § 18.

<sup>m</sup> Martyr. S. Ign., § 6; apud Pat. Apost., vol. ii. p. 574, not. ed. Jacob.

and ceremony<sup>a</sup>. Translations of the kind had become frequent; it was thought seemly that a more honourable interment should be provided those holy witnesses of the faith, who had been buried hurriedly and without care during the different persecutions. Competent authority records miraculous cures to have been effected by the remains of a martyr about the same time. S. Austin, in his great work against the heathen, reports a great many circumstantially that were done in and about his own see, by the remains of S. Stephen, the proto-martyr, which Orosius had conveyed from Jerusalem; and he likewise confirms the cure which S. Ambrose records in the case of the two Milanese martyrs<sup>c</sup>. His testimony is the more weighty as he declaims vehemently against the corruptions thereby engendered. "Hypocrites," he says, "in the monastic habit, went about selling relics of the martyrs," and so forth<sup>b</sup>; and he is also very express in his distinction that Christians worshipped not the martyrs, but Him whom the martyrs worshipped<sup>d</sup>. It is only melancholy to reflect, how quickly superstition engrafted upon these signal instances of the presence of our Lord with His Church, the necessary inherent efficacy of the instruments themselves, and it was probably the corrupt doctrine and practice thereby engendered that led Vigilantius, against whom S. Jerome wrote, to protest openly against the whole thing. In the same way while S. Athanasius, in his treatise upon the Incarnation, reports how devils were cast out by the sign of the cross, it is equally certain that it was beginning to be regarded with a superstitious reverence: though the erection of it upon buildings, public and private, and still more upon churches and altars in the present age, can scarce be said to have originated the abuse which followed. But it was the discovery, truly reported or not, still fully credited, of the actual cross, which gave the chief impulse to the perverse feeling. Again, pilgrimages to the holy land exhibited proofs of the same tendency: Helena, mother of Constantine the Great, had set the example, and the practice, though reprobated by the

CENT.  
IV.

Translations.

Miraculous  
cures.Sign of  
the Cross.

Pilgrimages.

<sup>a</sup> Evag. E. H. i. 16.<sup>b</sup> De Civ. Dei, xxii. 8; vid. Cave, Life of S. Stephen, 28.<sup>c</sup> De opere monach., c. 28.<sup>d</sup> Contra Faust. xx. 21; De Civ. Dei, xxii. 10.



CENT. Fathers for the most part, increased rapidly: S. Gregory IV. Nyssen has left a good oration upon the subject. Again, the *Περὶ τῶν ἀπιδόντων εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα.* tombs of the Martyrs were frequented with the liveliest interest. The Martyrs were held to be present at them, and to add their prayers to those of the living. Hence it became a practice to request their intercessions, yet with a doubt how far their cognizance extended, as is implied in the constant parenthesis of S. Gregory Nazianzenus: and in the same way that the prayers of the living were asked by the living. So far the practice can scarce be said to have exceeded Scriptural grounds: for, as Hooker says, "the knowledge is small which we have on earth concerning things that are done in heaven: notwithstanding thus much we know even of saints in heaven, that they pray<sup>r</sup>." Again the use of images had commenced in the churches of Asia Minor, and elsewhere, before the close of the century. Paulinus, bishop of Nola, advocated them; Epiphanius on the other hand tore down a picture with his own hands, though neither had been introduced for a superstitious purpose. The thirty-sixth canon of the synod of Elvira had forbidden pictures in a church; but it has been conjectured that the canon only condemns representations of the blessed Trinity.

Images  
and pic-  
tures.

Prayers for the dead. We have already discussed prayers for the dead as a doctrine; instances of the practice worth noticing, are the prayers for the soul of Constantine the Great, which Eusebius says, were offered by a numerous congregation<sup>s</sup>; and the prayers of S. Ambrose for the souls of the emperors Valentinian, Gratian, and Theodosius<sup>t</sup>. They even carried the practice so far as to pray for the souls of the reprobate, that they might undergo a less severe punishment: and Epiphanius imputes it to Acrius as a grave error amongst others, that he denied the dead to be benefited by the prayers of the living<sup>u</sup>.

Dress of the clergy.

To turn to a subject more exclusively concerning ecclesiastics; mention is made by SS. Ambrose, Chrysostom, and others, of the white linen garments now worn by the clergy; and the Laodicean canons<sup>x</sup> speak of a scarf, which many consider equivalent to the modern stole, called

<sup>r</sup> Eccl. Pol. v. 23; comp. Apocal. vi. 9, 10.

<sup>s</sup> Vit. Constant. iv. 71.

<sup>t</sup> De ob. Valentin. et Theodos.

<sup>u</sup> Hær. lxxv.

<sup>x</sup> Can. 22, 23.

*orarium*, which the bishop and priests carried over each shoulder, but the deacons on the left only; none below a deacon might wear it. It was called *orarium*, because it was used to wipe the mouth; and the deacons made a sign with it to begin the prayers, lessons, and other parts of the service. These vestments, which were the only known in the present age, were probably kept in a place answering to our vestry, designated the *sceuphylacium*, or *diaconicum*. Indeed it was only reasonable that the clergy should minister in a peculiar dress, as did the priests among the Jews, especially now that the ecclesiastical hierarchy had expanded so considerably.

Bishops, presbyters, deacons, sub-deacons, exorcists, readers, acolythes, door-keepers, and singers, have been already specified and still existed; unless acolythes are to be excepted, because not mentioned in the Laodicean, Antiochean, and Sardican canons which mention the rest.

Bishops, presbyters, and deacons, however, were still considered the higher orders; and the others, from the sub-deacon downwards, ministers upon them. The subdeacon stood by the door, which some interpret the door of the sanctuary, but improbably, in the Western Church; his services had begun to be required by the bishop, and at the celebration of the Eucharist; hence when ordained they received a paten and cup from the bishop, both empty; with a pitcher of water, bason, and towel from the archdeacon, as the fourth council of Carthage directs: in which the ordinations of the different orders are particularly recited.

Exorcists in the East were closely connected with catechists; inasmuch as he laid his hands upon not only the possessed, but the catechumens; into whose face and ears he was wont to make a triple insufflation, as the seventh canon of the second general council says. In the West, Paulinus of Nola briefly describes his office in the line

“Adjurare malos et sacris pellerere verbis.”

The readership continued to be a distinct office, and the tenth Sardican canon describing the necessary course to be gone through before a person could be promoted to the episcopate, begins with readers, and from them ascends to the

CENT.  
IV.

Orarium.

§ 4.  
GOVERN-  
MENT.

Office of  
the sub-  
deacon.

of the  
exorcist,

of the  
reader.

**C E N T.** subdeacon, deacon, and priest. In the Alexandrian Church, **IV.** says Socrates, even catechumens might be made readers and

**Singers.**

singers: elsewhere none but the faithful<sup>7</sup>. Singers, it is to be observed, had become a much more distinct office since the introduction of the psalter, and the laws regulating psalmody; the chants were made alternately with the lessons from the ambo; the singers were called *ὑποβολαῖς*, or precentors.

**Deacons  
and dea-  
conesses.**

The deacons continued to collect the oblations of the faithful, and carry about the consecrated elements: to bid the catechumens and faithful withdraw successively when the service was over, as well as to bid prayer in the congregation; they moreover made a sign with the *orarium* for the different parts of the service to commence. Deaconesses were likewise ordained with imposition of hands in the present age, as may be gathered from the nineteenth Nicene canon; in which however a distinction is made between those enrolled in the canon and those only habited so<sup>8</sup>, forty years being the age required. They are not however therefore to be confounded with the "matrons," against whom the eleventh Laodicean canon speaks. Epiphanius minutely describes their office<sup>9</sup>.

*πρεσβυτέ-  
δες.*

**Presbyters.**

*ἐκ δευτέρου  
θρόνου.*

Presbyters were chosen from among the deacons, and were the next order below the episcopate; thirty years is specified in the eleventh Neocæsarean canon as the proper age, after the example of our Lord. The epistles of S. Jerome to Titus and Evangelus have been quoted to prove presbyters and bishops one and the same order; and his exact intention has been greatly controverted: but it is undeniable that among the errors which Epiphanius<sup>b</sup> charged upon Aerius, not the least was his confusion of the two orders; presbyters had nevertheless privileges which have been already specified.

**Bishops.**

Bishops presided, consecrated, ordained, reconciled penitents, and relaxed the discipline when necessary.

**Arch-  
deacons.**

About the fourth century certain ranks were introduced into the different orders. The senior deacon, or one chosen by the bishop, was styled the archdeacon, and was the constant attendant and messenger of the bishop: in a word his

<sup>7</sup> E. H. v. 22.

<sup>8</sup> Vid. Balsam. ad l.

<sup>a</sup> Hær. lxxix. § 3, 4.

<sup>b</sup> Hær. lxxv.

eye; hence he soon rose into importance, and gained admission into a higher order, and eventually rendered the ancient office of the country bishop obsolete. Cecilian is styled arch-deacon of Carthage by Optatus: which is the first mention of the name; the fourth council of Carthage before cited refers to the office. Similarly the head of the college of presbyters was either the senior, or elected by the bishop, and his title was arch-priest or presbyter. S. Jerome speaks of the office, and Socrates and Sozomen mention one Peter who was proto-presbyter, or arch-presbyter of Alexandria towards the close of the century. Country bishops are mentioned in the Ancyran, Neocæsarean and Nicene canons: but they do not appear to have been so soon introduced into the Western Church. They were delegates of the city bishop, and sent by him into the distant parts of his see, to ordain, confirm, issue letters communicatory, and the like in his absence; but they could do nothing without his express leave. Some think them to have been only presbyters: others sometimes presbyters, and sometimes bishops, as it seems clear that they occasionally ordained; others that they were true bishops, but without sees, and under the city bishop<sup>c</sup>. Metropolitans are now expressly named in the Nicene, and other canons; in the ninth of the council of Antioch it is enjoined that "special honour be paid the prelate residing in the metropolis: and that the other bishops of the province do nothing extraordinary without him, according to a very ancient canon that had been handed down from the Fathers<sup>d</sup>." He presided at the provincial synod, confirmed and ordained the bishops of the province, received appeals and deposed; but it was allowable to appeal from him likewise to his synod. Another name given to him was "primate:" and as within his province he was supreme, so without it he was for the present independent; not that the civil and ecclesiastical bounds always preserved a strict correspondence. Again, in the African Church the oldest bishop in the province was always metropolitan: and by the seventh Nicene canon, honorary precedence is assigned, after the metropolitan, to him who presided over Ælia Capitolina.

CENT.  
IV.  
ὑπερίσκο-  
πος.

Arch-  
priests.

Country  
bishops.

Metropo-  
litana.

ἀντικέφα-  
λος.

<sup>c</sup> Vid. Bever. ad can. Ancy. 13.

<sup>d</sup> i. e. Can. Apost. xxvii. (al. xxxv.)

CENT.

IV.

Patriarchs.

Whether patriarchs were known in the present age has been greatly controverted. Socrates indeed says the second general council appointed them<sup>e</sup>, but he is either adopting a later phraseology, or using the word in a lax sense. Baronius and others date the power as high as the Apostles: others before, and others from the council of Nicæa<sup>f</sup>; like that of the metropolitans it probably existed before the name: and the more conspicuous of the metropolitans became patriarchs. It would be endless to enumerate those who have written upon the sixth Nicene canon, restricting it to the former, or extending it to the latter<sup>g</sup>; together with the controversy respecting the suburbicarian churches, to which Ruffinus gave rise by his translation. The second canon of Constantinople certainly refers to the thing though not the name: and the council of Ephesus and Chalcedon, in the same way, when they speak of a diocesan as well as a provincial authority, which the latter vests in the exarch of the diocese<sup>h</sup>, clearly contemplate the patriarchal power as a fact. The probable origin is to be sought in the increased expansion, and consequent exigencies, of the Church, in the same way that metropolitans were introduced; these, it is clear, existed before what may be called the conversion of the empire: multiplied needs rendering ecclesiastical polity more complicate, and suggesting the same developments that are brought about under like circumstances in a worldly state: the special providence of the Almighty over His Church adding a further consideration. Hence the theory, that the polity of the Church followed the division of the empire under Constantine, points rather to the facts than explains them. At the same time it is not denied that there was considerable sympathy, upon their first acquaintance, between the Church and the Empire.

Civil division of the empire.

Constantine divided the latter into four præfectures: 1, that of the East, which contained five dioceses; Antioch, Egypt, Ephesus, Thrace, Pontus: 2, that of Illyricum, which contained two, Macedonia and Dacia: 3, that of Gaul, which

<sup>e</sup> E. H. v. 8, et Vales. ad l.

<sup>f</sup> Vid. Bingham Antiq. ii. 17.

<sup>g</sup> Vid. Bever. in Synod. ad can. Nic. vi.; Spanheim Dissert. ad can. Nic. vi.; Vales. Observat. Eccl. in Soc. et Soz. iii.; De Marca De Concord. Sac. et

Imp. i. 3; Leo Allat. De Consens. Eccl. Occ. et Or. i. 12; Morin. Exercit. i. 29; Salmas. et Sirmond. De Region. Subicar.

<sup>h</sup> Can. 9.

contained three, Gaul, Spain, and Britain: and lastly, 4, that of Italy, which contained three, besides the Roman præfecture; Africa, Western Illyricum, and Italy. These thirteen dioceses were subdivided into provinces, of which the whole number was a hundred and eighteen, and in the metropolis of the respective provinces resided a proconsul or president: and in the metropolis of the respective dioceses a lieutenant or vicar. It is easy to see the analogy between these magistrates and the ecclesiastical grades in the episcopal order before mentioned: the metropolitan having authority over the bishops of a single province; the exarch, primate, or patriarch, as he was afterwards called, having authority over a diocese that comprised many subordinate provinces. Patriarch, it has been observed, was a Jewish office: and exarch, not being a distinctive title, was used to denote him who presided over a province as well as him who presided over a diocese<sup>1</sup>. Further, among the primates or exarchs in the latter sense there were four in the present age that were pre-eminent above the rest: of Antioch, Alexandria, Constantinople, and Rome. Socrates remarks in his day that Alexandria and Rome had long since been on the increase<sup>2</sup>, and Constantinople had been voted into honourable prerogatives, as the phrase is, after Rome, by the third canon of the second general council. As for the Roman see, it is the model by which the claims of the two others are asserted in the sixth Nicene canon, yet only, be it observed, because conformable with "ancient customs:" and the reason assigned for the prominence given to Constantinople was, that it was new Rome. To attribute a primacy to Rome had been "customary" from the first: even Ammianus Marcellinus attests it; and, as Socrates says<sup>3</sup>, the ecclesiastical rule was, that canons could not be passed without the consent of the Roman prelate. But a something more began to be gradually insinuated. S. Athanasius, Marcellus of Ancyra, Paul of Constantinople, and Asclepas of Gaza, who had been severally deposed by the Arians, had been re-instated through the influence of the Roman see: to counteract which canons four-

CENT.  
— IV. —

Ecclesiastical divisions.

<sup>1</sup> Vid. Can. Sardic. 6.<sup>2</sup> E. H. vii. 11.<sup>3</sup> E. H. ii. 8; the proper explanation

seems to be that of Prof. Hussey, "Rise of the Papal Power," p. 7, note.

**C E N T. IV.** **Law of Theodosius the Great.** **Spurious donations of Constantine the Great.** tenth and fifteenth and perhaps sixth and twelfth of the synod of Antioch would seem to have been framed<sup>m</sup>. Hence the council of Sardica which restored them, and which was intended to have been a general one, sanctioned appeals to the Roman see, not indeed as appertaining to it by Divine right, but from mere "respect to the memory of the Apostle Peter," and even enjoined that sentence should not be carried into effect without it<sup>n</sup>. A law passed under Theodosius the Great concerning the catholic faith, appeals to the faith held by the Roman bishop Damasus, and Peter of Alexandria as a model: that faith, which it was undeniable S. Peter had delivered to the Romans, inasmuch as it had been preserved ever since by them inviolate<sup>o</sup>. Thus of doctrine and discipline it was beginning to be recognised the authoritative standard. But the prerogatives said to have been conferred by Constantine the Great upon the Roman see, his donations, and so forth, are asserted without evidence: and many other documents unquestionably spurious have been adduced to favour claims which undoubtedly were put forth in a later age. But to proceed. Ordinations lay with the bishops and metropolitans as before: but the consent of the whole clergy and laity was indispensable<sup>p</sup>. Translations of the clergy from one church to another are severely prohibited. By the fifteenth Nicene canon, bishops, priests, and deacons are forbidden to remove. Elsewhere bishops are more particularly inhibited<sup>q</sup>. Constantine commended Eusebius because he declined exchanging his see of Cæsarea for that of Antioch. On the other hand, Julius, in his epistle to the Eastern Arians<sup>r</sup>, and Damasus, in his synodical epistle, complain of the translations that were made contrary to the canons<sup>s</sup>, not but that a peculiar emergency did not occasionally justify them, of which Socrates records numerous instances<sup>t</sup>.

Celibacy was not generally imposed upon the clergy, indeed Socrates styles it a new law<sup>u</sup> that was brought forward at the Nicene council, forbidding bishops, priests, and dea-

<sup>m</sup> Hussey, "Rise of the Papal Power," p. 10.

<sup>n</sup> Can. 3—5.

<sup>o</sup> Vid. Gothofred ad xvi. Cod. Theod., tit. i. l. 2.

<sup>p</sup> Vid. Vales. ad Soc. E. H. i. 9, and Bever. ad Nic. can. 4.

<sup>q</sup> Vid. Can. Antioch 21.

<sup>r</sup> Apud. S. Athan. Apol. ii. § 21 seq.

<sup>s</sup> Apud Theodoret. E. H. v. 11.

<sup>t</sup> E. H. vii. 36.

<sup>u</sup> E. H. i. 11.

cons to cohabit with wives married before ordination. And Paphnutius, who opposed it, says it would be contrary to the old tradition to separate them, still it was a part of the same tradition that those who entered holy orders unmarried should remain so<sup>x</sup>. The thirty-third Elviran canon enjoins abstinence upon the three orders, and even subdeacons placed in the ministry: on the other hand, in the East, though married bishops did not ordinarily cohabit, still they were not inhibited: and Socrates asserts that many, while bishops, had children by a lawful marriage<sup>y</sup>. On the whole it may be said, that while marriage was not the slightest bar to the highest order, and abstinence very generally practised by the married clergy, but not enforced: it would be hard to find a clear instance of marriage after ordination, which was expressly prohibited priests in the first Neocæsarean, deacons with one exception in the tenth Ancyran, and the higher orders generally in the nineteenth, or, according to others, the twenty-seventh apostolical canon.

CENT.  
IV.

Marriage  
after ordi-  
nation very  
rare.

Severe enactments were made touching the clergy, against those who conducted themselves scandalously, entered into simoniacal engagements, frequented taverns, followed after filthy lucre, mixed with worldly affairs; against such deposition and suspension is frequently decreed in the canons; lay communion was a punishment of the same nature; nor was excommunication a rare sentence. The third Nicene canon forbids the clergy to have any, not relations, of the opposite sex living with them that might occasion offence: but the precise meaning of the word *συμβιωκτος* has been variously assigned<sup>z</sup>.

So close was the intercommunion of the respective churches, and at the same time so well guarded, that a person travelling was obliged to take credentials with him from his bishop to obtain communion elsewhere; these credentials were couched in a peculiar form, whence they are called *litteræ formatæ*. Three kinds are mentioned: the "commendatory," granted only to those who were distinguished, or whose character had been assailed, or those who went on a mission to the emperor. The "pacificatory," granted to the poorer

Three  
kinds of  
the litteræ  
formatæ.  
*συστατικαί*.  
*επιφυλακ.*

<sup>x</sup> Sozom. E. H. i. 23.

<sup>y</sup> E. H. v. 22.

<sup>z</sup> Vid. Bever. ad l.



C E N T. class; but like the former, including laity as well as clergy:  
 IV. and lastly, the "dimissory," which the clergy received ex-  
 ἀπολυτική. clusively. None below the episcopal dignity might issue  
 i. e. Πατῆρ, were the letters Π. Τ. Α. Π. Baronius indeed, and even  
 Τίος, Ἁγίων Spanheim, says that the last Π. indicates S. Peter's initial,  
 Πνεῦμα. but without evidence. They always ended with the word  
 "Amen." In the forty-second Laodicean canon they are  
 called "canonical" letters<sup>a</sup>. Other communicatory letters  
 were the "synodical" or "encyclic" epistles, that emanated  
 from the different councils to announce what had been  
 transacted by them.

Councils  
 convened  
 by Con-  
 stantine  
 and his  
 successors.

Constan-  
 tine com-  
 pared to a  
 common  
 bishop.

The part taken by Constantine and his successors in the external regimen of the Church is a fact for which we have the most consistent and extensive evidence. Councils were convened by them unquestionably: to begin with the first of Nicæa: that of Tyre, Jerusalem, and very many more; they addressed letters to the different Churches and bishops, for instance, those to Alexander and Arius before the Nicene council; they appointed arbiters to decide controversies; published edicts against heathenism and Arianism; received appeals, as in the case of the Donatists; named judges to try ecclesiastical suits; deposed or coerced contumacious or offending clergy, and afterwards restored them; adjudicated even between claimants of the Roman see<sup>b</sup>; passed laws respecting the catholic faith, heresies, churches, and bishops; confirmed ecclesiastical canons and constitutions, whence Eusebius compares Constantine the Great to a common bishop<sup>c</sup>; while the emperor himself styles himself a bishop in the things that are without the Church<sup>d</sup>; and lastly Socrates attests, in the preface to his fifth book, that from the time that the emperors became Christian, ecclesiastical affairs were swayed by them. To the things within the Church, indeed, the ministry of the Word and Sacraments, and questions respecting doctrine and discipline, they did not aspire: or, when they did, they were resisted: whence the speech of

<sup>a</sup> For a fuller account, vid. Ferrar. De Antiq. Eccl. Ep. genere; Bever. ad can. Apostol. 12; Caspar Ziegler De episcop., lib. iii. 33.

<sup>b</sup> Vid. Ep. Conc. Rom. ad Grat. et Val. Imper. Mansi, tom. iii. p. 324.

<sup>c</sup> Vit. Constant. i. 44.

<sup>d</sup> Ibid., iv. 24.

S. Ambrose to Theodosius, "The purple makes emperors, not priests," and the like. CENT.  
IV.

The main difference between a general and a provincial council is one that regards degree: for instance, that while the latter only binds the province, the former binds whole Christendom. General councils have nevertheless been over and above considered infallible; but that writers of the present age did not esteem them absolutely so, is clear from what S. Augustine says, that a subsequent plenary council may make emendations in a preceding one<sup>f</sup>: nor is it the same to maintain the infallibility of the Church, as a whole, and of that which can only be considered, under most favourable circumstances, her representative<sup>g</sup>. When it is said by our Lord, "Where two or three are gathered together in My Name, there am I in the midst of them;" that which is not always found in the less, is not to be necessarily inferred in the greater; and in the analogous case, when it is said, "He that is spiritual judgeth all things," or, "he cannot sin because he is born of God;" it would seem confessedly wrong to conclude that, in the regenerate, grace is indefectible. In the same way therefore that it might be affirmed of any given Christian that he might fall from grace while he lived, of whose salvation a later age may be morally certain: it would seem equally reasonable to infer that any given council might have erred, whose decisions nevertheless have been subsequently received by the Church almost with the same reverence that is paid to the inspired writings themselves; and in the contrary case the contrary. Christendom, it is to be observed, cannot agree how many general councils there have been. Four is the smallest and eight the largest number for which unanimity can be claimed. Bellarmine maintains eighteen<sup>h</sup>. All are agreed, however, that there were two general or œcumenical councils held in the present century, both in the East, both summoned by the emperor, but not under the same presidency. It has been disputed why Eusebius omits mention of the Nicene council in his history, though he gives a rhetorical account of it in his life of the emperor. To many his Arian tendencies have supplied a

§ 5.  
COUNCILS.

S. Mat.  
xviii. 20.

1 Cor. ii.  
15; 1 S.  
John iii. 9.

Number of  
general  
councils  
uncertain.

First  
Nicene  
council  
passed over  
by Euse-  
bius in his  
history.

\* Theodoret, E. H. v. 18.

<sup>f</sup> De Bapt. c. Donat. ii. 3.

<sup>g</sup> Vid. Laud v. Fisher, § 33.

<sup>h</sup> Vid. Jenkins's Historical Examination of the authority of General Councils. London, 1688.

**CENT.** reason : to others, his courtier-like policy. It is probable,  
**IV.** however, that the death of Licinius, and the prosperous era

Convened  
by the  
emperor.

Number of  
bishops  
uncertain.

President  
uncertain.

Arius con-  
demned.

which followed, may have suggested the natural bounds to his history. Nicæa, the metropolis of Bithynia, not to be confused with the Thracian Nice, was the rendezvous, a most central spot : and, immediately after it was over, the emperor celebrated his twentieth anniversary, A.D. 325. Ecclesiastical history does not attest a fact more plainly than that the emperor convened it by his letters, and public conveyances were provided by his orders to enable the bishops to attend it. Baronius and Maimbourg<sup>1</sup> conjecture that the bishop of Rome, Silvester, had authorized it, but quite gratuitously. Three causes are usually assigned : the Arian heresy, which had begun to spread : the controversy respecting Easter, and the Meletian schism. The number of bishops who were present is differently stated : Eusebius says 250, unless the text is corrupt ; others 800 ; but S. Athanasius, who is generally followed, 318 ; hence it is commonly called by the Greeks the council of the 318 (τρην) Fathers. Western as well as Eastern prelates were present, as is evident by the subscriptions. The bishop of Rome was represented by his two presbyters. Constantine acted as a mediator or arbiter in the council ; but as to the presidentship accounts vary between Osius bishop of Corduba, Eustathius of Antioch, Eusebius the historian, and Alexander of Alexandria. Probably Osius, who had been sent by the emperor upon a mission previously to arbitrate between Alexander and Arius, and was greatly respected for his years and piety, occupied the first place : at all events his name appears first in the subscriptions : but it is a gratuitous conjecture, like the former one, to consider that he represented Silvester, whose two presbyters signed next after him as at the Sardican council, where Julius is expressly said to have subscribed through his two presbyters ; after them Alexander of Alexandria, Eustathius of Antioch, and Macarius of Jerusalem subscribed in the order in which they have been mentioned. S. Athanasius attended Alexander as his deacon. The principal acts of the council were to anathematize Arius, and assert the Son to be of one substance with the Father, begotten, not made, and very God. Eusebius proposed a Creed

<sup>1</sup> Hist. Arian. i. p. 24, 25, note. Eng. Tr. by Webster.

which may countenance the opinion, certainly not improbable, CENT. IV. that he and not Osius presided<sup>m</sup>; his Creed was accepted after some alterations<sup>n</sup> and promulgated. Not only he but Eusebius of Nicomedia, and the other Arian bishops subscribed: it is even said that the writings of the former suggested the use of the celebrated term "consubstantial" in the Creed; δυσούσιος. so that in the words of S. Ambrose, the heresy was decapitated by the sword it had itself unsheathed. Arius likewise seems to have made his submission. The paschal controversy Paschal controversy settled. was another point ruled by the council, and against the Quartodecimans. It was left to the bishop of Alexandria to discover the exact day, his sea containing the best astronomers, and to report it to the Roman prelate before the feast of the Epiphany. The lunar cycle of nineteen years, invented by Meton the Athenian, formed the basis of the calculation. Canons were passed respecting the Novatians and others, as to the manner of re-admitting them: and Constantine is said to have summoned the Novatian bishop Acesius, and required his subscription<sup>o</sup>. Meletius, the schismatic bishop of Lycopolis, who had invaded the rights of the Alexandrian see, and ordained bishops without the consent of the metropolitan, was deposed, and his ordinations pronounced invalid. The sixth canon, which has been the subject of so much dispute, regulated metropolitan rights Metropolitan rights determined. generally. Antioch, Alexandria, whose case had occasioned it, and Rome, are specified: and of these the last is made the model, but the others are regarded equally independent. The next canon assigns precedence to the bishop of Jerusalem, with a salvo to the metropolitan. The attempt to prohibit cohabitation of the married clergy with their wives did not succeed.

Twenty canons is the whole number usually assigned; Number of the canons. thus they are reckoned in the code of the Universal Church, which Justellus and Beveridge, after Zonaras and Balsamon, have illustrated, as well as in the ordinary Collections. Ruffinus however makes twenty-two, and the Arabian version eighty or eighty-four, but the authority of the last has been abandoned. None of the acts of the council Acts not extant.

<sup>m</sup> Vid. Vales. ad Vit. Constant. iii.  
11.

<sup>n</sup> Socr. E. H. i. 8.  
<sup>o</sup> Socr. E. H. i. 10.

CENT. have survived. The council sat, according to the common  
 IV. accounts, from June 14 to August 25. The Cyzicene Gelasius extends it over six years, others over three. It was confirmed by the emperor, as the same Gelasius, Eusebius, and Socrates record: but ecclesiastically by the councils general and particular that have since regarded it with the most profound reverence. The confirmation by Silvester is a mere supposition: and the epistle of the council to him, and his reply, both Latin, together with the account of a Roman synod held for the purpose, at which Constantine was present, are undoubtedly spurious. For a time the council seemed to have answered the purpose for which it was held: and Arius, Eusebius of Nicomedia, and Theognis, were exiled by the emperor when they shewed a disposition to retract: afterwards they were restored under false pretences, the emperor cajoled, and S. Athanasius exiled. Constantia, widow of Licinius, favoured the Arians, and Constantius eventually became a convert to them. It is to be observed that Valesius attempts to make a distinction<sup>a</sup> between Arius the heresiarch, whose violent end S. Athanasius records, and another Arius; but the Benedictines maintain<sup>r</sup> it was the heresiarch himself, at the instance of the emperor, who was restored at the Jerusalem synod, A.D. 335.

Second  
 general  
 council.

The other œcumenical council of the fourth century was the first of Constantinople, A.D. 381. S. Gregory Nazianzenus had been elected to the see which had been occupied full forty years by the Arians, Damasus was bishop of Rome, and it was the third year of Theodosius the Great. And here equally antiquity testifies with one consent that it was summoned by the emperor: in fact, so little were the western bishops concerned in it, that it was for some time scarce realized to have been a general one<sup>s</sup>. Two western bishops however, Ascholius of Thessalonica, and Agrius a Spanish prelate, were certainly present: and the council styled itself œcumenical in the synodical letter which it sent to the Italian bishops: and Damasus admitted the title, though he was neither present nor represented there. As such it has

<sup>a</sup> Observ. Eccl. in Soc. v. Soz. ii. 2.

<sup>r</sup> Præp. ad S. Athan. Ep. ad Solit.  
 § ix.

<sup>s</sup> Vid. Vales. ad Theodoret. E. H. v. 9, et Pagi ad Baron. A.D. 381. n. 4. et seq.

ever since been received. It was held partly to condemn the Macedonian heresy, and partly to consider the case of S. Gregory, who had been elected to the see by the orthodox, but was opposed by Timothy and the Egyptian bishops, who put forward one Maximus on the ground that translations from see to see were uncanonical. Among the bishops who attended were Timothy of Alexandria, Meletius of Antioch, Helladius of Cæsarea, Gelasius of Cæsarea Palestine, S. Cyril of Jerusalem, Pelagius of Laodicea, Diodorus of Tarsus, Optimus of the Pisidian Antioch, S. Gregory Nyssen, Amphilo-chius of Iconium, with the two western bishops before mentioned: but first and foremost S. Gregory, whose election was confirmed by the council, principally through Meletius and the emperor. The Macedonian bishops likewise were summoned, and attended to the number of thirty-six: among whom were Eleusius of Cyzicus and Marcian of Lampsacus: the rest came from the same neighbourhood.

Meletius presided till his death, which occurred shortly after the election of S. Gregory: the latter succeeded him, but subsequently to the appointment of Flavian over Antioch contrary to his advice, resigned his see: and Nectarius, who was elected in his room, succeeded to the presidency. At the time the choice fell upon him Nectarius was only a catechumen; Diodorus of Tarsus brought him into notice. The whole number of bishops assembled was 150: hence this council, like the former one, goes by the name of the 150 (ρν) Fathers.

Besides the elections already mentioned, the council passed seven canons, though Dionysius Exiguus only mentions three, including however the fourth. The first confirmed the Nicene definitions, and anathematized the Eunomians and Eudoxians, the semi-Arians or Pneumatomachians, the Sabelians, Marcellians, Photinians, and Apollinarians. The second assigned bounds to the different dioceses, and forbade any to intrude, without express invitation, beyond his diocese. The Alexandrine, Antiochian, Asian, Thracian, and Pontic dioceses are mentioned. The affairs of a province are to be regulated by the provincial synod. "This canon," says Fleury, "seems to take away the power of appealing to the pope, granted by the council of Sardica, and to restore the

CENT.  
IV.

Presided  
over by  
Meletius,  
S. Gregory,  
and Nec-  
tarius suc-  
cessively.

Number of  
the canons.

**C E N T. IV.** ancient right<sup>t</sup>." It has been already observed that Socrates considers the patriarchates to have been here defined, but, as Valesius remarks, the name was unknown to the present age.

By the third canon honorary dignity is assigned him who presided over Constantinople, second only to the Roman episcopate: and the reason given is that Constantinople is new Rome.

**Addition to the Creed.** Not to enter into the other canons particularly, a very important addition was made to the Creed respecting the Person of the Holy Ghost. The Nicene Creed had ended with a simple profession of belief in the Holy Ghost; the present council appended those words, "the Lord, and Giver of life, Who proceedeth from the Father, Who with the Father and Son together is worshipped and glorified, Who spake by the prophets;" whence the Creed is called sometimes the Nicene, sometimes the Constantinopolitan.

**Provincial synoda.** The provincial synods of the fourth century were numerous, orthodox and heretical. Of the former some were celebrated before, but the greater number after the Nicene council.

**Elvira.** That of Elvira was perhaps the earliest, but the precise year is uncertain; the persecution at all events had not ceased, as appears from the canons. Osius, afterwards so much employed by the emperor, attended it; in the year A.D. 318 he was sent upon a mission to Cæcilian of Carthage: afterwards to Alexander and Arius, as we have seen. Eighty-one canons were passed by the synod, to some of which reference has been already made. They greatly illustrate ecclesiastical discipline. The first council of Arles, which, Sirmondus says, was inferior only to a general council, was held A.D. 314, at the summons of the emperor Constantine, to decide the question between Cæcilian and the Donatists. It passed twenty-two canons and condemned the latter; three British bishops are mentioned in the subscriptions. Neither Elvira nor Arles were attended by the bishop of Rome or his representatives: the latter however addressed a letter to Silvester for the purpose of making known what had been decreed.

<sup>t</sup> E. H. xviii. 7. Eng. Tr.

Of the Eastern synods, the Ancyran and Neocæsarean CENT. IV. canons, which passed about A.D. 315: the Gangran, which Ancyra. Neocæsarea. Gangra. Antioch. Laodicea. Sardica. condemn Eustathius of Sebaste, and were probably passed a short time after the Nicene: the Antiochian, A.D. 341, and the Laodicean, probably about A.D. 316, have been received into the code of the universal Church. The Sardican council, A.D. 347, Constantius and Constans, by whose authority it was convened, intended to have been a general one: but owing to the secession of the Orientals, it has never been by the whole Church esteemed so; that it was however not so much mere absence, as the fact of the dissent between the Easterns and Westerns, that has invalidated it, seems clear from the case of the council of Constantinople before mentioned. Zosimus, bishop of Rome, in the fifth century, would have palmed the fourth Sardican canon upon the African Church as a Nicene canon: and so little had it become known, that it was not immediately discovered to what council it really belonged. With a view to exculpate Zosimus, it has since been maintained that the synod of Sardica was a continuation of the Nicene council. About three hundred orthodox bishops remained after the secession; and of these, says Sozomen, Osius of Corduba and Protogenes, bishop of the place, were the leaders. British bishops it is said were present. Osius subscribed first, and after him, it is expressly stated<sup>u</sup>, Julius of Rome, through Archidamus and Philoxenus his presbyters. Consequently the account that Osius represented him here or elsewhere is quite gratuitous. Councils were held in Africa against the Donatists, at Sirmium against Photinus A.D. 349, and at Ariminum against the Arians A.D. 359. The two last are not to be confounded with the heretical synods, of which hereafter: nor again are the first with those of the Donatists mentioned by S. Austin in his work against Cresconius.

British  
bishops at  
the last.

Among the Arian assemblies, that of Tyre was held A.D. 335, the same year that the emperor celebrated his thirtieth anniversary. Constantine had convened it on the occasion of the dedication of a church at Jerusalem, to enquire into the accusations made against S. Athanasius. These calumnies were fully exposed; but the Arians, among whom was

Arian  
synods.  
Tyre.

<sup>u</sup> Apud S. Athan. Apol. ii. § 50.



**CENT. IV.** Eusebius of Nicomedia, procured his condemnation by the council, after he had quitted Tyre. The Arians proceeded to Jerusalem to celebrate the dedication; and here a second synod was held, at which Arius a presbyter, and probably the heresiarch, was restored. The Benedictines do not deny that Alexander condemned a second Arius. Councils were held at Antioch subsequently by the same sect. Of these the canons of the first, A.D. 341, have been received into the code of the universal Church, and were approved by the fourth general council. S. Hilary likewise speaks well of it in his treatise "De Synodis," and Damasus calls the bishops assembled there "beloved brethren<sup>x</sup>." On the other hand it has been condemned from the fact that it condemned S. Athanasius and substituted Gregory the Cappadocian in his see; and the four Creeds it promulgated are without the word "consubstantial." Three years after, a council held at the same place published a creed of a very prolix nature, hence called *μακρόστιχον*, which they sent to Constans by Eudoxius, Martyrius, and Macedonius of Mopsuestus in Cilicia, but it was not received; here too the word "consubstantial" had been avoided. Constans required the messengers to anathematize Arius, which they refused to do.

Another Arian synod was the pseudo-Sardican one: the Eastern bishops who opposed S. Athanasius having retired to Philippopolis, and formed a counter assembly to the orthodox council of Sardica. S. Hilary mentions a semi-Arian Creed made here and sent in the name of the Sardican council to Donatus of Carthage the schismatic. The Sirmian synods were four, according to Petavius in his dissertation about Photinus; the first was the orthodox one before mentioned; the second A.D. 351, which condemned him, but was composed of those who upheld the pseudo-Sardican Creed: one of whom, Basilius of Ancyra, refuted him. Here the first of the Sirmian Creeds was published in a Latin and Greek version. The third A.D. 357, which had nothing to do with Photinus, published a second Creed in a Latin version of a much more Arian tendency. Osius and Potamius were nevertheless unfortunately seduced to subscribe to it. Still we are assured that the former never condemned S. Athana-

<sup>x</sup> Vid. Vales. Eccl. Observat. in Soc. et Soz. i. 8.

sius, and that upon his death-bed he bitterly repented of his subscription to the present Creed. Lastly the fourth, A.D. 358, when Marcus of Arethusa composed the Creed. Here S. Athanasius is our authority for a still more important and even still more complete lapse, namely that of Liberius, bishop of Rome: who being recalled from Beræa, whither he had been exiled, by Constantius to the council now sitting, was induced to subscribe to the Creed promulgated by them, and over and above condemn S. Athanasius. Like Osius however he subsequently recanted, and once more became a confessor in the orthodox cause.

Other Arian synods were the pseudo-synods of the Thracian Nice, Ariminum, and Seleucia. The last had been convened simultaneously with the orthodox one before mentioned of Ariminum, through the arts of Valens, Ursacius, Eudoxius, and Acacius, who hoped to profit by the division. The counts Leonas and Lauricius, who represented the emperor, favoured Acacius, but a dispute occurring about Cyril of Jerusalem, Eustathius and others, whose case was judicially brought under notice, the council split into two sections; the minority siding with Acacius and Eudoxius, and the majority with Eleusius of Cyzicus, George of Laodicea, and the semi-Arians. Leonas, after vain attempts to re-unite them, dissolved the synod; and the Acacians proceeding to Constantinople gained over the emperor and sent the last Creed of Sirmium with a brief appendix to Ariminum to be received there. Meanwhile Ursacius and Valens having failed in the first instance to impose the same Creed upon the four hundred bishops who had met at the last-named place, retired to Nice, duped the deputies who were sent from Ariminum to the emperor, and returning thither with one count Taurus, who had orders to do what they told him, forced the council to sign the Creed and turn Arians. Whence the celebrated expression of S. Jerome "The whole world groaned and was amazed to find itself professing Arianism<sup>7</sup>." A Milanese synod was held A.D. 355, which condemned S. Athanasius, compelled Dionysius, bishop of the place, into subscription, and afterwards exiled him with Lucifer and Eusebius. Petavius, it should be observed, has clearly distinguished between it and a pre-

CENT.

IV.

Nice.

Ariminum.

Seleucia.

Totus orbis  
ingemuit  
et se Arianum  
esse  
miratus  
est.

<sup>7</sup> Adv. Lucif., p. 300. ed. Ben.

**C E N T.** vious one, A.D. 347, usually confounded with it, which was  
**IV.** held immediately after the Sardican council, condemned Photinus, and upheld orthodoxy.

**Ancyra.** The last synod specified is the Ancyran: in which Basilus of Ancyra, George of Laodicea, Silvanus of Tarsus, Eleusius and other semi-Arians met after the third Sirmian synod in which the Acacians had prevailed. They restored the Greek word expressive of "like substance:" and, excepting the omission of the term for which they substituted it, made a tolerably orthodox profession\*.

**§ 6.** To give a short sketch of the heresies which occasioned  
**HERESIES.** the above councils. Of the Arians, Epiphanius supplies a

**Arian,** very full account\*. The author of the heresy was Arius, presbyter of a church of Alexandria, called Baucalis; he had been excommunicated by Peter for his partiality towards Meletius: but Achilles subsequently restored him. Alexander, who succeeded Achilles, twice excommunicated him for the opinions which he had begun to avow: and wrote to Alexander of Constantinople, to announce his condemnation. Eusebius of Cæsarea, Paulinus of Tyre, and Theodotus of Laodicea, were virtually included in the charge: and hence the letters of Eusebius to Paulinus and Alexander upon the subject. Theodoret says it was ambition or jealousy towards Alexander: ostensibly it was a disquisition of Alexander respecting the Trinity, which, Arius conceived, had a Sabellian tendency, that roused him into the opposite extreme. Constantine vainly attempted to stop the controversy by enjoining abstinence from what he called unnecessary speculations; but the report which Osius made when he returned from his mission, only proved that it was growing rapidly into importance. The chief points of the heresy which SS. Athanasius, Hilary, Basil, Jerome, Augustine, not to mention Socrates, Sozomen, Theodoret, and others describe so fully, were the following. That the Son is inferior to the Father, not of the same substance, power, and eternity. That the Son is a creature or thing made, though before the world: and not of a substance pre-existent. That He is therefore God by the will of the Father, and Son by adoption, and not naturally. Perfect similarity was not esteemed in-

twice ex-communicated by Alexander.

\* Vid. S. Hil. De Synod. § 12 et seq.

\* Hær. lxi., lxxiii. et lxxvi.

consistent with the above notions. Further, that He made the world as the instrument of the Father : and hence was superior to the angels and other created works, though Himself created. Again, the Holy Spirit was not even allowed to be called God, being made by the Son as they asserted, and consequently inferior to Him and the Father : nevertheless He had a share assigned to Him in the creation.

CENT.  
IV.

Among those who supported Arius were his namesake condemned by Alexander, Eusebius of Nicomedia, Secundus, Theonas, Theognis, Maris, Paulinus, Patrophilus, and other bishops ; the Meletians joined him : Eusebius the historian secretly favoured him. Constantine alternated, or rather maintained a specious neutrality : but the open espousals of the cause by his sister Constantia, and afterwards of his son Constantius, together with the fact of his own baptism by Eusebius of Nicomedia in his last illness, have led to the supposition that he became a convert to the heresy before his death. Under Constantius, Arianism advanced extensively with his good-will, but it found a still greater patron in the emperor Valens. He was gained partly by his wife Dominica, and partly by Eudoxius, bishop of Constantinople, and leader of the Anomœans.

The policy with which the Arians circumvented the orthodox, and obtained the ear of the court : the subtlety with which they evaded the Nicene definitions, and the inconsistency with which they promulgated creeds upon creeds of which Socrates records as many as nine<sup>b</sup>, S. Athanasius even more : the innumerable calumnies which they invented against S. Athanasius, and the cruelty they exercised towards him and others who supported the orthodox cause, perhaps as much exceed the heretics that went before or came after them, as the heresy which they supported may be called the deadliest that ever assailed Christianity. It was by no means however a single sect ; as early as the death of Constantine the Great it had divided and subdivided successively. There were the pure Arians, or Anomœans, who denied the least similarity between the Father and the Son : asserted the latter to be of a different substance, and subject to the former. At the head of these was Aetius, surnamed Atheos, the mas-

Pure  
Arians or  
Anomœ-  
ans.

<sup>b</sup> E. H. ii. 41.

**C E N T. IV.** ter of Eunomius, and ordained deacon in the Church of Antioch by Leontius. Thence he was expelled for heresy : but Eudoxius afterwards restored him. His party were called after him and his pupil, Aetians and Eunomians, besides the more formal term, Anomœans : and they were condemned at the semi-Arian synod of Ancyra under Basilius. The semi-Arians held the Son to be of a like, but not the same, substance with the Father : in fact they asserted His complete similarity. Basilius of Ancyra, George of Laodicea, and others, headed the party : but it was objected to them that they likewise made use of a word that was unscriptural.

Semi-Arians.

**Acaciana.** A third section asserted a resemblance, but neither essential nor entire. Acacius of Cæsarea was the chief of these : who is thought not only to have succeeded Eusebius in his see, but in his opinions. Other Arians, like those who formed the Antiochian synod, discarded the words, substance, of one, or the like, substance, and so forth : and asserted the Son to be the express image of the Father as it is in the Scripture. This afterwards they withdrew, and contented themselves with condemning those who said that "there was a time when He was not ;" or that "He sprung from things not existent," and the like. These different forms are to be seen in the authorities above mentioned. Of the more modern writers who have detailed Arianism, C. Sandius avows himself a favourer of it : Maimbourg implicitly follows Baronius.

**Photinus.** Photinus revived the now effete heresy for which Paul of Samosata had been condemned : and it is a proof how much more subtle the controversy respecting the fact of the Incarnation had become, that even Arians and semi-Arians subscribed to his deposition. Besides the opinion that our Lord was a mere man, he held the Holy Spirit was not God nor a Person in the blessed Trinity. He was condemned at Constantinople A.D. 336 ; at Sardica A.D. 347 ; at Milan the same year ; at Sirmium two years after, A.D. 349, by a council of western bishops under Constans, but being bishop of the place he was screened by the people ; lastly, by the eastern bishops under Constantius in the same city, A.D. 351, when, Basilius the semi-Arian having refuted him, he was finally deposed.

Another heresy, to be noticed hereafter, commenced the C E N T. controversy respecting the manner of the Incarnation, the IV. fact being presupposed. Apollinaris, of the Syrian Laodicea, Apollina-  
father and son, had been strenuous opponents of the Arians, <sup>ria.</sup> and it is said to have been indignation against George of  
'Laodicea, in whose see they officiated, the one as a presbyter and the other as a reader, that provoked them to originate the novel heresy, that Christ had indeed assumed our nature, that is, the flesh, but that His Divinity had supplied the place of the soul: or, at all events, of the intellect. They asserted ψυχῆ.  
likewise that the body of our Lord was consubstantial with <sup>ποῦς.</sup> His Divinity, as Epiphanius says<sup>c</sup>. Besides Epiphanius, So-  
crates, Theodoret, SS. Gregory Nazianzenus and Athanasius mention them: and by the last they were condemned upon his return to his see, as well as by Damasus in a Roman synod.

Macedonius, patriarch of Constantinople, into which see Macedo-  
he had been thrust A.D. 351 by Constantius, through Philip <sup>nus.</sup> his prefect, who had not only banished, but, as Philagrius reports, slain Paul<sup>d</sup>, had originally been a semi-Arian; but by insisting upon one of the points held by his party generally, though not prominently, founded a new sect called Pneumatomachians, who asserted the Holy Ghost to be a created energy, that ministered to the Son like the angels, and denied His divinity. These were condemned amongst others by the second general council, A.D. 381, where S. Gregory Nyssen made the additions already mentioned to the Nicene Creed respecting the Holy Ghost: and Macedonius himself was deposed by Constantius, A.D. 359, in a synod of Constantinople, to make room for Eudoxius.

The Euchites, Antidico-Marianites, and Collyridians, were Euchites  
insignificant sects<sup>e</sup>. The Andians, so called from a Mesopo- and others.  
tamian monk who founded them, appeared under Valens: they were also called Anthropomorphites, because they attributed to God a human form, parts, and passions. This they maintained to follow from the scriptural account that says, "God made man in His own image<sup>f</sup>."

<sup>c</sup> Hær. lxxvii.

<sup>d</sup> Vid. Vales. Eccl. Observ. in Soc. et Soz. ii. 3—9.

<sup>e</sup> Epiphan. Hær. lxxx., lxxix., lxxviii.

<sup>f</sup> Vid. Epiphan. Hær. lxx.

C E N T. Priscillian was a Spaniard, and of a noble family, but had  
 IV. the misfortune to be the pupil of one Marcus, a Gnostic and  
 Priscillian. Egyptian refugee. He revived the Gnostic, Manichean, and Sabellian errors: more particularly, advocated judicial astrology, commended falsehood and deceit in a sufficient emergency, inculcated abstinence from flesh, marriage, and the like, allowed women and laymen to teach. He himself commenced as a layman, but having gained over two bishops, Instantius and Salvian, he obtained from them episcopal ordination. He enjoined the greatest secrecy upon his followers, as regards his speculations: and like the Gnostics his motto was, *Jura, perjura, secretum prodere noli*. They were condemned first at the synod of Saragossa, A.D. 380, and contrary to the advice of S. Martin, at the instigation of Idacius and Ithasius his accusers, Priscillian himself was put to death by the emperor Maximus A.D. 384.

Donatus. Donatus was the author of a schism which eventually adopted Arian errors. Cæcilian had been installed into the see of Carthage, but his appointment was disputed on the ground that Felix, bishop of Aptunga, who ordained him, had been a *traditor*, and the adverse party elected Majorinus in his room. Donatus, originally bishop of Casæ Nigræ, succeeded Majorinus, and the schism advancing, appeal was made to Constantine the Great. It has been already observed that the synod of Arles was held about them: but their numbers had increased considerably in the next century, when they were opposed by S. Austin. Donatus was a name shared by many of the less important supporters of the schism besides the founder. A woman called Lucilla is said to have been his chief instigator: and Secundus, primate of Numidia, another Donatus, Marinus, Victor, and Purpurius, among his episcopal allies. Like the Novatians, they rebaptized those of the Catholics who came over to them, maintained that the true Church only consisted of the pure, and was to be found nowhere but in Africa. From the history which Optatus has left of them, as well as from the different works of S. Austin against them, we learn that they were split into many parties, and had many leaders: according to whom they were called Maximianists, Primianists, Claudianists, Rogatians, Majorinists, and so forth: further

from the places where they assembled they were called Mon-  
tensians and Rupitanians; and, from roving about from cell  
to cell, Circelliones or Circumcelliones. CENT.  
IV.

Perhaps no age produced more numerous, or more volumi-  
nous, or more deservedly celebrated writers. It is impossible § 7.  
WRITERS.  
to do more than mention the chief of them cursorily. To  
begin with the West.

Arnobius, a Numidian by birth, rhetorician, and preceptor Arnobius.  
of Lactantius, flourished about the year A.D. 333. While a  
catechumen he wrote seven books against the Gentiles, which  
have been much admired: but he maintained peculiar views  
respecting the origin of the soul, and the mode of the resur-  
rection. S. Jerome remarks of him, Origen, and others,  
“That we should so read them as to cull out of them what  
is good, and avoid the contrary: in the words of the Apo-  
stle, ‘prove all things: hold fast that which is good.’”  
Arnobius is often confused with his namesake of the fifth  
century.

C. F. Lactantius, his disciple, called from his eloquence Lactantius.  
the Christian Cicero, in his old age the tutor of Crispus, son  
of Constantine the Great, took his second name from Fir-  
mium, it is supposed, his birth-place, a small Italian town.  
His Institutions are not without the peculiarities usually to  
be found in the early writers; his little treatise, *De Mort.*  
*Persecutorum*, which had disappeared since the days of S.  
Jerome, was brought to light once more by Baluzius.

S. Hilary, bishop of Poitiers, opposed the Arians so boldly S. Hilary.  
in the West, that A.D. 356 he was banished by Constantius  
into Phrygia, where he remained four years, during which  
time he had exerted himself so much against them at Se-  
leucia and Constantinople, that he was sent back to his see,  
which he did not however reach till Julian had ascended the  
throne. France is said to have been completely purged from  
heresy through him. A.D. 368 or 9 he repaired to Milan to  
accuse the bishop, Auxentius, before Valentinian, but failed  
to procure his condemnation; he died soon after his return.  
During his exile he composed his great work in twelve books  
upon the Trinity, besides his treatise *De Synodis*, of historical

• Ep. (ad Tranquill.) lvi.



CENT. value. Among his singular opinions, that of the impossibility of our Lord, as regards His Human Nature, is the most objectionable.

S. Optatus. S. Optatus, bishop of Milevis, was a great opponent of the Donatists, whose history he wrote about A.D. 368. The seventh book, it is to be observed, has been questioned, and the more so, as he confines himself to six books in his preface.

S. Ambrose. S. Ambrose was born in Gaul, of which his father was prætorian præfect, A.D. 333. It is said that a swarm of bees settled on his lips whilst a boy. Anicius Probus had sent him governor to Milan, when he was elected to succeed Auxentius in the see, being a catechumen. He gained a renowned victory over Symmachus, A.D. 383, who pleaded the cause of the Gentiles: and A.D. 386 contended with equal success against Justina, the patroness of the Arians. The cruelty of the emperor Theodosius towards the Thessalonians he wholly rebuked, by putting him to a long and open penance. He died A.D. 397, having foretold his own death. Of his works, which are voluminous, and for the most part commentaries upon the Old Testament, the celebrated hymn called the "*Te Deum*" is said to have been composed alternately by him and by S. Augustine, while he baptized the latter. His treatise "*De Spiritu Sancto*"<sup>b</sup> has been unaccountably disparaged by S. Jerome.

Philastrius. Philastrius, bishop of Brescia, and contemporary with S. Ambrose, wrote a celebrated work "*De Hæresibus*"<sup>a</sup>; the judgment S. Augustine formed of him may be seen in the preface to his treatise upon the same subject<sup>k</sup>. Paulinus, bishop of Nola, not to be confounded with the biographer of S. Ambrose, was a pupil of Ausonius, who extols his poetry; like S. Hilary, he was married before ordination, and retained his wife. So great was his charity, that he redeemed the son of a widow who had been taken captive by the Vandals, by surrendering himself as a substitute; he died A.D. 431. His epistles are still extant.

S. Jerome. S. Hierome or Jerome, called Stridonensis from his birth-place, flourished under Theodosius, in the fourteenth year of

<sup>a</sup> Vid. ed. Ben. Admon. ad l.

tom. iv. p. 596 et seq.

<sup>k</sup> Extat. ap. Magn. Biblioth. Pat.,

<sup>b</sup> Vid. Ep. ccxxii. ed. Ben.

whose reign, A.D. 392, he composed his catalogue of illustrious writers; he was a presbyter and a monk, Bethlehem being his favourite retreat. For his erudition, Hebrew, Greek, and Latin scholarship, Latin version of the Old Testament, orthodoxy, sanctity, talent, and eloquence, he is styled by Erasmus, chief of the Latin Fathers; his controversial writings nevertheless, exhibit considerable intemperance. Not only Jovinian, Vigilantius, and Helvidius, but Ruffinus and John of Jerusalem, who favoured Origen, were objects of his attacks; and he even had a dispute with the great S. Augustine, respecting Gal. ii. 2, but was confessedly vanquished. His commentaries upon the Prophets deserve mention among his very numerous works.

CENT.  
IV.

Never had the Church a profounder doctor, a more able controversialist, or consummate Christian than S. Augustine. It is true that he had once nearly belonged to the Manichæans, and afterwards the Academy; but the prayers of his mother Monica, with the preaching of S. Ambrose, under Divine grace, reclaimed him, and after passing two years as a catechumen, he was baptized at Milan, A.D. 388. He was ordained presbyter by Valerius, bishop of Hippo, whom he afterwards succeeded, and though contrary to the general usage, was allowed to preach in the presence of his bishop. After sustaining the episcopal office thirty-five years, he died A.D. 430, during the siege of the city by the Vandals, having prayed God to grant his townsmen a deliverance, or himself a peaceful end. He wrote whole volumes against the Manichæans, Donatists, and Pelagians, to omit the less important heresies; his celebrated work "*De Civitate Dei*" is divided into two parts; the first ten books exposing the calumnies and false systems of the heathen, and the last twelve describing the origin and progress of the two cities of God and of the world, whose duration has been from the beginning, and whose respective destinies will only be determined in the judgment-day. His work "*De Trinitate*" is equally famous. Of the two books "*De prædestinatione Sanctorum*," &c., written three years before his death and in his old age, where the doctrine of predestination is so nobly explained, "Here it is observed," say the Benedictine editors, "that the subject has been handled by S. Austin

S. August.  
tine.

**CENT.** against his opponents in these two books with so much  
**IV.** earnestness and perspicuity, that his arguments do not appear to be so much the effort of natural ability, as the very inspirations of the Holy Ghost.<sup>1</sup>"

The humility which induced him to place his *Retractations* at the commencement of his works is only equalled by the closing sentence of the books upon predestination, his last work.

**Damasus and others.** Other writers of the Western Church, as Damasus, bishop of Rome, Severus Sulpicius, Juvencus the presbyter, Aurelius Prudentius the poet, Victorinus the African, may be passed over with a bare mention.

**Eusebius the historian and others of the same name.** In the East, Eusebius bishop of Cæsarea and friend of Pamphilus, from whom he is surnamed, left two celebrated works behind him, besides his history, that have been already mentioned. He was a favourer of Origen, and certainly not a very active opponent of the Arians; hence Epiphanius, S. Jerome, and the seventh general council are very severe upon him. S. Jerome calls him the standard-bearer and head of the Arians, and Baronius and Maimbourg adopt his language; Valesius attempts to place his character in the true light, but his opposition to S. Athanasius, and his intimacy with his namesake of Nicomedia, will always be a disadvantage to him. Besides these two, there was a Eusebius of Emesa, Verceil, and Samosata, who flourished in the present age.

**S. Athanasius.** Never man more completely identified himself with the cause of his crucified Lord than the great S. Athanasius; according to the anecdote told of him as a child, he exemplified the rule which says, that "child's play should be for the most part an imitation of those things which afterwards engage men through life<sup>m</sup>." He attended Alexander as his deacon at the Nicene council, and so distinguished himself against the Arians, that five months after, A.D. 326, he was elected to succeed him in the see. Innumerable calumnies were fabricated against him at the council of Tyre, by his opponents, who likewise insisted that his ordination was uncanonical.

By Constantine the Great he was banished to Treves, where he probably remained two years and upwards, till the death of the emperor, whose son Constantine restored him,

<sup>1</sup> *Præf. ad tom. x. c. 29.*

<sup>m</sup> *Arist. Pol. vii. 17.*

A.D. 338. Three years after, the council of Antioch deposed him, and substituted Gregory the Cappadocian in his room, whose forcible intrusion led to the perpetration of innumerable barbarities, under counts Philagrius and Arsacius. And now S. Athanasius remained in or about Rome till the council of Sardica re-instated him, A.D. 347. Yet the malice of his enemies raged unabated, and after the synods of Arles and Milan, held respectively A.D. 353 and 355, he was for the third time driven into exile by Constantius, and the infamous George of Cappadocia set over his see. We now hear of the midnight attack upon the church in which he was ministering, his miraculous escape and subsequent flight to the desert, where he wrote his Apologies, epistle to the monks and to Serapion concerning the death of Arius, those respecting the Holy Spirit, and about synods. Under Julian he was restored, but a brief interval elapsed, and he was once more compelled to withdraw, A.D. 372. The following year he appeased Jovian the new emperor, and henceforward with a slight exception under Valens, he was not disturbed in his see till death removed him, A.D. 373, having spent a whole life, says Gibbon, "in the pursuit of a single object, the defence of the catholic doctrine of the Trinity".

The principal of his works have been already mentioned.

S. Basil, likewise surnamed the Great, from a presbyter rose to be archbishop of the Cappadocian Cæsarea; he had studied under Libanius at Antioch, but finished his education at Athens; upon his return to his native city he was appointed reader, and so passed to the higher orders. He was a great friend to the monastic life, and composed rules and constitutions greatly valued for the eastern monks. Besides these, his five books against Eunomius, though the genuineness of the two last are suspected, and treatise upon the Holy Spirit, are the principal of his extant works. He died A.D. 378. "I pass over," says Cave, "the eulogies which have been heaped upon Basil by the ancients: every page teems with them: he is venerated by the whole choir of antiquity, and applauded by the whole theatre of the learned."

Of the two S. Gregories, the one surnamed Nazianzenus or Theologus was the friend, the one surnamed Nyssenus the

<sup>a</sup> Decline and Fall, c. 21.

<sup>o</sup> Hist. Lic. Sac. iv. sub v.

S. Gregory  
Nazianze-  
nus and  
Nyssenus.

CENT. brother, of S. Basil. Both were equally celebrated for the  
 IV. most earnest orthodoxy, piety, zeal, and ability; the latter endured banishment under Valens eight years, but was restored by a synod of Antioch A.D. 378, and was entrusted with the additions to be made to the Nicene Creed at the second general council; he was a married man, and his wife Theosebia has been greatly eulogized by his namesake. The former was the son of the bishop of the same name who presided over Nazianzus, and school-fellow of S. Basil. It has been questioned whether he ever had strictly speaking a see. S. Basil appointed him to Sasime, but he never went near it: he presided over Nazianzus, but as the coadjutor of his father: and he was elected to Constantinople, but he resigned it almost as soon as he had been installed in it, and passed the rest of his days at his own home. Both left orations and epistles behind them, especially the former, besides other works.

S. Cyril  
 of Jerusa-  
 lem.

S. Cyril of Jerusalem was deacon there under Macarius, and presbyter under Maximus, whom he succeeded in the see. His catechetical discourses, which he delivered as catechist A.D. 347, have been greatly admired. In the dispute between him and his metropolitan Acacius, by whom he was deposed in a synod, he appealed to a higher tribunal: which Socrates condemns as a novel practice, and one borrowed from the law-courts<sup>p</sup>: he was restored under Julian, attended the second general council, and died A.D. 386.

Epipha-  
 nius.

Epiphanius bishop of Salamis or Constantia in Cyprus, whose work against heresies has been so often cited, was a great opposer of the Origenists, and amongst others of John of Jerusalem, with whom he had a long and bitter dispute. He likewise fell out with S. Chrysostom. His historical and chronological errors in the work above mentioned are not inconsiderable; he died A.D. 402.

S. Ephrem.

S. Ephrem or Ephraim, a Syrian by birth, whether of Nisibis or Edessa, was at all events deacon in the latter place; he positively refused ascending to the higher orders. So great was his sanctity that he was called the prophet of the Syrians: and in some churches his writings were read after the Scripture. Photius says his orations amounted to one

<sup>p</sup> E. H. ii. 40.

thousand. A large number of his works are extant ; he died C E N T.  
about A.D. 378. IV.

S. John, surnamed Chrysostom or "Golden-mouthed," S. John  
spent some years of his youth in a monastic retreat upon the Chrysos-  
tom.  
mountains after he had been baptized by Meletius, and ap-  
pointed to a readership at Antioch in the Church ; A.D. 381  
he was ordained deacon by the same prelate : and five years  
after presbyter in the same see ; A.D. 398 he was installed  
in the see of Constantinople to succeed Nectarius, not-  
withstanding the remonstrances of Theophilus of Alexandria.  
Here his extensive reforms and bold preaching created him  
numerous enemies : and Eudoxia the empress, whom he had  
mortally offended, having summoned his old adversary Theo-  
philus to her assistance, procured his deposition at the synod  
of the oak, A.D. 403. He was indeed instantly restored by  
the people, but again deposed in a second synod, chiefly on  
the ground that his return had been uncanonical. By the  
aid of the military he was banished to Cucusus, a lone town  
of Armenia : the bishops and others attending him to the  
confines of Cappadocia and exclaiming "It had been better  
for the sun to have withdrawn his rays, than for the mouth  
of John to have been silenced." Barbarian incursions obliged  
him to change his new abode frequently : and after innu-  
merable hardships endured for three years, he breathed his  
last at a city of Pontus called Comana, A.D. 407. His  
eloquence has been compared to the cataracts of the Nile :  
and the sanctity of his life added to it a moral weight  
that was irresistible. His sermons and homilies upon dif-  
ferent entire books of the New Testament may be specified  
among his voluminous writings. Other writers, as Pam- Pamphilus  
philus the friend of Eusebius, Macarius the Egyptian, and others.  
Eustathius of Antioch, Didymus of Alexandria, Diodorus  
of Tarsus, preceptor of S. Chrysostom, and many more,  
may be passed over. Du Pin and Cave may be consulted  
for these, as well as for a fuller account of the above  
mentioned. Of the schismatical or heretical writers, Do-  
natus, Photinus, Apollinaris father and son, Euzoius, Ae-  
tius, Eunomius, Basilus, Acacius, and Asterius the philo-  
sopher, and others, are enumerated by S. Jerome in his  
catalogue.

**CENT.** Among the spurious writings and fables of the age are to  
**IV.** be reckoned,

**§ 8.** 1. The decretal epistles ascribed to Marcellus, Eusebius,  
**SPURIOUS** Marcus, Julius, Liberius, and other Roman bishops. Many  
**WRITINGS.** works have likewise been fraudulently palmed upon Damasus :  
 especially that "of the lives of the pontiffs."

2. The innumerable fictitious writings published under the names of the different Fathers : as Eusebius, SS. Athanasius, Ambrose, Basil, Hilary, Gregory Nazianzenus and Nyssen, Augustine, Jerome. Here the Benedictine editors, as far as they go, have done incalculable service, by discriminating so faithfully between the spurious and the genuine.

3. The stories which have been invented respecting Constantine the Great : the visions of S. Peter and S. Paul to him : his leprosy : miraculous cure : baptism by Silvester : his donations of the Lateran palace, Rome, Italy, or rather the whole West : a presidency over the four patriarchates, together with other extraordinary presents said to have been given by him to the Roman see.

Lastly, false miracles and even false martyrs : e. g., those mentioned in the different apocryphal acts and thence collected by Gregory of Tours, Metaphrastes, Nicephorus and other writers of the same calibre.

**§ 9.** To turn from these to the most remarkable of the real  
**REMARK-** occurrences connected with Christianity. For instance, the  
**ABLE** foundation of the city called after Constantine the Great,  
**EVENTS.** who built it upon the site of the old Byzantium, and  
**Dedication** put it upon a level with the former capital of the em-  
**of Constan-** pire, Rome. Hence it is called "new," "second," and  
**tinople.** "rival Rome;" and so forth; the foundations were laid  
 A.D. 328, the dedication or encænia took place May 11th,  
 A.D. 330. Nicephorus asserts without authority that it was  
 dedicated to the blessed Virgin. Eusebius expressly says  
 that the emperor honoured the memories of the martyrs by  
 the many martyries and oratories which he erected, but conse-  
 crated his city to the God of the martyrs<sup>a</sup>. Socrates mentions  
 only two churches built there by him<sup>r</sup> : that of the Apostles,  
 and of Peace. The violent deaths of Maximin, Maxentius,  
 and Licinius, persecutors of the Church, have been already

Violent  
 deaths of  
 the Gentile  
 persecu-  
 tors.

<sup>a</sup> Vit. Constant. iii. 48.

<sup>r</sup> E. H. i. 16.

noticed: Julian afforded another memorable instance: he CENT.  
IV.  
 was slain fighting against the Persians by a hand unknown, Julian.  
 and, Theodoret adds, exclaimed when he received his death wound, "Galilean, Thou hast conquered!" Valens the Arian Valens.  
 was burnt to ashes in a cottage where he had taken refuge, as  
 Ammianus Marcellinus, Philostorgius, and Socrates record:  
 and three notable apostates under Julian, Counts Felix, Julian, Felix,  
Julian,  
Elpidius.  
 and Elpidius, are likewise stated by the two first authorities  
 and Theodoret to have come to a wretched end.

The awful death of the heretic Arius, in the hour of his Arius the  
heresiarch.  
 supposed triumph over the pious bishop of Constantinople, is  
 recorded by S. Athanasius in his epistle to Serapion: and  
 naturally compared to that, which it so much resembled, of  
 the traitor Judas. It is placed by the Benedictines A.D. 336.

On the other hand two philosophers are said to have been Conver-  
sions.  
 converted at the Nicene council in a remarkable way<sup>t</sup>. Epiphanius  
 records the conversion and baptism of the Jewish patri-  
 arch Ellet<sup>a</sup>, and many Jews are said to have been converted  
 through the miraculous interposition which stopped the at-  
 tempts to rebuild Jerusalem, of which hereafter.

The appearance of the sign of the cross in the heavens to Discovery  
of the  
Cross.  
 Constantine the Great has been already noticed; and it seems  
 a well-authenticated fact that the true cross was discovered  
 by his mother Helena. S. Cyril of Jerusalem, who, we have  
 seen, delivered his lectures A.D. 347, about twenty years,  
 that is, after the event, says more than once there that pieces  
 of it had been carried about the whole world<sup>s</sup>. His letter to  
 Constantius indeed has been questioned by Salmasius and  
 others, because not noticed by S. Jerome in his catalogue;  
 but S. Jerome, it is well known, only mentions the most re-  
 markable writings. Eusebius indeed is silent: but allusion  
 is thought to be made to it in the epistle of Constantine  
 to Macarius preserved by him: and SS. Ambrose and Chry-  
 sostom, Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret, attest the fact  
 with one consent while differing about the circumstantialia.  
 Again we may admit that miracles, credibly attested, were  
 performed by it, without assenting to the superstitions that  
 were afterwards engrafted upon it: the brazen serpent that

<sup>a</sup> E. H. iii. 25.

<sup>t</sup> Sez. E. H. i. 18.

<sup>s</sup> Hær. xxx. § 4.

<sup>r</sup> Cat. iv. 10; x. 19; xiii. 4.



CENT. IV. had once been the channel of a miraculous agency, became afterwards a stumbling-block, which it was the first act of a good king to remove. Very different is the testimony which records the footmarks of our Lord to have been discovered indelibly impressed upon Mount Olivet about the same time : Sulpitius Severus being the only writer of the present age who speaks of them : and nothing more likely than that a phrase in Eusebius should have been mistaken and so led to the story<sup>7</sup>. That the restoration of the Jewish metropolis

Attempt to  
build Jeru-  
salem frus-  
trated.

was rendered abortive by a miraculous interposition, though accounts vary in the details, stands upon the strongest evidence. Julian himself acknowledged it in his epistle<sup>8</sup> : and Ammianus Marcellinus, his historian, says that "there were fearful orbs of flame continually bursting forth about the foundations, which made the place inaccessible to the workmen, who had occasionally been scorched by them;" others speak of an earthquake, fire sent from heaven, and the sign of the cross exhibited in the brightest rays upon the garments of the Jews. SS. Ambrose, Gregory Nazianzenus, Chrysostom, besides the historians, Socrates, Sozomen, Philostorgius, Nicephorus, and Ruffinus, mention the circumstance.

Victory of  
Theodosius  
over  
Eugenius.

In the same way the victory of Theodosius the Great over Eugenius, whose intention it was to have restored heathenism, is ascribed to a special providence obtained by the prayers of the emperor. Zosimus indeed throws the blame of the defeat upon Eugenius, but Claudian is more ingenuous in the well-known address :

"O nimium dilecte Deo . . .  
... cui militat æther,  
Et conjurati veniunt ad classica venti<sup>9</sup>."

Other like portentous events occur in the ecclesiastical historians.

Public  
penance of  
Theodosius  
the  
Great.

The public penance of the emperor Theodosius is another remarkable fact : it was imposed upon him by S. Ambrose, for his cruelty towards the Thessalonians ; and it occasioned a law on his part enjoining thirty days' interval between a

<sup>7</sup> Vit. Constant. iii. 42, 'Ὡς δὲ τοῖς  
ῥήμασι τοῖς σωτηρίοις τὴν πρέπουσαν  
ἀπεδείδου προσκύνησαν.

<sup>8</sup> Vid. Vales. ad Amm. Marcell.  
xxiii. 1.

<sup>9</sup> Apud S. Aug. De Civ. Dei, v. 26.

capital sentence and the execution of it<sup>b</sup>. The silence of Socrates, Zosimus, Libanius, Philostorgius and others has been here objected: and it has been said that Gratian was the author of the law: but on the other hand S. Ambrose, in his fifty-first epistle addressed to the emperor, actually enjoins the penance. Paulinus mentions it in his life of the former. S. Augustine, Sozomen, Theodoret, Ruffinus and others attest it, though with some difference as regards the time. Godfrey says it occurred A.D. 388. S. Ambrose likewise forbade Theodosius upon another occasion to come within the chancel, which emperors by a corrupt practice, as Sozomen says<sup>c</sup>, had been wont to do; he rebuked Valentinian the elder, and not only rebuked but successfully resisted Justina in her attempts to get a church for the Arians. Nor ought the miracles wrought by the dead bodies of the two martyrs, Gervasius and Protasius to be passed over, recorded as they are by SS. Augustine, Paulinus, and Ambrose himself, who made them twice the subject of his sermons. "I make no doubt," says Cave, "but God suffered these miracles to be wrought at this time on purpose to confront the Arian impieties, and to give the highest and most uncontrollable attestation to the truth of the catholic cause, so mightily at this time opposed, traduced, and persecuted<sup>d</sup>." S. Ambrose, it is to be observed, buried the bodies again entire as he found them<sup>e</sup>. Anecdotes are related of the way in which Amphilocheus, bishop of Iconium, confirmed Theodosius against the Arians by omitting the accustomed reverence to his son Arcadius in his presence: of the piety of Placilla, or Flacilla, wife of the emperor: and of the pathetic oration of Flavian, bishop of Antioch, in behalf of the men of his city which so overcame Theodosius.

In the strife between Epiphanius and S. Chrysostom, mutual prophetic expressions are said to have been used by them respecting the death of the other, and fulfilled. The escape of S. Athanasius through the midst of his foes from the church in which he was surprised by them, was very remarkable: and not less so the escape of himself and friends

CENT.  
IV.

Miracles wrought by the bodies of SS. Gervasius and Protasius.

Of Epiphanius and S. Chrysostom.

Escapes of S. Athanasius.

<sup>b</sup> ix. Cod. Theod., tit. xl. l. 13, et Godfred. ad l.

<sup>c</sup> Ed. Ben.

<sup>d</sup> E. H. vii. 25.

<sup>e</sup> Life of S. Amb., c. vii.

CENT. from his persecutors under Julian. These and many more  
 IV. like facts are to be found in the ecclesiastical historians of  
 the next age.

§ 10.  
 MONASTICISM.

The name "monk" began to be applied to those who led a solitary life; and so the constitutions about monks and monasteries in the Arabian version of the Nicene canons supply a strong argument against themselves. The word "ascetic" was a generic one: and used to denote those who from the earliest ages of the gospel practised extraordinary self-denial and austerity, like Origen. They resembled the Essenes and Therapeutæ whom Eusebius and Philo mention. Valesius and Pagi confess that the more specific class, monks,

S. Antony. were unknown before the fourth century. S. Antony the second anchorite, according to the best accounts, instituted a further order owing to the numbers who flocked to him, called Cœnobites or Synodites: Hilarion his disciple carried the custom into Palestine: and Pachomius, who succeeded him in the Egyptian deserts, greatly enlarged upon it. The Cœnobites had private cells, and did not meet before the close of the day, when they assembled to hear one whom they called "Father" discourse. Under him were prefects or deans, so called because they were set over ten, and these superintended the daily tasks, and visited the cells to which the rest were confined. S. Augustine says there were commonly three thousand, and occasionally many more, under one father<sup>f</sup>.

Towards the close of the century the clergy began to live together under rule: whence the terms "canonicals and regulars:" and chiefly in the residence of the bishop, so that his house resembled a little monastery. Eusebius of Vercell and S. Martin of Tours are said to have been the first originators of the custom in the West: and Posidonius<sup>g</sup> says of S. Augustine, that as a presbyter he lived in the church with the other servants of God, according to the rule laid down by the Apostles. When promoted to the see the same writer adds, the clergy still lived with him, had one house and table, and were fed and clothed out of a common fund.

As there were ascetics before there were monks, so there were virgins in the Church before females engaged in the

<sup>f</sup> De Mor. Eccl., lib. i. 31.

<sup>g</sup> In Vit. S. Aug.

monastic life. Nevertheless in the present age female institutions had become common on the Cœnobite principle. They lived under a superior like those of the opposite sex, had different works assigned them, by which they maintained themselves, and devoted themselves to a virgin life, from which they rarely receded. They were called "Moniales" or "Sanctimoniales," and in Egypt "Nonnæ," from whence the modern word "nuns." S. Augustine, by the way, mentions a presbyter who attended the convent in the light of a spiritual adviser<sup>b</sup>. From the rules set down by SS. Augustine and Basil, and afterwards by Cassian, the disciple of S. Chrysostom, in his Institutions and Collations, we may learn what was the true end and object of the monastic life. Retirement from the world, mortification of the flesh and spirit, closer communion with God, active charity, study, meditation, and the like. The preference given to the more secular life in the person of our Blessed Lord and Saviour was not deemed condemnatory of the one typified under S. John Baptist; and though persecutions in the first instance, and subsequently barbarian incursions, caused the former to be somewhat overlooked in the excessive impulse to the latter engendered by them, it may be fairly questioned whether some dispositions are not in all ages to be found, to whom contemplation and retirement seems to answer the very object for which they were made. At the same time the canons passed against the Eustathians, Euchites, and Manichæans, in the present age, shew that the same course might be pursued upon a mistaken principle, not only not recognised, but condemned in the Church. Fasting and abstinence were not enjoined, because meats were esteemed unclean: neither was celibacy practised and encouraged with a view to condemn marriage. It is needless to mention the esteem in which the monastic life was held by SS. Athanasius, Basil, Gregory Nazianzenus, Ambrose, Jerome, Chrysostom, Augustine, and other distinguished Fathers.

The tenth persecution has been already detailed. A.D. 305, Bede records the martyrdom of S. Alban the British proto-martyr, together with that of the soldier who should have

CENT.  
IV.

Nuns.

§ 11.  
PERSECUTIONS.

<sup>b</sup> Ep. cxxi. ed. Ben.

C E N T. slain him, under remarkable circumstances. The edict which  
 IV. stopped the persecution was promulgated according to Lactantius, A.D. 313; but Licinius after his breach with Constantine published a great many severe constitutions against the bishops, synods, and Christians generally: while from the eleventh Nicene canon, which prescribes for the case of those who had lapsed under the tyrant Licinius, it may be inferred that he not only threatened, but put his threats into execution. His death however, which happened A.D. 324, confirmed the general peace.

Under  
Constantius.

Constantius was a persecutor of a different kind, inasmuch as he only directed his assaults against the orthodox: and supported not the heathen, but the heterodox. His severities against S. Athanasius have been already noticed: and for how the Church of Alexandria suffered under Gregory and Philagrius, George, Cataphronius, Faustinus, and Sebastianus, it is unnecessary to do more than refer to the writings of the same prelate. Eustathius had been exiled by Constantine the Great<sup>1</sup>: and so had Paul: but the latter endured three subsequent banishments, according to S. Athanasius, under Constantius, and eventually was strangled. Many more bishops, presbyters, and deacons, were driven into exile and otherwise harshly treated.

Under  
Julian.

But a still more severe persecution awaited the orthodox under Julian, commonly called the Apostate: though it is not clear whether he ever did more than openly profess Christianity. Eunapius says that he had abjured it privately<sup>k</sup> before he assumed the purple at the instigation of Ædesius, Maximus, Priscus, Libanius, and others. Still, to please Constantius, as Theodoret says<sup>l</sup>, he allowed himself to be appointed reader, and performed the public duties of the office. S. Gregory Nazianzenus, Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret, relate his deeds after he became emperor; while his more secret intentions are to be learned from his own writings, or from Libanius, Ammianus Marcellinus, Eunapius, Zosimus, and other heathen authorities. He began with fair means and specious arguments; allowing gentile rites to be

<sup>1</sup> Vid. Ben. ed. ad S. Ath. Ep. ad xxi. p. 179.  
 Solit., c. 4.

<sup>1</sup> E. H. iii. 2.

<sup>k</sup> Vales. ad Ammian. Marcell., lib.

celebrated, that religion might be perfectly voluntary: and recalling the orthodox, but with the secret hope that their return would resuscitate contentions. He next assailed Christianity with ridicule, styling the founder a Galilean, and the Scriptures inconsistent and absurd; he derided the superstition of Constantine and his sons; ordered Christian seminaries to be closed: forbid Christians to teach the liberal arts and sciences: suppressed Christian books where he could: interdicted psalmody: prohibited Christian funerals to take place during the day. On the other hand he opened the temples, restored idolatry, endeavoured to elevate the old religion by introducing into it Christian discipline, forms, and ceremonies: polluted the public fountains, meat sold in the shambles, and the like, with his gentile lustrations: cajoled his soldiers to burn frankincense, not as a heathen rite, but as a primitive custom. Meanwhile he began to patronize the Novatians, Donatists, Arians, and Eunomians; sowed strife where he could among the Catholics: remitted tribute to the Jews: assisted them with money to rebuild the temple: and gave them leave throughout Egypt and Syria to molest the Christians and Churches with impunity. His ministers Julian and Felix, already noticed, were equally active. And banishments, imprisonments, confiscations, tortures, became frequent. S. Athanasius, Marcus of Arethusa, George of Alexandria, Eleusius of Cyzicus, and Titus of Bostra, were among those who suffered: and it is highly probable that S. Gregory, his brother Cæsarius, and S. Basil, whom he had hitherto flattered, would have been the first objects of his threatened vengeance, had he returned from the Persian war, which terminated in his death A.D. 363.

Under Valens the persecution against the orthodox revived, and far exceeded that under Constantius. Valens had been orthodox, says Theodoret<sup>m</sup>, when he first came to the throne: but Eudoxius who baptized him induced him to swear to support the Arians and expel those who differed from them. From Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret, we learn that the whole East, including Illyricum and Dacia, but especially Mesopotamia, Syria, Cappadocia, Egypt, and even Scythia, suffered: and S. Basil continually complains of the

Under  
Valens.

<sup>m</sup> E. H. iv. 13.

**CENT.** miserable condition of the Orientals under Valens. Meletius of Antioch, Eusebius of Samosata, Pelagius of Laodicea, S. Gregory Nyssen, Barses of Edessa, and Peter the successor of S. Athanasius, were among the bishops exiled by him. S. Athanasius himself was threatened, but maintained his ground too strongly: S. Basil openly scorned the menaces of his prefect Modestus, and with S. Gregory was allowed to remain unmolested. The constancy of the inhabitants of Edessa was very conspicuous. The persecution only ceased with the death of Valens, already foretold, says Theodoret<sup>a</sup>, by a monk named Isacius: while Trajan, one of his own prefects, did not hesitate to tell him that he had brought ruin upon himself, who fought against God, A.D. 378.

**§ 12.**  
**STATE**  
**OF THE**  
**WORLD.**

Heathen-  
ism inter-  
dicted un-  
der Theo-  
dosius the  
Great.

The encouragement given to Christianity by Constantine the Great has been already noticed. After Julian it is a remarkable fact, that his successors, Jovian, Valentinian the elder, Valens, and Gratian, connived at the idolatrous rites and ceremonies revived by him: so that from the law of Constantius against those who supported sacrifices and images, the imperial constitutions were silent about them till the third year of Theodosius the Great, A.D. 381<sup>o</sup>. He not only published laws abolishing sacrifices, images, altars, auspices, divinations, and the like: and commanding the temples to be closed: but was the first to make enactments against apostates, who were declared incapable of making a will, and branded with infamy.

The first mention of pagans in the modern sense occurs in a law passed under Valentinian the elder and Valens, A.D. 365<sup>p</sup>: the original sense being a mere rustic or villager: but heathenism having been abolished in the larger cities it took refuge in the villages: and hence Libanius in his oration to Theodosius entreats him not to destroy the country temples. The same author elsewhere attests that, even in the cities themselves, gentile temples remained standing under Theodosius: at Alexandria for instance the celebrated temple of Serapis, afterwards destroyed: at Antioch those dedicated to Fortune, Bacchus, and Jupiter, and even some at Con-

<sup>a</sup> Ibid., c. 34.

<sup>o</sup> Vid. xvi. Cod. Theod., tit. x.

<sup>p</sup> Ibid., tit. ii. l. 18.

stantinople. Gentiles were moreover promoted to the highest offices under Theodosius and his predecessors, whence Prudentius says concerning the former: CENT.  
IV.

"Sacericolis summos impertit honores  
Dux bonus" . . .

and addressing Symmachus,

"Ipse magistratus tibi consulis, ipse tribunal  
Contulit." . . .

Besides Symmachus, father and son, (it is the latter against whom Prudentius wrote,) Libanius, once preceptor of S. Chrysostom, but a bitter enemy to Christianity, was made prætorian præfect under Theodosius, and Themistius city prefect. Maximus had already attained to the same dignity under Julian his pupil.

Sapor king of Persia persecuted the Christians without the empire during the reign of Constantine, who wrote to intercede for them, as Sozomen reports<sup>†</sup>: Symeon, archbishop of Ctesiphon and Seleucia, was accused of a secret conspiracy with the Romans: and when thrown into prison had converted Usthazades, a senior eunuch and pedagogue of the king. Both were martyred: and, in the persecution which ensued, many bishops, presbyters, and inferior clergy suffered. It is said not only the magi, but the Jews were instigators in the present instance. Isdigerdes was more favourable to the Christians through the influence of one Maruthas, a bishop of Mesopotamia who had been ejected by the emperor, as Socrates says, and taken refuge among the Persians. Isdigerdes indeed is said to have been on the point of avowing himself a Christian when his death occurred; but, under Varanes his son, one Ablaas or Abdas, a Persian bishop, by Varanes. his imprudent zeal re-kindled a persecution, which gave rise to a war between the Persians and Romans, A.D. 420.

Eusebius had related in his life of Constantine that the prohibition to sacrifice to the Nile had caused great offence to the Egyptians: but that instead of the scarcity which they predicted in consequence, the next overflow produced extraordinary fertility. Sozomen records a repetition of the

<sup>†</sup> Contra Symmach., lib. i. 618 et 23.

<sup>†</sup> E. H. ii. 15.



CENT. same thing under Theodosius, and adds that it occasioned  
IV. many conversions.

But there was nothing by which Christianity was so materially affected, as by the successive outpourings of the northern and eastern barbarians upon the empire. These new comers quickly swept away the remains of the old Greek and Roman superstitions, but by quenching the light of civilization at the same time, they reduced the Church to the condition of a person groping his way in the dark. Before the close of the present century Thrace and Asia had become the seat of the Goths, and between A.D. 400 and 403, Alaric, at the head of the Visigoths, had invaded Italy. He was followed within three short years by a countless host of Suevi, Vandals, and Burgundians, under Radaggausus: and while these were put to the rout before Stilicho, Alaric was maturing his designs, and A.D. 410 sacked Rome after a triple siege. Henceforth Italy, Gaul, and Spain successively became the prey of the Goths and Visigoths. A second deluge ensued of the Huns under Attila. The Vandals under Genseric overran Africa. It is easy to see the influence which these conquests would have upon western society.

§ 13. As for the Jews, they abounded in the parts about Babylon, as well as throughout Syria, Palestine, Asia Minor, and even Persia. They were likewise dispersed about Illyricum, Italy, Gaul, and Africa, in the West. Frequent mention is made of the Jewish patriarch in the Codex and elsewhere; whom Julian styles the most reverend; his abode was Tiberias in the first instance, but eventually Babylon. The apostles under him were so called because they were sent round the world collecting tribute, the payment of the didrachm having ceased with the temple. Whether there were not several patriarchs, or at all events one for the East and West respectively, has been disputed. Godfrey draws a distinction between a minor and a superior office bearing the same name\*. Rulers, and fathers of the synagogue, presbyters, and priests, are mentioned in the Code: where the discipline of the synagogue is authorized and confirmed, and the power of excommunication is vested in the hands of the patriarchs and primates. Privileges likewise and immunities

\* Ad xvi. Cod. Theod., tit. viii. l. 1.

are secured them of the same description with those granted to the clergy. Literary Jews were allowed to practise advocacy, and Socrates mentions one Adimantius a Jew who was a professor of medicine<sup>†</sup>. On the other hand they were forbidden to erect new synagogues, to serve in the army, to have Christian slaves, to proselytize Christians under severe penalties, to persecute those who had embraced Christianity, to contract marriage with Christians. It was a great crime for a Christian to apostatize to the Jews; Julian and after him Valentinian greatly favoured them. Theodosius and his sons passed laws to restrain them. In the laws passed under Honorius they are classed with the "Cælicolæ."

C E N T.  
IV.  
Adiman-  
tius a pro-  
fessor of  
medicine.

## CHAPTER V.

THE fifth century begins with the seventh year of Arcadius and Honorius, in the consulship of Vincentius and Fravitta.

The bishop of Rome was Anastasius I., who had succeeded Siricius, and was himself succeeded before the end of the year by Innocent I. S. Chrysostom still presided over Constantinople, Theophilus his opposer over Alexandria, Evagrius over Antioch, Aurelius over Carthage, S. Austin over Hippo, Epiphanius over Salamis, S. Martin over Tours, of whom so many miracles are recorded by his biographers Sulpitius Severus, and Gregory, and whose extreme disapprobation of the capital punishments decreed against Priscillian and his followers redounds so much to his humanity; Paulinus over Nola, and Asterius over Amasea.

The state of the Church had been most flourishing under Theodosius the Great; after his death, which happened A.D. 395 at Milan, in the presence of his son Honorius, by ten years the younger of the two, and a mere boy, wars and internal disorders ensued. Wars were excited in the East and West by the ambition of Ruffinus and Stilicho, whom

§ 1.  
STATE  
OF THE  
CHURCH.

<sup>†</sup> E. H. vii. 13.

**CENT. V.** Theodosius had appointed guardians of his two sons respectively. Of these Ruffinus had been successively master of the offices and prefect of the East, and after three years' unjust rule was murdered at the feet of his ward Arcadius by the soldiery, A.D. 395. Stilicho was a far more conspicuous name: he had been master of the horse and count of the domestics, and was eventually made master-general of the cavalry and infantry; but his intrigues with Alaric, king of the Goths, whose invasion he had so nobly repelled, effected his disgrace, and he was slain at Ravenna, A.D. 408. The next year, Rome was besieged by Alaric, whose troops overran the West; still earlier in the century, Gainas had disturbed the peace of the East, but he was checked in his career, and slain by Uldin king of the Huns.

Controversy respecting Origen.

Internal disorders were raised in the Church by the controversy respecting Origen: Ruffinus of Aquileia had revived his errors, and Anastasius of Rome condemned them. Theophilus of Alexandria joined in the sentence, and on the same side were S. Jerome, Epiphanius and others; on the other hand, John of Jerusalem and S. Chrysostom inclined to the Origenists; and the dispute was productive of the greatest acrimony. Moreover the Donatists troubled the African Church more than they had ever done before, and from schismatics had become heretics. Various constitutions were passed against them under Honorius.

§ 2.  
SPREAD  
OF THE  
CHURCH.  
Palladius  
first bishop  
of the Scots.

Meanwhile the borders of the Church were enlarging, or rather acquiring consistency. "In the eighth year of Theodosius the younger," says Bede, "Palladius was despatched by Cælestine, the Roman pontiff, to be the first bishop of the Scots," that is, the Irish, "who believed in Christ<sup>a</sup>." On the other hand, Britain was overrun by the Picts, Scots, and Saxons, and Christianity well nigh extirpated. Cambria afforded a refuge to the oppressed Christians, and Caerleon became a see: but it was soon destined to be removed to Menevia or S. David's.

The Burgundians converted.

The Burgundians received Christianity during the same reign: and immediately afterwards, says Socrates<sup>x</sup>, gained a most decisive victory over the Huns, who had hitherto been

<sup>a</sup> E. H. i. 13. Comp. Usser. Antiq. Britan., c. 16.

<sup>x</sup> E. H. vii. 30.

superior to them; henceforward they espoused the cause warmly, but like the Goths, imbibed Arian opinions. CENT.  
V.

Towards the end of the century, A.D. 499, the Franks who emigrated into Gaul from Germany, became still more devoted converts. Clovis or Lewis had married Clotildis, daughter of the king of the Burgundians, and a Christian. Hitherto she had failed to convert him, but being pressed in a battle with the Alemanni, he vowed that if he obtained it, he would embrace Christianity. Having won the victory, he was baptized at Rheims the same year<sup>7</sup>. Many marvels are said to have taken place at the ceremony: while from the circumstance that Clovis was the first barbarian king who became a Christian and a Catholic simultaneously, the kings of France have been since styled, "most Christian:" and "first-born sons of the Church." Arianism had been embraced in Illyricum by the Lombards and Heruli, in Italy by the Ostrogoths, in Spain by the Visigoths and Suevi, in Africa by the Vandals, in Gaul by the Burgundians. Not that orthodox Churches had not long since existed among the Gallicans: but Clovis was the first king who had been received into the orthodox communion.

Private conversions from heathenism were very numerous under the auspices of SS. Chrysostom, Paulinus, Augustine and others, aided considerably as they were by the imperial constitutions against pagans, Jews, apostates, and heretics, to be found in the Justinian as well as the Theodosian Code.

Large numbers of the Jews are said to have been converted in Crete under Theodosius the younger, upon the detection of a certain impostor, who feigned himself Moses, and promised a second journey through the Red sea<sup>8</sup>. Others were brought over from Arianism, Manichæism, Donatism, Macedonianism, Eutychianism and the like, and restored to the true fold. Christian schools received considerable encouragement and augmentation, e.g., that of Rome, founded under Valentinian the elder, to whom academical constitutions, eleven in number, are attributed in the Code<sup>9</sup>. Christian  
Schools.  
Rome.

2. That of Carthage, which S. Augustine says he ex- Carthage.

<sup>7</sup> Greg. Tur. Hist. Franc. ii. 30 et 31.

<sup>8</sup> xiv. Cod. Theod., tit. ix. Gothof. ad l.

<sup>9</sup> Soc. E. H. vii. 38.

**CENT. V.** changed for the preceding one, being disgusted with the licence of the students there<sup>b</sup>.

**Treves.** 3. That of Treves, which was by no means the only one in those parts. S. Jerome speaks of the flourishing condition of the Gallican schools<sup>c</sup>; and Ausonius and others mention that in the metropolitan and larger towns, grammar and rhetoric were universally taught by professors, having a fixed salary: while for jurisprudence and philosophy, students commonly removed to Rome.

**Bologna.** 4. That of Bologna, founded by Theodosius the younger, A.D. 423, at the instigation, it is said, of the Roman prelate Cælestine. But the story connected with the foundation merits little credit.

**Constantinople.** 5. That of Constantinople, restored and remodelled by the same emperor, whose constitutions relating to it were promulgated A.D. 425. By these, none but the lawfully appointed professors are allowed to teach: the lecture-rooms are confined to the capital and porches, and buildings connected with it. The professors have permission to rank with counts of the first order, the scholars or students have various privileges assigned them, while they are not to be admitted without letters commendatory and dismissory, nor allowed to depart till they have fulfilled the academical course.

**Libraries.** The libraries of Antioch, Alexandria, Cæsarea, Constantinople, and Rome, have been already noticed. The last but one had been founded by Constantius, enriched by Julian and Valens, and still more so by Theodosius, whose studious habits Sozomen extols in his preface. It is said to have contained 120,000 volumes. Most of these were written upon parchments divided into ternions and quaternions, like those Eusebius sent to Constantine the Great. Others were written upon the Egyptian papyrus, others upon bark, skins, and the like. Antiquarians, four Greek, and three Latin, were placed over the library to copy manuscripts or repair them: and "conditional" officers are mentioned, whose responsibilities only ceased with life. Schools were likewise to be found in the different monasteries which were daily grow-

<sup>b</sup> Confess. v. 8.

<sup>c</sup> Ep. (ad Rustic.) xcv.

ing more numerous ; and the house of the bishop was generally open to the students of his diocese. CENT.  
V.

Scholastic was a term applied to lawyers, advocates, and pleaders, who had been educated at the public schools of jurisprudence at Rome or Constantinople. Socrates and Evagrius are familiar instances of the epithet ; it is however occasionally used to denote simply a learned man. Scholastics, who ?

The doctrine of the Church is elucidated by the public formularies of the age : for instance, the chapters of S. Cyril against Nestorius, the Creed of the council of Chalcedon, the encyclic letters of the emperor Leo, and the Henoticon of Zeno ; by the acts and canons of the councils general and particular, with the synodical epistles ; by the more esoteric compositions of the Fathers, e. g. Rufinus in his exposition of the Creed, S. Austin in his *Enchiridion*, and four books concerning Christian doctrine ; Gennadius in his treatise *De Ecclesiæ Dogmatibus*, S. Cyril *De recta in Christum fide*, and many more. But to revert to the main points specifically, which heresy caused to be more carefully considered. § 3.  
DOCTRINE.

The fact of the Incarnation, and with it the distinction of Persons in the blessed Trinity, had been so extensively and incontestably shewn, and the adversaries of the faith so effectually silenced, that S. Augustine was not afraid to dogmatize upon the latter doctrine in a way that in a preceding age would have scarce escaped Sabellianism, and still more closely bordered upon the error of the Theopaschites in the present age. S. Augustine taught the indivisibility of the operations of the blessed Trinity with reference to the created world. Memory, will, and intellect, are three distinct things in a man, he argued analogically<sup>d</sup>, but neither can operate without the rest : appropriate works they may have, but mutual concurrence is inevitable. In the same way neither the Father nor the Holy Ghost was born of a virgin ; but the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost effected the nativity of the Son ; neither the Father, nor the Holy Ghost suffered on the cross ; but Father, Son, and Holy Ghost effected the passion of the Son upon the cross ; neither the Operations of the Trinity indivisible.

<sup>d</sup> Serm. lvii. ed. Ben. Comp. Serm. lxxi. ; *Enchirid.* c. 38 ; Serm. xxxviii. (Alcuin.) *De Temp.* (ed. Vet.)

CENT. <sup>V.</sup> Father nor Holy Ghost rose from the dead; but Father, Son, and Holy Ghost effected the resurrection of the Son; in a word the whole redemptive scheme was a work of the whole Trinity: and not only the redemption, but the creation. The custom of bowing at the doxology, as well as at the name of Jesus, is plainly derived from the above-mentioned doctrine, and is a practical recognition of the truth contained in it. The persons are not confounded, while the intrinsic unity of the Godhead is maintained.

Doubts  
first raised  
by Apol-  
linaris.

But the very moment that the fact of the Incarnation had been incontestably established, heresy shifted with the utmost versatility to raise doubts about the manner. Apollinarius had anticipated the turn in the last century, but attention was too much engrossed with the other part of the subject to be greatly diverted. Apollinarius could not conceive that our Lord could have a rational soul, be liable to the thoughts incident to it, and still be without sin. The flesh was a wholly different consideration: for the flesh was passive, not active. Hence he fell into the idea that the Word assumed humanity without the soul: His Divinity, so to speak, superseding a soul. On the other hand it was observed that the passions of the body are equally prone to sin with the thoughts of the soul; that man being composed of a soul and body, the one is inadequate to the idea without the other: and that as our Lord only healed what He assumed, the soul cannot be said to have been healed unless He assumed it. S. Ambrose in his treatise upon the Incarnation, and S. Gregory Nazianzenus in his epistles repeatedly urge these considerations.

Nesto-  
rianism.

Θεοτόκος.

But after all it was Nestorius who first impinged upon the key-stone of the arch. It was highly improper, he conceived, to call S. Mary the mother of God, because it implied that the Word had not existed before the Incarnation. He did not therefore clearly coincide with Paul or Photinus, as Eusebius of Dorylæum imagined in the first instance. It was not that he disparaged the one nature or the other, but he recognised two persons; he could not see that as the body, ψυχή νοῦς. the animal soul, and the rational soul are blended together in one individual man: so these same three with a single addition, namely the Divinity, were blended together in the

one Person of the Word Incarnate ; he admitted a connexion of the two natures, but repudiated a union : will might unite them, according to him, but their respective properties were not intercommunicable.

C E N T.  
V.  
*συνάφεια  
ἐννοιας.*

On the other hand he was opposed in the first dawn of his heresy by Eusebius, afterwards bishop of Dorylæum, who maintained it was the eternal Word Himself who underwent a second birth, and was born of a woman. S. Cyril shewed from the Nicene Creed that He who is called the "only-begotten Son" is the same with Him of whom the subsequent clause is predicated "came down from heaven and was incarnate." The exception taken to the word "*Θεοτόκος*" was answered by the fact that mothers in the natural way are called mothers of the whole man, when it is clear they have not the slightest part in the creation of the soul. So too, when it is said that He suffered, died, and rose again, it is not implied that the Word suffered in His Divine Nature, being impassible : but because the Body which was appropriated to Him suffered, it is allowable to say that He suffered Himself. In the same way therefore the term *Θεοτόκος* was applied to the blessed Virgin, not because the nature of the Word or His Divinity commenced existence in her womb ; but because in her womb was formed and animated with a reasonable Soul that Holy Body to which the Word united Himself hypostatically ; which is the reason why it is said, He was born according to the flesh. Here we see S. Cyril opens the way to the subsequently termed doctrine of the hypostatical union : that is, the union of the two natures in the second Person of the Trinity, and consequent interchange of the respective properties in the truest sense \*. And so it was the orthodox opinion, when fully expressed, that the Person of the Word assumed contemporaneously, the first instant that they were created, a soul and body : before they had in the natural combination effected one person ; and further it was held that He assumed the body through the medium of the soul : whence S. Augustine frequently remarks, that the union of the incorporeal Divinity with the incorporeal soul is not more wonderful than the union of the incorporeal soul with the material body.

Opposed  
first by  
Eusebius  
of Dory-  
læum.

\* Vid. Fleury, E. H. xxv. 8. Eng. Trans.



CENT.  
V.Eutychi-  
anism.

But implicitly received as these truths had been from the first, had the earlier Fathers analyzed accurately what they really believed, they were not realized explicitly till they had been contrasted with the opposite extreme. Eutyches' maintained the oneness of the Person, but in a manner incompatible with the permanent integrity of the inferior Nature; not that he questioned that the entire subordinate Nature had been assumed, but that it had survived the union. As a drop, he asserted, it had been instantaneously absorbed in the ocean of the Divinity. Now it had been argued against the earlier heretics, that absolute satisfaction to the Infinite could only be made by One really Infinite; in the same spirit it was urged against Eutyches, that our redemption could not have been accomplished eternally, had our nature ever ceased to be assumed. It was erroneous to assert two natures before the Incarnation, as it implied the soul, or the nature to be assumed generally, to have had a pre-existence; while to assert one nature subsequently to the Incarnation, apart from the results to which it led, went against facts: as to the last moment of His sojourn upon earth, our Lord had plainly shewed that it was a sensible and palpable body that He inhabited. As the bread and wine, it was argued by a curious anticipation of a future controversy, retained after consecration the same substance, form, and shape that they had before; so it was to be believed that the Body of our Lord retained and retains the same figure, shape, circumference, in a word the same substance. The epistles of S. Cyril, his work against Nestorius, his explanation of, and apologies for the twelve chapters, supply the ordinary arguments against Nestorianism, while the sermons and epistles of S. Leo the Great, the Eranistes of Theodoret, Gelasius in his book against Eutyches and Nestorius, are full of the consequences resulting from Eutychanism.

S. Austin  
Doctor of  
grace.

These controversies considerably elucidated the true character of the Redeemer and manner of the redemption; but S. Augustine had already dogmatized upon the subject in a style that outstepped his age, and he earned his claim to the

<sup>f</sup> Perhaps rather the reviver than the originator of a heresy. Vid. Bp. Bull, Def. Fid. Nic. ii. 8. 4. ed. Burton.

<sup>g</sup> Theodor. Dial. ii. Gelas. c. Eutyech. et Nestor., quoted by Pearson on the Creed, Art. iii. p. 203. ed. Oxon.

title of "Doctor of grace," in what may be called a more forward controversy respecting those who had been re- deemed, or, to speak more strictly, the predestinate. Pelagius, in his opposition to the Manichæans who denied free-will, was led into the opposite extreme, and by persisting in it fell into many serious errors connected with our old and new birth<sup>h</sup>. He first asserted that a man could be without sin and keep the whole law if he pleased: that grace for the most part consisted in the divine gift of the freedom of the will. Hence the obvious inferences, that Adam was born mortal, and had died whether he had sinned or not; that his sin only affected him and not his posterity; that infants are born in the same state with Adam before the fall, and therefore without baptism can inherit eternal life. The next step was to invent consistent interpretations of what our Lord is said to have done for man. He had set a perfect example, opened the kingdom of heaven, supplied grace, that is, a more perfect knowledge of the law to those who deserved it, and in the proportion in which they merited. Against these erroneous opinions S. Augustine proved original sin transmitted from Adam to his posterity, and sufficient to have condemned the whole human race; the infirmity of the will; concupiscence even in the regenerate; antecedent merits evil only; death through Adam deservedly; life through Christ undeservedly; grace from first to last gratuitous: internal and not external: originating not only knowledge, but practice; faith, hope, charity, good-will, and perseverance severally the gift of God, freely bestowed, freely withheld, and able to be lost; a profound mystery why it should be so: but universally a just sentence—those who have received and keep it to the end are the predestinate: and of these the number is fixed and unalterable. These were the chief points that were brought out in the discussion: and in conclusion it may be observed, 1. That S. Augustine himself thought while disputing against the Manichæans that faith was our own, and preceded grace, save that of the external vocation. 2. That in the present controversy he carried his arguments about original sin so far as to seem to make salvation impossible without baptism: and hence stopped short

CENT.  
V.  
Pelagi-  
anism.

<sup>h</sup> Vid. Præf. ad vol. x. S. Aug. Oper. ed. Ben.

**CENT.** of the doctrine that salvation is possible without the Sacra-  
**V.** — ments. 3. That occasionally he would appear to consider grace irresistible: lest he should disparage Omnipotency by making our wills able to counteract the Divine. We see from these significant instances how hard it is for the greatest minds to analyze correctly what they most fully believe: or to state one truth forcibly without doing violence to the rest. His books upon predestination end with the following remarkable sentence. "We have learnt that heresies have respectively suggested peculiar questions to the Church, to refute which Holy Scripture has been far more diligently searched, than it would have been had they never imposed such a necessity." His remaining works against the Pelagians<sup>1</sup> are a proof how slowly and with what difficulty truths are wont to be realized in a controversy.

**§ 4.  
INNOVA-  
TIONS.**

Canon of  
the Scrip-  
tures.

A few changes remain to be noticed in which the present age deviated slightly from those preceding it. Three years before the close of the last century the third council of Carthage decreed that nothing should be read in the Church but the canonical Scriptures; in the enumeration however, which follows, are comprised five books of Solomon, Tobit, Judith, and two books of the Maccabees. S. Augustine furnishes exactly the same list in his work upon Christian doctrine. On the other hand it is to be remembered "canonical" was a term that contrasted with "apocryphal" in those days<sup>2</sup>, and elsewhere S. Augustine seems to allow that the book of Ecclesiasticus might not be deemed authoritative, as it was not in the Hebrew canon<sup>3</sup>. The authority of the book of Wisdom he maintains against the Pelagians on the ground that it had been ever read in the Church<sup>4</sup>.

Images.

Images were allowed to be introduced into churches now that heathenism was no longer in the ascendant: and the honour paid to the memories of the saints began insensibly to be transferred to these sensible representations. Pictures indeed never seem to have been abused to the extent that images were; though S. Augustine mentions with scorn those who adored pictures and tombs<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Vol. x. ed. Ben.

<sup>2</sup> Vid. S. Aug. De Civ. Dei xv. 23  
et xviii. 38.

<sup>3</sup> De Cura pro Mort. ger., c. 15.

<sup>4</sup> De Prædest. Sanct., c. 14.

<sup>5</sup> De Mor. Eccl. Cath. i. 34.

Departed saints were invoked to intercede for the living: C E N T.  
 nor does S. Augustine scruple to commend the practice; and <sup>V.</sup> ~~Invoca-~~  
 though he will not decide what knowledge they have, or by <sup>tions.</sup>  
 what means it is revealed to them, of the affairs of the world<sup>o</sup>:  
 he considers it a fact beyond dispute that some persons in the  
 flesh are benefited by the intercessions of the saints and mar-  
 tyrs in the same way that the departed are benefited by the  
 prayers of the living.

Relics of the martyrs were regarded with increased rever- Relics.  
 ence bordering upon superstition: and the wood of the cross  
 was equally prized: that miracles were occasionally per-  
 formed by them was ascribed to a certain intrinsic virtue in  
 the instruments, and not, as it ought to have been, to the  
 faith of the patients and the free mercies of the Almighty.

Prayers for the dead were enhanced by the notion of a Purga-  
 purgatorial fire, but whether in the intermediate state or at <sup>tory.</sup>  
 the end of the world, was not agreed: S. Augustine, it has  
 been already observed, will not positively declare for or against  
 either doctrine<sup>p</sup>.

Again, the Pelagian controversy confirmed a notion of the Absolute  
 absolute necessity of baptism to salvation; and in the same necessity  
 spirit infants were admitted to a participation of the holy <sup>of the Sa-</sup>  
 Eucharist: the eighteenth of the African canons forbids it <sup>craments.</sup>  
 to be administered to a corpse, which shews the extent to  
 which the idea had been carried; and the third council of  
 Carthage deprecates the like about baptism<sup>q</sup>.

Celibacy began to be more generally enforced: by the six- Celibacy.  
 teenth canon of the fourth general council professed virgins  
 or monks who marry are excommunicated, though a dis-  
 pensing power is vested in the bishop: and Innocent I. and  
 S. Leo strongly prohibit cohabitation on the part of the  
 married clergy.

Western synods, especially those of Carthage, made similar Private  
 enactments. S. Leo the Great is said to have made "a gap <sup>confession.</sup>  
 in the penitential discipline" by authorizing private confes-  
 sion instead of the public<sup>r</sup>: the sabbath-day fasts, fasts of

<sup>o</sup> De Cura pro Mort. ger. 16.

<sup>q</sup> Can. 6.

<sup>p</sup> De Civ. Dei xxi. 26; De viii.

<sup>r</sup> Ep. lxxx. Vid. Marshall. Penit.

Dulc. quæst. q. 1; De Fide et Op., c. 16; Enchirid., c. 69.

Discipl., c. iii. § 1.

CENT. the four seasons, vigils, and rogations, were enjoined by the  
V. Roman bishops already mentioned, and by Mammercus of

Κύριε  
 ἐλέησον.

the answer on the part of the people was, "Lord, have mercy." Afterwards the trisagium was added. Ceremonies

New rites. received immense augmentations: ecclesiastical vestments became more numerous: tapers, vessels, and the like, were formally consecrated for the use of the sanctuary. S. Augustine, it is well known, complained bitterly of the simplicity thereby destroyed. "For although it be not discoverable," he says, "how they contradict the faith, still to so great a degree do they with servile burdens oppress that religion, which the mercy of God has willed to be free with sacraments of the fewest possible number and most simple celebrations, that the condition of the Jews is more tolerable, who though they are blind to a season of freedom, are nevertheless subject to the burdens of the law, and not the presumptions of mankind\*."

At the same time, it is to be observed, the canons of the different councils, especially the African and those of Chalcedon, enforce rigorous discipline, and enter a strong protest against the corruptions and abuses of the age: nor are SS. Chrysostom, Jerome, Cyril, Augustine, Theodoret, Leo the Great, and others, backward in a like praiseworthy indignation. Abuse of the monastic life, clerical incontinence, secular occupations, avarice, pride, luxury, simony, are the chief vices against which the canons inveigh: the love-feasts were likewise discouraged for the irregularities and excesses to which they gave rise†.

§ 5.  
 GOVERN-  
 MENT.  
 Patri-  
 archs.

Patriarchs, it has been already observed, belong virtually to the preceding age, but henceforth the name is of frequent occurrence. S. Leo is so styled in the epistle of Theodosius and the acts of the fourth general council: and so are the bishops of Constantinople and Alexandria patriarchs or archbishops indiscriminately. Further, the exarchs of the various dioceses, Asia, Pontus, Illyricum, Dacia, Macedonia, and so forth, went by the same title. To a later date belong the

\* Ep. lv. (ad Januar.) c. 19.

† Concil. Carthag. iii. can. 30; comp. Concil. Laod., can. 28.

patriarchates of Aquileia, Grado, and Russia, the patriarchs of the Maronites, Jacobites, and Armenians. CENT.  
V.

Strictly speaking, however, the name was pre-eminently applied in the East to the five great patriarchates whose initials are contained in the word *KAPAI*, Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem; and the term "throne," which had been anciently connected with the episcopal office, was restricted in the same spirit to the patriarchal dignity. The above patriarchates comprehended respectively several dioceses. Primate and metropolitan had been synonymous terms applied to the first bishop of a province, and so they continued to be for some time; subsequently the heads of the nations, or exarchs of a diocese, monopolized the title. Thus there were three Gallican primates, over Celtica, Belgica, and Aquitania respectively, whose sees were Lyons, Treves, and Bourges. Again, the bishop of Arles was styled primate, after that city had been made the residence of the pretorian prefect; and hence the frequent contentions between him and the bishop of Vienne about the primacy, in which the Roman bishops interfered, constituting themselves, as it were, primates over primates. The five principal

The archiepiscopal name and dignity likewise belong to the present age; by Epiphanius it is applied to the Alexandrine, by the acts of the third and fourth general councils to the Roman prelate: it was also shared by the exarchs of dioceses, and by those called "independent." arch-bishops.

Subsequently, however, in the East the title was restricted to the patriarchs as distinguished from the exarchs and metropolitans, while it continued to be shared in the West by all bishops of a metropolitan see. αὐτοκέφαλοι.

Those who presided over monasteries in the East were called archimandrites by the Greeks, or abbots by the Syrians. Acacius, and Paul who wrote the letter to Epiphanius usually prefixed to his works, style themselves archimandrites in the salutation.

Proctors or defenders and stewards are mentioned in the Chalcedonian and African canons; and respondents or ambassadors were a further ecclesiastical office: their respective ἐκδικοί.  
οἰκόνομοι.

<sup>a</sup> Concil. Chalced., can. 9 et 17.

<sup>v</sup> Vid. Chalced., can. 23 et 26.

CENT. duties are detailed by Bingham in his *Antiquities*\*. The  
 V. celebrated Anatolius, who succeeded Flavian in the see of Constantinople, had held the last-named appointment under Dioscorus.

Vicars. Vicarships belong to the same date with the preceding, though the vicars of the Roman bishop were by far the most pre-eminent: the bishop of Arles is said to have represented him in the Gallican diocese about A.D. 417<sup>†</sup>, and Rufus, bishop of Thessalonica, whether the first bishop or not of the place who did so, represented him throughout Illyricum<sup>‡</sup>.

Changes under Justinian. Various changes, it is to be observed, were continually made in the metropolitan and other jurisdictions, especially under Justinian. "If any city," says the seventeenth Chalcedonian canon, "shall be new-built by the emperor, the ordering of the parishes shall be according to the civil pattern:" on the other hand the twelfth canon enacts, "whatever cities have been already, by the letters of the emperor, dignified with the name of a metropolis, let them enjoy the title only, as likewise the bishop who administers there: the just rights being preserved to the true metropolitan." In the time of the Nicene council the Alexandrine prelate was the only Egyptian metropolitan: in the time of Dioscorus he had ten metropolitans under him; Sirmium was originally the metropolis of Illyricum; afterwards Thessalonica, which had hitherto been only metropolis of Macedonia, was set over it. In the same way Arles was placed above Lyons, as we have before seen: and the bishop of Constantinople was invested with patriarchal rights over Heraclea, Ephesus, and Cæsarea, formerly exarchial sees and independent. At the fourth general council Jerusalem obtained jurisdiction over the three Palestine provinces originally reckoned under Antioch.

Ultimate appeal where. The highest ecclesiastical authority lay in the synods and councils of the Church: that is to say, leaving Holy Scripture out of the question: for S. Augustine will not consider it in the same category with the gradations ecclesiastical, to which he says appeals may be made—from inferior bishops, namely, to a superior: from him to a provincial synod: from a provincial synod to a plenary council in which whole Christen-

\* "Apocrisiarii." B. iii. 13. § 6.

† Vid. De Marca De Primat., c. 50.

‡ Ibid., c. 41; Vales. ad Soc.; E. H.

vii. 40.

dom is represented<sup>a</sup>. Externally speaking, moreover, the emperors exercised considerable influence. They convened councils, and confirmed them: admitted appeals, appointed judges to try spiritual causes, passed laws, enacted penalties, made constitutions affecting dignities in the Church. It is sufficient to refer to the constitutions and acts of Arcadius, Honorius, Theodosius, Marcian, Leo, Zeno, and Anastasius, for a confirmation of these assertions; nor do the Roman bishops, Boniface, Celestine, and S. Leo dispute the fact, as their epistles testify to the different emperors. The words of Socrates are very remarkable: "Kings we include continuously in our history, because ever since they embraced Christianity the affairs of the Church have been dependent upon them, and the greatest synods have been, and still are, convened by their pleasure<sup>b</sup>."

CENT.  
V.  
Power exercised  
by the  
emperors

Nevertheless the power and greatness of the Roman see of the was daily magnified, and by the tact, talent, and piety of those who presided over it, aided by the various contingencies of a favourable nature, of which they were not slow to take advantage, gradually recognised in the Church: indeed so long as it only aspired to the patriarchate of the West, the Orientals rather favoured than disparaged the claim. S. Leo was the first who attributed universality to the chair of S. Peter: and in his dispute with Hilary, bishop of Arles, greatly extolled the privileges of his see<sup>c</sup>. Simplicius and Felix conducted themselves in the same spirit against Acacius of Constantinople and Peter Mongus of Alexandria: Felix actually having the effrontery to summon Acacius to Rome to be tried there according to the canons, that is, the Sardican, (which the bishops of Rome were so fond of calling the Nicene,) thus perverting the appellate liberty sanctioned by those canons into a "coactive jurisdiction<sup>d</sup>." Gelasius applied the words of our Lord, hitherto understood of the person of S. Peter, to his successors in the Roman see. Yet Paschasius was allowed to call his Church "head of all Churches," "the Apostolic see," without opposition by the bishops composing the fourth general council; it had been

<sup>a</sup> De Bapt. c. Don. ii. 8.

<sup>b</sup> E. H. Præf. ad lib. v.

<sup>c</sup> Vid. Ep. 9 et 10. ed. Quænel.

<sup>d</sup> Hussey, Rise of the Papal Power, p. 86 et seq.



CENT. invested with a primacy from the earliest age: and A.D.  
V. 445, under Valentinian III., a law passed with the following

remarkable sentence. "We ordain by a perpetual sanction, that nothing shall be attempted by the bishops of Gaul or of the other provinces against ancient custom without the authority of the venerable pope of the eternal city: but that to them and to all whatever the authority of the apostolic chair has or shall have ordained shall be law; so that if any bishop when summoned should have neglected to come to the judgment-seat of the Roman prelate, he should be compelled to present himself there by the governor of the province; the privileges which our forefathers of happy memory have accorded to the Roman see being preserved inviolate." Here we see Valentinian clearly affecting to confirm privileges to the Roman see, and to refer the *original* grant of them to his predecessors in the empire. Again, so long as the bishops kept within ancient customs it does not appear which way his ordinance could affect them. Nevertheless, even so De Marca, Quesnel, and Du Pin consider it a clear innovation upon the Sardican canons, and Quesnel defends Hilary stoutly for maintaining the liberties of the Gallican Church<sup>f</sup>. Various explanations have been offered of the circumstances under which it was obtained: but as a fact, it is more than met by the counter one of the celebrated letter of the African Church to Celestine, in which they will only allow the Roman prelate the privileges accorded him by the canons, deny his right to send legates *à latere*, state what are canonical appeals, and complain of the canons Zosimus had obtruded upon them for the Nicene, with many more protestations<sup>g</sup>. Ammianus Marcellinus, who bears honourable witness to the self-denial and simple habits of the provincial bishops, had even in the last century borne melancholy testimony to the royal state in which the Roman bishops lived<sup>h</sup>; and the words spoken about the same time, "Only make me bishop of Rome, and I will be a Christian in a moment<sup>i</sup>," are very significant, though the passing jest of a gentile consul.

Letter  
of the  
Africans.

<sup>e</sup> Novell. Theodos., tit. xxiv.

<sup>f</sup> Diss. Apol. pro S. Hil. Par. i. c.  
16.

<sup>g</sup> Vid. Mansi Concil., tom. iv. p. 515,

et comp. Cave, Prim. Gov., c. v. § 6.

<sup>h</sup> Lib. xxvii. 3.

<sup>i</sup> S. Jerom. Ep. ad Pammach. xxxviii  
ed. Ben.

There were two general councils in the present century, C E N T. besides many provincial synods. Of the former the ren- V.  
dezvous was Ephesus, metropolis of the Asian diocese, A.D. § 6.  
431, in the twenty-fourth year of Theodosius the younger, COUNCILS.  
by whose authority it was convened, at the instance of S. Cy- Third  
ril, as Evagrius expressly says<sup>k</sup>. By a strange coincidence general  
the bishops assembled in a church called after S. Mary the council.  
Mother of God, as the heresy of Nestorius it was that gave  
rise to the council. He had been condemned already the  
previous year, after due warning by Celestine, in a Roman  
synod, and by S. Cyril, at the request of Celestine, in a sub-  
sequent Alexandrian one. Indeed it would seem that S. Cyril  
sat in his own council, as he did in the present one, not in his  
own right only, but as representing Celestine. The words of  
Celestine to him are very remarkable; "Wherefore with the  
authority of our see conjoined in your person, and having  
used the representation of our place for the purpose of  
power<sup>l</sup>, you will proceed to the following sentence with due  
severity." Yet in the next paragraph the profession of faith  
to be required from Nestorius is not only what the Roman,  
but what the Alexandrian and whole Catholic Church holds.  
And in his letter to the Constantinopolitans he repeats that  
he had commissioned S. Cyril to act in his stead, the distance  
being so great, and his presence, it would appear, almost  
indispensable in a case so momentous<sup>m</sup>. In the same way  
Evagrius says that S. Cyril represented Celestine at the third  
general council in which he presided; not but that he sat  
likewise in the character of the Alexandrine prelate<sup>n</sup>; as such  
he subscribed, and without mention of his delegated office:  
Arcadius, one of the legates afterwards sent by Celestine,  
subscribed after him, and with a single interval respectively  
the two other legates, Projectus and Philip.

S. Cyril indeed, it is probable, was only too glad to be able  
to represent the first patriarchate of the world as well as his

<sup>k</sup> E. H. i. 3.

<sup>l</sup> ἐπὶ ἐξουσίᾳ. Vid. Ep. Celest. ad S. Cyril.; vid. Mansi Concil., tom. iv. p. 1020.

<sup>m</sup> Ibid., p. 1046.

<sup>n</sup> Vid. Vales. ad Evag. E. H. i. 4. The words are καθ' ἐξουσίαν τῶν θεοφι-  
λεστώτων καὶ δσιωτάτων ἐπισκόπων,

Κυρίλλου Ἀλεξανδρείας, διέποντος καὶ  
τὸν τόπον τοῦ ἁγιοτάτου καὶ δσιωτάτου  
ἀρχιεπισκόπου τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίας  
Κελεστίνου' κ.τ.λ. Mansi, vol. iv. p.  
1124. Here moreover S. Cyril's own  
proper character comes first, his dele-  
gated character is a secondary consi-  
deration.

CENT. own, inasmuch as it was no less a person than the patriarch  
V. of Constantinople, now ranking next after Rome, who was  
 the accused party, while the patriarch of Antioch could  
 scarce be depended upon for his orthodoxy.

Again, it was not uncommon upon grave occasions for an  
 absent prelate to be represented by one that was present and  
 sat likewise in his own right. For instance, in the very same  
 page that we are told that S. Cyril occupied the place of the  
 Roman bishop Celestine *as well as* his own, we are told that  
 Flavian, bishop of Philippi, represented Rufus, bishop of  
 Thessalonica, besides himself<sup>o</sup>: the two cases are described  
 almost word for word in the same language; and it is equally  
 remarkable that Flavian, like S. Cyril, when subscribing,  
 only does so in his own name, omitting all mention of the  
 other see which he represented<sup>p</sup>. In the fifth action, indeed,  
 S. Cyril expressly draws a contradistinction between himself  
 and the Roman *legates*<sup>q</sup>: a term, be it observed, which is  
 never once applied to him. But to proceed.

Nestorius  
 deposed.

John of Antioch not arriving at the appointed time the  
 council thrice summoned Nestorius, and upon his non-ap-  
 pearance examined the evidences of his guilt, and eventually  
 deposed him. Two hundred bishops and upwards subscribed  
 to the sentence. Letters were sent to him acquainting him  
 of his condemnation: others were sent to the emperor, which  
 Count Candidianus endeavoured to intercept. Counts Can-  
 didianus and Irenæus had indeed supported Nestorius against  
 the council from the first: and when John of Antioch ar-  
 rived five days after the promulgation of the sentence, insti-  
 gated him to convene a schismatic assembly, which was at-  
 tended by forty-three bishops, and condemned and deposed  
 Memnon bishop of Ephesus and S. Cyril. John was sup-  
 ported amongst others by Theodoret, bishop of Cyrus, who  
 inveighed sharply against S. Cyril in his writings, and dis-  
 paraged the acts of the council: while Nestorius, it is to be  
 observed, though at Ephesus from the commencement, did  
 not attend either the council or the conventicle. Mean-  
 while the emperor had been deceived by false representa-  
 tions, and even sent a Count John to apprehend the two

<sup>o</sup> Mansi, vol. iv. p. 1124.

<sup>p</sup> Ibid., pp. 1212 et 1364.

<sup>q</sup> Ibid., p. 1318.

bishops; but they so completely exculpated themselves in the first instance to the bishops who condemned them, that the sentence was reversed upon John, and those who sided with him: and lastly, the emperor coming to a more perfect knowledge of the case, S. Cyril and John were reconciled, a council of Antioch held, and Paul of Emesa despatched to Alexandria by John and his synod to subscribe to the different acts against Nestorius. Not long afterwards Theodore<sup>t</sup> recanted his opposition. As to the word *Θεοτόκος*, which the council declared strictly applicable to the blessed Virgin, it actually occurs in the fourth chapter of the first book of his history<sup>r</sup>, besides which Eusebius, SS. Athanasius, Basil, Gregory Nazianzenus, and other ancient Fathers were fully proved to have used it. According to Zonaras and Balsamon the council passed eight canons: Photius assigns seven; and other collections only six, omitting the two last. The code of the universal Church lends authority to the first number: Dionysius Exiguus, on the other hand, in his version of the Latin code mentions none: and hence it has been conjectured that they originally formed part of the acts themselves, and were digested into canons by the Greeks. For the most part they have exclusive reference to Nestorius; his conduct towards the orthodox, his contumacy towards the synod, and especially his conspiracy with Celestius the Pelagian. The eighth canon not only relates to the independence of the bishops of Cyprus which gave rise to it, but inhibits all other bishops interfering in a province or diocese that did not belong to them: ancient rites are maintained, and secular pride strongly deprecated. It is observable that the last clause is almost a verbatim copy of a similar expression in the letter of the Africans to Celestine some years before.

The other general council met exactly twenty years after, or A.D. 451. Nicæa had been the place first appointed by the emperor: but he afterwards changed it to Chalcedon, that it might be at a less distance from Constantinople. S. Leo, it is well known from his epistles, wished it to have been held at Rome; and so little was he consulted by Marcian in the subsequent change, that his letters were directed to the bishops assembled at Nicæa, as Evagrius says. On the other

CENT.  
V.

John of  
Antioch  
and S.  
Cyril re-  
conciled.

Fourth  
general  
council,

<sup>r</sup> In ep. Alex.

CENT. hand the imperial summons addressed to him, Anatolius, and the other bishops, are to be found in the first part of the acts.

preceded  
by the  
Latroci-  
nium.

The number of the bishops assembled was six hundred and thirty: and they came from all parts of the empire, as appears by the subscriptions. Gaul, Britain, and Spain, however, had been detached from it. S. Leo presided in the person of his legates, Paschasinus, Lucentius, and Boniface, who subscribed in the first place: and in a remarkable way connect him whom they represented with the administration of the universal Church. Anatolius had the next honourable place: after him Maximus of Antioch, and after him Juvenal of Jerusalem. Judges and lay-presidents were moreover assigned by the emperor, and took a considerable share in the proceedings, as we shall see. The Eutychians had been already condemned by Flavian, the former bishop of Constantinople, and by S. Leo, A.D. 448-9. Dioscorus of Alexandria had however been induced to join them: and Chrysaphius the eunuch, who was equally set against Flavian, had gained Theodosius over to the same side. The emperor summoned a council at Ephesus, A.D. 449, in which Dioscorus presided. Eutyches triumphed, and Flavian was deposed, with Theodoret, Ibas, and other bishops. Flavian, indeed, died soon afterwards of the treatment he had received there; and from the violence that was employed towards him and others, as well as from the disreputable conclusion to which the council came, it has been stigmatized ever since by the name "Latrocinium." To rectify these disorders, Marcian, upon his accession, summoned the fourth general council.

Dioscorus  
deposed,  
Ibas and  
Theodoret  
restored.

The council of Chalcedon confirmed the faith of the three preceding it; deposed Dioscorus after thrice citing him, and condemned Eutychianism. Ibas and Theodoret were restored: and a definition of faith founded upon the synodical letters of S. Cyril against Nestorius, as well as the letter of S. Leo to Flavian against Eutyches, authoritatively settled. Twenty-eight canons were passed, though Dionysius Exiguus and others only reckon twenty-seven. Zonaras, Balsamon, and Aristenus make thirty. They principally concern ecclesiastical discipline, government, and the like, and may be

seen in the code of the universal Church. Indeed it is to the first canon which ordains the reception of the canons of all synods that had preceded it, that the origin of the code is ascribed. Justinian decreed that the canons made or confirmed by the four general councils should have the force of laws<sup>\*</sup>: and S. Gregory the Great likens the councils themselves to the four gospels. By the twenty-eighth canon the patriarchate of Constantinople, which had been already contemplated in the third canon of the second general council, was definitely settled: the Pontic, Asian, and Thracian metropolitans made subject to it: and the next post assigned it after Rome. Baronius, Allatius, and others will not acknowledge the canon: as the Roman legates had withdrawn: and protested against it the next day. This they certainly did, and S. Leo never would accept it. On the other hand a majority of the council agreed to it, especially those most concerned in the arrangement. It is to be observed, however, that the bishops in the synodical letter they sent S. Leo, speak of the privilege as a thing requiring his assent and accordance<sup>†</sup>: and the language which they use generally with reference to the see of S. Peter is without doubt remarkable. Again, the Constantinopolitan patriarch Anatolius, in his letter to S. Leo requesting confirmation of the acts of the council, is equally submissive. Yet S. Leo, it is ever to be remembered, was one of a thousand, and the Constantinopolitans, it is notorious, were scheming a point. In the condemnation of Dioscorus again, the part assigned to, and the words used by, the Roman legates are conspicuous: and still facts testify that the concurrence of the council was wanting to his deposition. In the reverse case Theodoret, though actually acquitted and admitted to communion by S. Leo, was utterly refused restitution to his see, till he had first anathematized Nestorius. Lastly, a candid reviewer of the voluminous acts of the council will not be so much struck with the honour paid to the see of Rome, as with the far more practical importance sanctioned and attached by the whole council, including the Roman legates, to the emperor and his representatives. For first, the seven judges and eleven senators are said in the first action to have sat in the middle

CENT.  
V.  
Code of the  
universal  
Church,  
how  
formed.

Constanti-  
nople to  
rank next  
after  
Rome.

Facts  
telling  
for and  
against  
Roman  
pre-emi-  
nence.

<sup>\*</sup> Novell. cxxxi. c. 1

<sup>†</sup> Vid. Fleury, E. H. xxviii. 31.

**CENT.** of the church immediately before the chancel, the bishops being ranged on the right and left. Secondly, they moderated in a very wide sense. In the first action we find them interfering and exclaiming, "these popular clamours neither become bishops, nor shall they serve parties." At the end of the same action they propose the sentence passed in the third action, subject to the consent of the emperor. At the beginning of the second action they propose the next question to be debated. Next suggest the appointment of a special episcopal committee, over which, however, they are in the fifth action requested to preside themselves, respecting doctrine. Towards the end of the fourth action and elsewhere we find them confirming the sentence of the council. Again, actions four and five furnish instances of a special reference to the emperor, either for leave to deliberate upon certain points, or for directions how to proceed generally. Nothing is attempted till his reply has been received, and when received it is obeyed. In the sixth action not only the emperor Marcian but the empress Pulcheria are present, and the former says he came there to confirm their acts, not to make a display of his power. To be sure the orthodoxy of the emperor and empress was unquestionable: and, in a case where discipline only was concerned, it was acknowledged by the judges themselves, that "to vote and decide finally upon these points belonged to the Holy synod," that is, to the bishops, as appears from what follows". And lastly, none but ecclesiastics, i. e. bishops, or their representatives, subscribe the decrees. Other particulars respecting the council, whose acts fill a complete volume, may be found in the Collections\*. Evagrius likewise mentions it in his second book, together with the Alexandrine disturbances, consequent upon the deposition of Dioscorus, and substitution of Proterius in the see. There was a great controversy raised about the three chapters in the next century, which will again be considered.

**V.**  
Part taken  
by the  
judges.

Marcian  
and Pul-  
cheria pre-  
sent at  
the sixth  
action.

Provincial  
synods.

Many provincial synods were held in the present age, which the Collections supply: African, Alexandrine, Italian, Gallican, Spanish, British, and Oriental. Of the African

\* Mansi, tom. vii. p. 96.

• Ibid., tom. vi. et vii.

the chief were held under Aurelian, bishop of Carthage, and attended by S. Austin, against Pelagius: but the whole number from the end of the last century to A.D. 419 inclusively, was either eighteen or nineteen. From the canons they passed is composed what is called the African code. These canons, it is to be observed, were inserted into the ancient code of the Eastern and Western Churches: at the same time that many of them refer to the dispute which had arisen in the matter of Apiarius the presbyter, deposed for his immoralities by Urban bishop of Sicca, but admitted subsequently to communion by the Roman prelate Zosimus, who sent legates over to try his case. Thus canons twenty-eight and a hundred and thirty-five expressly inhibit transmarine appeals.

C E N T.  
V.

African  
code.

Transma-  
rine ap-  
peals pro-  
hibited.

Other provincial synods were occasioned by the different heresies, especially the Pelagian and Semi-Pelagian; others arose out of the disturbances that agitated particular Churches; for instance 1, that of Hilary, bishop of Arles, who, following his predecessor Patroclus, claimed to be Gallican primate. Celidonius, one of his provincials, being deposed by him, appealed to Rome and was restored: and the metropolitanship transferred by S. Leo from Arles to Vienne. Upon the death of Hilary nevertheless a compromise was made by the same authority between the two sees. 2, that of Flavian and Theodoret, which Dioscorus excited: and 3, those of Acacius of Constantinople, Mongus of Alexandria, and Peter the Fuller of Antioch, which will be noticed under a future head.

Case of  
Hilary,  
bishop of  
Arles, and  
others.

The conference between the Catholic and Donatist bishops held by order of the emperor Honorius, A.D. 411, ended in the promulgation of a sentence against the latter by Marcellinus a tribune and notary to whom the conduct of the affair had been entrusted. Many of the proceedings have been preserved by S. Augustine<sup>7</sup>. Seven bishops represented either side: among the Catholics were Aurelius, Alypius, and S. Augustine: among the Donatists, Primian, Petilian, and Emeritus. The sentence of Marcellinus was ratified by the emperor in a subsequent law<sup>8</sup>.

Conference  
between  
Catholics  
and Dona-  
tists.

<sup>7</sup> Brevic. Coll. ap. tom. ix. ed. Ben., p. 546.

<sup>8</sup> xvi. Cod. Theod., tit. v. l. 52.



**C E N T.** The tumults occasioned by the Eutychians\* subsequently  
**V.** to the fourth general council require a separate mention.  
**§ 7.** Proterius, arch-presbyter, had been elected by the orthodox  
**EUTY-** party to succeed Dioscorus in the Alexandrine see; but  
**CHIAN Tu-** Marcian dying, a sedition ensued: Timothy Ælurus, a pres-  
**MULTS.** byter of the same Church, was elected by the populace and  
**Timothy** consecrated by two bishops, Eusebius of Pelusium, and  
**Ælurus.** Peter of Majuma, who were themselves under a sentence.  
 Proterius was horribly massacred in the baptistery.

Leo the emperor received letters and deputations simulta-  
 neously from the litigant parties: and despatched circulars  
 to the bishops of Rome, Constantinople, and elsewhere, to  
 ascertain the general opinion as well about Alexandrine mat-  
 ters, as about the council of Chalcedon, against which the  
 Eutychians were greatly excited. S. Leo was the first to  
 vindicate the latter, and to pronounce the ordination of  
 Ælurus uncanonical. The rest of the bishops, with a single  
 unimportant exception, professed themselves of the same opi-  
 nion. Timothy was therefore exiled: and another Timothy  
 surnamed Salophaciolus, a Catholic, substituted in his stead.  
 He returned under the usurper Basiliscus, but poisoned him-  
 self the moment Zeno re-appeared. Peter Mongus was  
 elected to succeed him by the same party: but Zeno favoured  
 the other Timothy: death however, shortly removing him,  
 Mongus was supported by the emperor, and Acacius bishop  
 of Constantinople, while John Talaida, whom the Catholics  
 elected, was upheld by S. Leo.

Meanwhile similar agitations were disturbing the East.  
 Martyrius, disgusted with the petty commotions in his  
 see, had abdicated Antioch: Julian, the two Stephens, and  
 Calendio were successively elected by the Catholics, but  
 nominally Peter the Fuller usurped possession of the see.  
 His first act was to condemn the council of Chalcedon  
 and to introduce a clause expressive of his heretical opi-  
 nions into the Trisagion. Leo deposed, but Basiliscus re-  
 stored him. Zeno removed him in the first instance: but  
 upon his subscription to the Henoticon, though fraudulently  
 made, he was restored once more A.D. 482. Four years

\* Vid. *Evang. E. H.* ii. 9 et seq.; *Liberat. Breviar.*, c. 15.

afterwards however his death took place, and his name C E N T.  
 was erased from the sacred registers owing to his opposition V.  
 to the council of Chalcedon, which latterly he had not dis-  
 guised<sup>b</sup>.

Zeno, upon his return to the empire, published his celebrated Henoticon or pacificatory epistle, at the instigation of Acacius, in the year A.D. 482. The emperor in it confirms the Nicene and Constantinopolitan Creed, which he says was received likewise by the Ephesine Fathers: and mentions with approbation the twelve chapters of S. Cyril. He does not indeed notice the council of Chalcedon, though implicitly he maintains the same doctrine. Besides Acacius of Constantinople, Mongus of Alexandria, and Peter the Fuller, Council of Chalcedon passed over by Zeno. though neither of them honestly, subscribed to the Henoticon: and it was upon the ground that they had subscribed to it, that Acacius upheld them; Acacius was however excommunicated by Felix III. for his support of these two bishops: and the Henoticon was never received by the Roman see. Long and lasting were the quarrels between Acacius, Peter Mongus, and Peter the Fuller on the one hand, and the Roman bishops Simplicius, Felix III., and Gelasius on the other<sup>c</sup>; the chief cause being the deposition of John Talaida. He had omitted to send synodical letters to Acacius informing him of his installation; and Acacius took umbrage and procured his deposition. Peter Mongus was put in his room by the emperor, and John laid his cause before Simplicius. Felix III., who succeeded Simplicius, carried his indignation to a higher pitch than his predecessor: he cited Acacius to appear before him, as we have seen, and excommunicated him twice, together with Peter the Fuller<sup>d</sup>. Gelasius continued the same contest after Felix, and Acacius was protected by the emperors Zeno and Anastasius. Under the Roman bishop Anastasius, who succeeded Gelasius, a reconciliation was effected, but in the next age under the emperor Justin, the names of Acacius and Mongus, who had died in the interim, were erased from the registers. The rivalry between the two sees of Rome and Constantinople doubtless had enhanced the merits of the controversy: but

<sup>b</sup> Vales. Observat. i. ad Evag.

<sup>c</sup> Sirmond. Gest. de nom. Acacii.

<sup>d</sup> Vales. Observat. ii. ad Evag.

**CENT.** without entering into the more minute questions affecting  
**V.** praise or blame, it may be observed that Peter Mongus and Peter the Fuller were known to be suspected heretics at the time, and therefore did not add to the credit of those who supported them. Further, the Henoticon was the composition of a temporal prince affecting doctrine, and it disparaged or seemed to disparage the supreme authority of the Church in the fourth general council. Yet S. Leo might have proceeded more canonically towards Acacius.

**§ 8.** To turn to the heresies which produced the above councils  
**HERESIES.** and disturbances : besides the Arian, Manichean, and Donatist, of a former age, there were four principal heresies which may be dated from the commencement of the fifth century, the Pelagian, semi-Pelagian, Nestorian, and Eutychian. The doctrinal view of them has been already anticipated : it only remains to describe them historically.

Pelagius  
and his  
followers.

It is singular that neither Theodoret, S. John Damascenus, nor Nicephorus, mention the Pelagian heresy : the Greek writers indeed only allude to it in a cursory way, as S. Chrysostom when he says that he mourns over Pelagius the monk\*. Probably the Greeks themselves magnified free-will a little too much, and consequently were not so keenly alive to his errors. From the works of S. Augustine, the Dialogues of S. Jerome against the Pelagians, the Apologetic of Orosius, and the Commonitory of Marius Mercator against the same, we may gain the details : of which the following is a summary†. Ruffinus, a Syrian, not to be confounded with his namesake of Aquileia, and a disciple of Theodore, is said to have been the first who denied original sin‡. Pelagius, in his opposition to the Manicheans, was betrayed into the same error, and enlarged upon it. The new heresiarch was by birth a Briton, his native name being Morgan : he was a monk by profession, and S. Austin even bears testimony to his previous piety. Celestius, his chief supporter, was of Irish extraction : but Julian of Eclanum eventually became the coryphæus of the party. The heresy began to shew

\* Ep. iv. ad Olymp. ed. Ben., t. iii. p. 577.

† Comp. Præf. ad tom. x. Op. S. Aug. ed. Ben.; Norisii Hist. Pelag.;

Garnier, Diss. vii. ad Mar. Mercat.

‡ Vid. Döllinger's Hist. of the Ch., Per. ii. c. 4. § 1. Eng. Trans.

itself A.D. 405, and Italy was the first country in which it was propagated, about the time that Pelagius wrote his epistle to Paulinus bishop of Nola. Origen indeed is said to have afforded countenance to it in his writings: and hence Palestine for a time favoured it: Africa, Gaul, and Britain caught the infection, and within a brief interval it had spread over the whole West. In A.D. 412, Celestius was excommunicated at a Carthaginian synod over which Aurelius presided: and the synods of Jerusalem and Diospolis, A.D. 415, impeached Pelagius himself, but he contrived to evade condemnation. Carthaginian and Numidian synods, however, the following year threatened both with excommunication, and letters were sent from Africa which induced Innocent to adopt the same course. Zosimus, who succeeded Innocent in the Roman see, was for a time deceived by them: but the African bishops persisted in the determination of the former synods, and in A.D. 418 Zosimus published a circular in which he expressly condemned them. Boniface and Celestine confirmed his sentence respectively: and A.D. 431 the general council of Ephesus completed the overthrow of the heresy. The emperors Honorius and Theodosius, A.D. 418 and 419, had published edicts to the same effect. The semi-Pelagians took the intermediate ground between Pelagianism and orthodoxy: they were called also Massilians, from Marseilles, where they first shewed themselves: and they numbered John Cassian, Faustus bishop of Riez, Vincentius of Lera, and Gennadius, among those who favoured them; even Hilary, bishop of Arles, did not subscribe to the Augustinian doctrine respecting predestination. As early as A.D. 426 the monks of Adrumetum had objected to the teaching of the same Father, that it appeared to annihilate free-will: and Prosper and Hilary brought intelligence from Gaul which occasioned his work upon predestination. The semi-Pelagians did not deny that mankind had fallen, or that grace was necessary to his recovery, but they maintained that it was in the power of a man to desire, and by desiring to merit grace, and they affirmed that God had predestinated those only whom He foreknew would be desirous of the means afforded them. Infants were said to be predestinated

CENT.  
V.Semi-Pe-  
lagians,  
who?

CENT. V. upon the same grounds: that is, upon the grounds of the life they would have led had they lived. And here S. Augustine thinks they erred even more gravely than the Pelagians themselves. The council of Orange, A.D. 529, condemned these and the like tenets: and the Augustinian doctrine was warmly maintained by Prosper of Aquitaine, and Fulgentius bishop of Ruspe in Africa, by John Maxentius, Primasius, Lupus bishop of Troyes, Germanus bishop of Auxerre; by the Roman bishops Sixtus, S. Leo, Gelasius, Hormisdas, Felix IV., and by many provincial synods.

Socrates, Evagrius, S. Cyril the Alexandrian, and the Ephesine acts, among other authorities, describe the rise and progress of Nestorianism, a heresy which to the present day is spread over a large portion of the East.

Leporius  
and other  
precursors  
of Nesto-  
rius.

Leporius, a Gallican monk and afterwards a priest of Hippo, had preceded Nestorius in his opinions as early as A.D. 418<sup>b</sup>: but had recanted after a sentence passed upon them by the Gallican bishops and a dogmatic confutation of the error by S. Augustine. Theodorus of Mopsuestia, nevertheless, and Diodorus of Tarsus, fell into the same false teaching while controverting Apollinarianism: and Nestorius, whose position in the see of Constantinople, as well as his zeal against the Macedonians and other heretics, had procured him weight and influence, probably borrowed the idea from them, to which in a developed form his name has been attached ever since. According to Socrates he was eloquent but not learned<sup>c</sup>: and his ignorance of antiquity it may have been that led him to support Anastasius, a presbyter of his Church, in his refusal to style S. Mary *Theotokos* or Mother of God. By vainly endeavouring to assert her proper title to be neither mother of God nor mother of man, but rather mother of Christ, he fell into confused statements about the Incarnation: which by his opponents were drawn into still more perilous consequences: the name Christ, he asserted, did not signify a Man-God, but a man united with God: and hence the propriety of the term Immanuel, under which were clearly recognised two persons. His heresy was immediately detected and exposed by Eusebius of Dorylæum, then

First op-  
posed by  
Eusebius.

<sup>b</sup> Vid. Döllinger, Hist. of the Ch., ii. 4. 3.

<sup>c</sup> E. H. vii. 32.

a layman and advocate: S. Cyril the Alexandrian had his attention called to it, and after ineffectual attempts to redeem the author, published his twelve anathemas against it: Celestine condemned it at Rome in a synod, and S. Cyril at Alexandria; and finally, after his deposition by the Ephesine Fathers, A.D. 431, Nestorius was banished to Oasis in the deserts of Libya by Theodosius the younger, where Evagrius says Divine vengeance overtook him and he died a miserable death<sup>\*</sup> A.D. 436. As for his followers, for a time John bishop of Antioch, and Theodoret bishop of Cyrus, were reckoned among them, but they were eventually brought over: the latter had warmly attacked the twelve chapters of S. Cyril, in a letter to the former still extant among the Ephesine acts: and A.D. 431 he wrote five books against the council. He seems never to have been fairly reconciled to S. Cyril: and never to have fairly condemned Nestorianism before the fourth general council. Theodorus of Mopsuestia, and Diodorus of Tarsus, have been already mentioned on the same side, and the fifth general council under Justinian anathematized the former and his works as the precursor of the heresy. Ibas, bishop of Edessa, was a partizan at the time that he wrote his letter to Maris: but like Theodoret submitted to the fourth general council. Nisibis and Edessa subsequently contained large Nestorian schools: and Barsumas, who became bishop of Nisibis A.D. 435, persuaded King Pherozes to establish Nestorianism throughout his dominions.

Eutyches, who had stoutly opposed Nestorius in the first instance, afterwards occasioned still greater disturbances in the Church by the new heresy which he introduced; it is described by Theodoret in his dialogue called *Eranistes*, S. Leo the Great in his Epistles, Liberatus in his *Breviarium*, and the Chalcedonian acts. Eutyches himself was abbot or archimandrite of a religious establishment of Constantinople, and had disputed against Nestorius in the third general Council. Dioscorus, who succeeded S. Cyril, not only favoured him, but procured his doctrine to be espoused at the second Ephesine synod or Latrocinium. Domnus, bishop

Eutyches,  
who?

First cen-  
sured by  
Domnus.

<sup>\*</sup> E. H. i. 7.

**C E N T.** of Antioch, was the first who censured him in a letter to the emperor : Eusebius of Dorylæum accused him, A.D. 448, at a synod of Constantinople before Flavian : and Flavian, upon his adherence to his errors, excommunicated him. About the same time S. Leo addressed his celebrated epistle to Flavian, in which the heresy is fully exposed. The following year Eutyches obtained a temporary triumph at the Latrocinium through the arts of the eunuch Chrysaphius and influence of Dioscorus, though the legates of S. Leo were present : and Flavian and Eusebius, Theodoret, Ibas, and Domnus, were deposed : Flavian was exiled into Lydia by the emperor, who upheld the council till his death. On the other hand, S. Leo declared the council irregular in a Roman synod : and to him Flavian and Theodoret appealed. Anatolius, who succeeded to the see of Constantinople, subscribed to his letter to the former in a synod, A.D. 450, and many bishops who had joined the Latrocinium recanted and were restored : and, finally, the emperor Marcian convened the fourth general council the next year, at which the Ephesine proceedings were annulled, and Eutyches and Dioscorus condemned. Still the heresy was propagated throughout Egypt, Ethiopia, Armenia, Palestine, and Syria : while the commotions which ensued have been already described under a separate head, and will be renewed in the next century. It only remains to notice the chief of the sects to which it gave rise.

**Acephali.** Peter Mongus was deserted by his party when he signed the Henoticon : and these standing aloof without a leader were called Acephali : they afterwards split into various sects, and in the next age were called after Severus of Antioch, Severians.

**Theopaschites.** The Theopaschites originated with Peter the Fuller, who was restored to the see which he had usurped after subscription to the Henoticon. Not long afterwards he openly anathematized the council of Chalcedon : and introduced into the Trisagion, or hymn to the Holy Trinity, a clause signifying that not one Person but the whole Trinity had suffered upon the cross. The hymn itself, it may be observed, is said to have originated with a child who was carried up to heaven

ὁ σὺν πα-  
τρί δι'  
ἡμᾶς.

for a whole hour in the sight of Proclus and the people of Constantinople, and heard the angels singing it<sup>1</sup>. CENT.  
V.

Lastly the Armenians, at the instigation of one Ethanius, rejected the council of Chalcedon and formed a separate sect: they did not indeed disown the three previous general councils, but like the rest of the Monophysites they admitted the interpolation into the Trisagion with other peculiar rites which they have retained ever since. At a subsequent period however many of them that were scattered about India and Tartary joined the Nestorians<sup>2</sup>. Armenians.

To omit Epiphanius, S. Chrysostom, and other writers already mentioned who survived the commencement of the present century, the first Greek author deserving notice is Theophilus of Alexandria, the enemy of S. Chrysostom, and uncle as well as predecessor of S. Cyril. He died A.D. 412, and a few fragments of his works have been preserved. It was his bitterness against the Origenists that induced S. Jerome probably to pass the high encomium upon him which he does. § 9.  
WRITERS.

Synesius was a Platonic philosopher, and married, when he was raised to the episcopate. He likewise confessed to have doubts about the resurrection of the body taken in a literal sense. He was nevertheless made bishop of Ptolemais about A.D. 410, and Photius affirms that the good expectations that were formed of him were fully realized. His works have been edited with annotations by Petavius. S. Cyril of Alexandria, who succeeded his uncle Theophilus, held the see from A.D. 413 to A.D. 444. He was to the Church exactly the same bulwark against Nestorianism, that S. Athanasius had been against Arianism: and his piety, zeal, and authority, were commensurate. His character is alone sufficient to rebut the imputation of the least share in the death of Hypatia, which undoubtedly disgraced his city. His works against Nestorius and Julian, his epistles, twelve chapters, and other treatises, have been already noticed: Synesius.

<sup>1</sup> Ἅγιος ὁ Θεὸς, ἅγιος ἰσχυρὸς, ἅγιος ἀθάνατος ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς. vid. Ep. iii.; Felicitas iii. ad Pet. Full. ap. Mansi Concil., vol. vii. p. 1042.

<sup>2</sup> Vid. Bever. Synod. ad Can. Trull.

lvi.; Morin. De Sac. Ord. Par. ii. Præf. in Syr. Nest. Ord., p. 434 et seq.; Auctores ap. Fabricii Luc. Salut. Evang., c. 38.



CENT. many that went under his name have been adjudged spurious.  
V.

**Theodoret.** Theodoret, bishop of Cyrus, has never been held in the esteem to which his works and piety seem to entitle him, from his opposition to S. Cyril: the fact is he had been the school-fellow, and continued to be the friend, of Nestorius, as well as the pupil of Theodorus of Mopsuestia. After his deposition by the Latrocinium he appealed to S. Leo, who accepted his plea, but he was not restored by the Chalcedonian Fathers till he had anathematized Nestorius, which he for some time hesitated to do. After his restoration he remained in his see till A.D. 457, when he died. His Commentaries upon the different books of the Old Testament and on the Epistles of S. Paul, besides his Ecclesiastical History and other works, have done much to obliterate the more practical mistakes of his life.

**Isidorus.** Isidorus, surnamed Pelusiota from the place of his monastic abode, stoutly upheld S. Chrysostom against Theophilus and gained S. Cyril over to the same side. Evagrius testifies to the angelic life that he led; and if internal evidence were wanting, it is abundantly supplied in his epistles; he flourished about A.D. 312.

**Socrates.** Socrates, surnamed Scholasticus from his profession in the law, flourished about the end of the reign of Theodosius the younger: with whose seventeenth consulate he terminates his history. Valesius extols his judgment and accuracy, but Photius does not consider him dogmatically trustworthy: and certainly whatever he may have been himself, he displays a clear partiality for the Novatians.

**Sozomen.** Hermias Sozomen, a native of Palestine surnamed Salaminus, like Eusebius, from his friend, is considered superior in style to his contemporary, but not so discriminative. It is probable that he finished his story somewhat later, but the additional information which it supplies for the most part is about monks and monasteries. Other writers, as Basilus of Seleucia, who was induced to subscribe to the Latrocinium, and deprived but subsequently restored by the fourth general council: Gelasius Cyzicenus, bishop of Cæsarea, who wrote the history of the Nicene acts, A.D. 476, and Hesychius,

Seleucian  
Basil, and  
others.

presbyter of Jerusalem, who flourished under Theodosius the younger, may be briefly passed over. CENT.  
V.

Among the Latin writers besides SS. Augustine and Jerome before mentioned, Ruffinus presbyter of Aquileia, first the friend, afterwards bitter foe of the latter, was a great leader of the Origenists: and noted for his translations of Origen, Pamphilus, Eusebius, SS. Basil, Gregory Nazianzenus and others: he likewise published many original works, and died about the same time with S. Jerome, with whom he had so sharp a controversy. Ruffinus.

Sulpitius Severus, a presbyter of the Gallican Church, not to be confounded with the bishop of the same name, wrote a sacred history from the beginning of the world to the commencement of the present century, besides a life of S. Martin. His style is of the purest description. Prosper, a native of Aquitaine like the former, and a layman, wrote a celebrated work against Cassian, the Collator, as he calls him, A.D. 433, in which the Augustinian doctrine is ably maintained: among his other works a letter to S. Austin treats of the same subject. Paulinus, bishop of Nola, who died A.D. 431, and was greatly celebrated for his piety, left fifty epistles. Sulpitius Severus.  
Prosper.  
Paulinus.

Gaudentius succeeded Philastrius in the see of Brescia, and died about A.D. 410. Aurelius Prudentius flourished about A.D. 405, and obtained a name by his poems. Hilary, bishop of Arles, stoutly maintained the rights of his see though he had S. Leo against him A.D. 445; his conduct has been sufficiently vindicated by the editor of his works before mentioned. Vincentius of Lera published his celebrated commentary A.D. 435, which is not however free from his semi-Pelagian leanings. One passage of it indeed appears directed against S. Augustine. Gennadius, a presbyter of Marseilles, continued the catalogue of illustrious men commenced by S. Jerome to A.D. 495, and wrote a work upon ecclesiastical dogmas often ascribed to S. Augustine. Salvian, presbyter of the same Church, Vigilius, bishop of Trent, Claudian Mamertus the presbyter, Eucherius, bishop of Lyons, whose sons Salonius and Veranium were afterwards bishops, Apollinaris, bishop of Clermont, Sedulius the presbyter, Arnobius the younger, Peter Chrysologus, bishop of Gauden-  
tius.  
Pruden-  
tius.  
Hilary.  
Vincentius.  
Gennadius.  
Salvian  
and others.

**CENT. V.** Ravenna, Victor of Marseilles, and Victor of Utica, may be dismissed with a bare mention: S. Leo the Great, twice the defender of his city against the barbarians, ever the spirited opponent of the Pelagians, Nestorians, and Eutychians, was elevated to his see A.D. 440, which he held about twenty years, and considerably magnified. His homilies and epistles are a valuable commentary upon catholic doctrine. Many pieces of the above writers have been collected and edited by Lucas Holstenius in his Roman Collection, Sirmondus in his Opuscula, and Baluzius in his Miscellanies; some epistles, for instance, of Sulpitius Severus, Innocent, Boniface, Celestine, Xystus, Simplicius, and Gelasius: a work of Leporius entitled *Libellus emendationis*, or a disclaimer of the Nestorian heresy: a letter of Capreolus successor of Aurelius in the Carthaginian see against the same: a book upon the Trinity and the Incarnation by one Isaac a converted Jew, and so forth.

Remarkable women.  
Athenais.

Pulcheria and others.

Especially Hypatia.

Several remarkable women likewise merit honourable mention; Athenais or Eudocia, daughter of Leontius the Athenian sophist, and wife of Theodosius the younger, of whose poems Socrates speaks, and whose learning he so greatly commends<sup>n</sup>: Pulcheria, sister of Theodosius, and virgin wife of Marcian, as Evagrius says<sup>o</sup>, a most orthodox princess: Paulas, grandmother and daughter, who lived in a retreat near Bethlehem and had S. Jerome for a spiritual adviser: Eustochium, the daughter of Paula, whose virginity, coupled with her rank and station, S. Jerome so highly extols: Proba, wife of the prefect Petronius, who with her daughter Læta and the virgin Demetrias, are commemorated by S. Augustine: and lastly, Hypatia, though a heathen, daughter of Theon the mathematician, who taught philosophy at Athens and Alexandria, where she numbered Synesius among her disciples, and was eventually massacred—to their shame be it spoken—by a Christian populace.

§ 10.  
PERSECUTION OF EMINENT MEN.

Among the persecutions of the present age it is perhaps hardly correct to allude to the sufferings of S. Chrysostom, which, originating principally in the hatred of the Arians, the feuds of Theophilus of Alexandria and Epiphanius of Sa-

<sup>n</sup> E. H. vii. 21.

<sup>o</sup> E. H. ii. 1.

lamis, and the malignity of the empress Eudoxia, terminated in his exile and death : and gave rise to a schismatic party calling themselves Johannites. To the same class belong the treatment of Flavian, Theodoret, and his master Theodorus, by Dioscorus and his party ; the murder of Proterius, and oppression of the orthodox by the Eutychians ; the harsh usage of Hilary of Arles, and Acacius of Constantinople, by the Roman bishops, though not quite so undeservedly ; the oppression of Euphemius and Macedonius, bishops of Constantinople, by the emperor Anastasius, a known favourer of the Eutychians.

What are called, more strictly speaking, persecutions, were those under the barbarians, and extending over whole nations and lands. Of these the principal were the devastation of Italy, and sack of Rome, by the Western Goths or Visigoths under Alaric, A.D. 410 ; the sack of the same city by the Huns under Attila, A.D. 452, and by the Vandals under Genseric, A.D. 455. The Ostrogoths ravaged Phrygia, Lydia, and the adjacent countries, and had part of Pannonia assigned them by the emperor Marcian. The Suevi, Alani, Vandals, and Visigoths, devastated Gaul and Spain, and, under Attila, the Huns overran Gaul, Germany, Illyricum, Pannonia, and Italy. In Spain many were made martyrs under Guntheric or Guntherius, king of the Vandals, who belonged to the Arian party : nor did the persecution abate till the Vandals passed over into Africa, leaving Spain in the hands of Wallia, king of the Visigoths.

The Gallican Churches suffered considerably during the incursions of the Vandals and Visigoths : the latter of whom fixed themselves on the coasts of Aquitaine and Narbonne, and subsequently spread into Spain, dispossessing the Alani and the Vandals.

The tumults of the Donatists and Circumcellions had long since afflicted Africa : but they were far eclipsed by the cruelties perpetrated under Genseric, king of the Vandals, and Huneric his successor, which lasted above a century : the whole country was ravaged, churches overthrown, bishops driven into exile, and every kind of torment inflicted upon the faithful. S. Augustine had anticipated by his death, which occurred A.D. 430, these miseries, which Victor

C E N T.  
V.

Rome  
sacked by  
the Visi-  
goths,  
Huns, and  
Vandala.

Sufferings  
of the  
Gallican  
Churches.

Tumults  
of the  
Donatists.

CENT. Uticensis so vividly portrays in his three books of the Vandal persecution.

Britain was oppressed by the Scots from Ireland, by the Picts from the North, and by the Anglo-Saxons from the other side of the German Ocean. Many Christians are said in these emergencies to have emigrated to the island of the Batavians on the opposite coast, and to the country since called Armorica or Brittany<sup>p</sup>.

In Persia the successors of Isdigerdes excited a new persecution, of which mention has been already made.

§ 11.  
REMARK-  
ABLE  
EVENTS.  
Theodosian  
code, when  
finished.

Among the remarkable events of the age may be classed the composition of the Theodosian code: it was finished under the auspices of Theodosius the younger, according to the common account, A.D. 435: but Godfrey, in the first chapter of his Prolegomena, proves the number of the consulate to be corrupt which is affixed to the first novel, in which the code is confirmed, and assigns the date to the sixteenth consulate of the emperor, A.D. 438.

What col-  
lections  
were su-  
perseded  
by it.

The Theodosian code superseded the Gregorian and Hermogenian collections which had preceded it: and in it are contained, in the most abbreviated form, the constitutions, edicts, rescripts, mandates, and epistles of the Christian emperors, Julian only excepted, from the seventh year of Constantine the Great after his defeat of Maxentius, A.D. 312, to the sixteenth consulate of Theodosius the younger, A.D. 438, after the marriage of his daughter Eudocia to Valentinian III., whence in the last constitution to Florentius<sup>q</sup>, he calls Valentinian his son. A farther appendix to the code has been edited by Sirmondus, containing fifteen new constitutions of different emperors: and these are to be added to the three last laws of the *Extravagans*, as it is called, *De Episcopali judicio*.

The sixteenth book of the code, it has been already observed, relates entirely to ecclesiastical persons and things. Of the latter class the subjects are the catholic faith and religion generally, together with heresy, schism, and the like contraries, with their respective accessories. Under the former class are ranged bishops, clergy, monks, and the

<sup>p</sup> Vid. Usser. Antiq. Brit., c. 12.

<sup>q</sup> Nov. 1.

offices appertaining to them: or on the other hand heretics, schismatics, apostates, Jews, Samaritans, Pagans, with the temples and sacrifices that were used among them. Baro-  
 ninus, Allatius, and others pretend, without the slightest au-  
 thority, that these laws were passed with the co-operation or  
 approbation of the Roman see. CENT.  
V.

Some remarkable edicts require notice; for instance, that of Valentinian and Theodosius<sup>1</sup>, which forbids the sign of the cross to be carved or painted upon the floor, or upon marble slabs laid upon the ground; that of Valentinian III. already mentioned, by which is secured a primacy of a very practical nature over the whole West to the Roman see. The emperor Leo some years afterwards amplified the see of Constantinople by a like enactment<sup>2</sup>, though by some it is ascribed to the author of the Henoticon; and under Valentinian III. before mentioned the bishops of Ravenna received permission to wear the pall. Ravenna had been the seat of the emperors from the days of Honorius, and henceforward it exercised metropolitan rights over the Flaminian and Æmilian provinces. It is a mere conceit of Baronius and others, that the emperors never conferred the pall<sup>3</sup>. Remark-  
able laws.

Many miracles are recorded to have happened in the pre-  
 sent age, and it seems undeniable that a large portion of  
 them were the inventions of the eighth and subsequent cen-  
 turies: at the same time others are supported by what ought  
 to be considered sufficient historical evidence: and certainly  
 taking into account the dangers which beset the Church  
 from barbarian incursions, the large proportion of the empire  
 still unconverted, the numberless heresies which assailed the  
 true faith, and other unfavourable circumstances, it seems  
 antecedently more than probable that the supernatural aids  
 which had been bestowed before, would not have been wholly  
 withdrawn. Doubtless there were sad divisions in the Church,  
 but perhaps not more proportionably than there were when  
 it existed a far less body numerically, and under circum-  
 stances more likely to unite the members amongst them-  
 selves. Miracles.

<sup>1</sup> Cod. Justin., lib. i. tit. viii.

<sup>2</sup> Vid. Liberati Brev., c. 21; comp.

<sup>3</sup> Vid. Spondan. Epit. Bar. Annal.,  
 A.D. 472.

Casp. Ziegl. De Episcopis, lib. ii. c.  
 10. p. 472.

**C E N T. V.** The miracle of the African confessors, whose tongues were cut out by the roots in the persecution under Hunneric, and who afterwards spoke no less freely than before, is recorded by two contemporary witnesses, Victor Uticensis and Æneas, a Platonic philosopher, whose testimony shakes even Gibbon<sup>u</sup>. The Venerable Bede records miracles connected with the expedition of SS. Germanus and Lupas into Britain to oppose the Pelagians<sup>a</sup>. Miracles are said to have been vouchsafed upon the conversion of Clovis, but here Gregory of Tours, SS. Germanus and Lupas. Alcuin, and the older writers, are silent. S. Simeon Stylites, whose abode upon a pillar, whence his surname, seven years upon the lower part, and thirty upon the summit, was almost itself a miracle, is reported to have performed many miracles : accounts of which, Evagrius says, were written by a personal eye-witness, and by Theodoret<sup>v</sup>; he died after fifty-six years asceticism, between A.D. 460 and 467, says Cave.

**Divine judgments.** To the same head belong the Divine judgments which are said to have overtaken persecutors of the Church, or of her faithful sons. And here may be mentioned the prodigies which befel Constantinople after the banishment of S. Chrysostom related by Palladius his biographer, Socrates, Theodoret, and the Alexandrine Chronicon. Basiliscus, the usurper, was eventually driven out, and perished by hunger, with his wife, says Procopius. Rhadagaisus, king of the Goths, in his descent upon Rome was most unexpectedly defeated and slain. Hunneric, the tyrant of the Vandals, we learn from Victor Uticensis, was eaten by worms; and many more might be mentioned.

**Canons regular.** Canons regular were first instituted in the present age: Gelasius, bishop of Rome, established them in the Lateran Church, where they continued, says Onuphrius, to the time of Boniface VIII., who expelled them<sup>a</sup>. The commencement of the order, in which the clerical and monastic life were blended, has been already noticed; originally, moreover, all clergy were called "canonicals" from the roll or catalogue in which they were entered of the Church to which they belonged; and for a long time the name did not signify bene-

<sup>u</sup> Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, vol. iii. 4to. ed. c. 37. p. 546.

<sup>a</sup> E. H. i. 17 et seq.

<sup>v</sup> E. H. i. 13.

<sup>a</sup> Hist. Lit. Sac. v. sub. v.

<sup>a</sup> Vid. Bingham Antiq. vii. 2. 9.

fice or dignity so much as office and rule. The living under C E N T.  
rule indeed constituted the main distinction between them V.  
and the rest of the clergy.

The last event to be noticed is the termination of the Western empire: Julius Nepos had raised Orestes, commander of the barbarians in the Roman pay, to the dignity of a patrician: and he having gained over the army now under his authority, placed his son Romulus Augustulus upon the throne. Odoacer, another of the barbarian chieftains, soon compelled him to lay aside the purple, and became the first king of Italy; but some years afterwards, Zeno having invited Theodoric, king of the Ostrogoths, into Italy, he himself was displaced after eighteen years' rule. It is the remark of Gibbon, that "the appellations of the two great founders of the city and of the monarchy were strangely united in the last of their successors<sup>b</sup>;" and others have not been slow to observe, from the date of his overthrow, A.D. 476, that the twelve vultures seen by Romulus appear to have marvellously prefigured the twelve centuries, accomplishing the duration of his city.

To describe briefly the state of the Jews and Gentiles. § 11.  
The latter still abounded throughout the empire, and had STATE  
temples, altars, images, theatres, games and the like, still OF THE  
rife. Imperial edicts, however, were directed against them, GENTILE  
especially by Theodosius the younger: who ordained that WORLD.  
the temples should be destroyed or expiated by the erection of the cross: forbid Gentiles to serve in the army, or be promoted to a civil office, and finally inhibited profane rites<sup>c</sup>. The emperor Leo pursued the same course, as may be seen from his laws in the Justinian code.

On the other hand the old religion was upheld by the Leading  
idoltrous priests, philosophers, orators, presidents, and men among  
generals, favourable to it; for instance, Q. H. Memmius pagana.  
Symmachus, proconsul of Africa under Honorius, and afterwards consul with Victor. Optatus, prefect of Constantinople under Arcadius, afterwards ejected in the days of S. Chrysostom. Socrates mentions his hostility to the Christians<sup>d</sup>. Orestes, prefect of Alexandria in the days of S. Cyril, is a

<sup>b</sup> Decline and Fall, vol. iii. c. 36.  
p. 498.

<sup>c</sup> xvi. Cod. Theod., tit. x. l. ult.

<sup>d</sup> E. H. vi. 18.



CENT. further instance mentioned by the same author\* : and others  
 V. — may be omitted.

The persecutions under the Goths, Huns, and other barbarians, moreover added confidence to the Gentiles, and by malevolently ascribing the calamities which befel the empire to the Christians, they vainly hoped to effect a reaction in favour of the old forms. These sophistries, however, were ably exposed by Theodoret, Orosius, S. Cyril, and most especially by S. Augustine in his invincible work *De civitate Dei*, before mentioned.

§ 12.  
 JEWISH  
 AFFAIRS.

Not to repeat what was said about the Jews in the last century, it may be observed that they still exhibited the same turbulent spirit which previously distinguished them; under Orestes prefect of Alexandria they excited a notable tumult against S. Cyril and the Christians generally: but retribution followed, and they were expelled the city. The story of the Cretan impostor who feigned himself Moses, and engaged to repeat the passage of the Red sea, has been already noticed, and is described by Socrates in his history<sup>f</sup>.

Babylonian  
 Talmud.

The Babylonian Talmud or Gemara was completed towards the end of the present or commencement of the next century. Rabbi Asa, who kept a school at Sora near Babylon, began it in his commentary upon the Mishna, but it was not perfected for seventy-three years, when Rabbi Joses put the finishing stroke to it in the year of the Jewish era from the creation 4260, which is remembered by them as the year in which the Talmud was sealed. Not long afterwards however, its authority was impaired by a new order of doctors that arose, and were called "Sabureans," or "Opiners," from the sceptical way in which they disputed about the meaning, and argued for and against indifferently. Other masters succeeded them who were called "Gæons," that is, "excellents" or "sublime."

Sabureans.

Gæons.

Patriarchs  
 abolished.

By the indulgence of the emperors Arcadius, Honorius, Theodosius, and others, the Jews were still allowed synagogues and schools; other privileges are enumerated by Godfrey upon the title *De Judæis* in the Theodosian code. The wickedness of the later patriarchs caused the office to be abolished, A.D. 429, when the tribute levied by them

\* E. H. vii. 14.

<sup>f</sup> Ibid. vii. 38.

upon the synagogues was ordered to be paid into the imperial treasury. Henceforth the term patriarch became exclusively Christian, and was applied in the East commonly to the bishops of the chief sees, and exarchs of the dioceses. The Jews however retained officers called "primates," as a substitute for the former. Who the Cœlicolæ were, who are classed with the Jews and Samaritans in the Theodosian code, has been variously explained. Some think they were Jews simply: Baronius, apostates from Christianity to Judaism: others, from a passage of S. Augustine<sup>s</sup>, Donatists or heretics. From the way however in which they are made a distinct class in the code, it would appear that they occupied a middle place between Jews and Christians, had instituted a new baptism, as S. Augustine complains, and were heaven-worshippers, as the name would insinuate.

## CHAPTER VI.

THE sixth century begins with the eleventh year of the emperor Anastasius, and the ninth of Theodoric king of Italy; Avianus and Pompey were consuls, and Clovis occupied the throne of the Franks.

Symmachus had succeeded Anastasius II. in the Roman see, but a schism had been excited by his rival Laurentius that had not been extinguished. Ultimately the adherents of the latter were repressed in two provincial synods convened by Theodoric, to whom appeal had been made. The Byzantine see was held by Macedonius, Antioch by Flavian, Jerusalem by Elias, afterwards banished by Anastasius for his adherence to the fourth general council: and Alexandria by John Mela, whose reception of the Henoticon has been considered a blot in his character.

As for the state of the Church, Anastasius persecuted the orthodox in the East, and exhibited himself a determined opponent of the Chalcedonian acts: whence the sentence

C E N T.  
V.

§ 1.  
STATE  
OF THE  
CHURCH.

Anastasius  
persecutes  
the ortho-  
dox.

<sup>s</sup> Ep. xliv. c. 6. ed. Ben.

CENT. of the excommunication passed upon him by Symmachus  
 VI. and the Orientals.

In Africa and throughout the West, Christianity suffered under the Goths and Vandals. Among the chief persecutors were Trasemund, king of the latter people, by whom Fulgentius was driven into exile; and Cabades, king of the Persians, who waged war against Anastasius, as we learn from Evagrius, Theodorus the Reader, and others.

Among the leading men of the day were Procopius of Gaza, the sophist; not to be confounded with his namesake of Cæsarea, the historian: Buricius the elder, bishop of Limoges, Paschasius the deacon, Alcimius Avitus, bishop of Vienne, Ennadius, bishop of Ticino, Severinus Boethius the great philosopher, Fulgentius, bishop of Ruspe, Gildas Albanus the Briton, and others hereafter to be mentioned.

§ 2.  
 SPREAD  
 OF THE  
 CHURCH.

Conver-  
 sions of the  
 Abasgi,  
 Lagi,

Zani,

Arme-  
 nians,

Æthio-  
 pians,

German  
 tribes,

Although labouring under considerable disadvantages Christianity was not stagnant in the present century. Conversions of kings and whole nations are recorded. The Abasgi, a people in the neighbourhood of the Euxine sea, and bordering upon the Alani, who with the Vandals overran Europe: the Lagi, who inhabited the mountainous parts to the east of the same sea, and were formerly called Colchians: the Zani or Zyani, who lived near them, with the Huns, Scythian, and Sarmatian tribes, embraced Christianity under the emperors Justin and Justinian: as we learn from Marcellinus, Procopius, Evagrius, Paul the deacon, Zonaras, and other authorities.

The Armenians had long since been converted to the faith, but they now put themselves under the more immediate protection of the Roman empire, as Evagrius says<sup>b</sup>. The Æthiopians or Abyssinians, and inhabitants of Arabia Felix, Axumites and Homerites, as they are called, are said to have received Christianity under Justinian: but it is clear that the gospel had been preached in those parts as far back as the days of Constantine the Great. Evagrius<sup>c</sup> records that Chosroes, king of the Persians, was converted and baptized towards the end of his life. Many German tribes, as the Bohemians, Thuringians, and Bavarians, became Christians in the present age.

<sup>b</sup> E. H. v. 7.

<sup>c</sup> Ibid. iv. 28.

The conversion of the Anglo-Saxons about the close of the C E N T.  
century, A.D. 596, was a remarkable event. Ethelbert, king VI.  
of Kent, had married Bertha daughter of the king of the Anglo-Saxons,  
Franks upon condition that she should be allowed the free  
exercise of her religion. A bishop named Luidhard attended  
her, and he probably began the work which S. Augustine  
and his companions, sent over by S. Gregory the Great,  
accomplished. Christianity had retired with the Britons  
into Cornwall and Wales: Ethelbert and his whole king-  
dom now embraced the faith: various synods were held by  
S. Augustine, and the metropolitan seat transferred from  
London to Canterbury, over which he presided as the first  
bishop.

In the sister isle S. Patrick had completed the good work  
begun by Palladius in the last century: and A.D. 550, S.  
Columba being ordained priest crossed over to the opposite  
coast, and commenced the conversion of the Picts. His Picts.  
celebrated monastery in the island of Iona was founded  
about A.D. 563.

There were likewise conversions from Arianism that de- Con-  
serve notice: for instance that of Sigismund, king of the vers-  
Burgundians, A.D. 517, who was reclaimed by Avitus, bishop ions from  
of Vienne: of Theodomir, king of the Suevi, whose son had Arianism.  
been healed by the prayers of S. Martin of Tours, A.D. 561,  
when the synod of Braga was held: of Reccared, king of the  
Visigoths, A.D. 585, which was followed by the council of  
Toledo four years after: and lastly of the Vandals and other  
nations whom Justinian either reclaimed or expelled from  
Africa, Sicily and Italy, through his generals Belisarius and  
Narses. Hilderic, king of the Vandals, indeed, as early as the  
year 522, had embraced orthodoxy. Other conversions from  
heathenism or Judaism, under more or less remarkable cir-  
cumstances, are related by Paul the deacon, Gregory of  
Tours, Sigebert, and others: while the writings of S. Aus-  
tin against Manicheism still disabused many that had been  
ensnared by it.

The doctrine of the sixth century may be gathered from § 3.  
the public formularies and Creeds extant: as the Creed of the DOCTRINE.  
Apostles, the Nicene, Constantinopolitan, Chalcedonian, and  
Athanasian. Voss and others indeed suspect the last to

CENT. VI. have been the composition of a still later age. In the Creed of S. Gregory the First, recorded by John the deacon in his life, the Holy Ghost is said to proceed from the Father and the Son. From the decrees and canons of the councils general and particular: among which are the chapters relating to the faith of the fifth general council, in which the four general councils preceding it are confirmed; and lastly from the writings of S. Fulgentius and others, especially S. Gregory the Great, whose language respecting the four or even the five general councils above mentioned is very remarkable<sup>k</sup>. "I confess that I receive and venerate the four councils in the same way that I do the four books of the Gospels . . . I likewise venerate the fifth council. All persons rejected by the said venerable councils I reject: those whom they honour I embrace: because, forasmuch as they have been sanctioned by universal consent, to loose what they bind, or to bind what they loose, brings destruction upon the individual presuming to do so, and not to them." His reason therefore for revering them was the universal consent with which they had been received; on the other hand Siricius, one of his predecessors towards the end of the fourth century, had already set aside the fourth Nicene canon in his decrees<sup>l</sup>. Perhaps the constitutions in the Justinian code respecting the Holy Trinity should be mentioned as a further source.

Termination of the controversy respecting the manner of the Incarnation.

The present and subsequent century may be said to have been employed in the more complete elucidation of the dogmatic teaching of the Church, evoked by the errors of Nestorius and Eutyches respectively, with reference to the manner of the Incarnation. The controversy about the three chapters gave what may be called the finishing stroke to the former: while the condemnation of the Monothelites in the next age deprived the Eutychians of the last subterfuge by which a colour could be given to the opinions they espoused. Two wills in a single person necessarily presupposed the recognition of a twofold nature. Other details virtually included, but not explicitly stated, in the orthodox profession,

<sup>k</sup> Ep., lib. i. ep. 25. ed. Ben.

<sup>l</sup> Hussey, Rise of the Papal Power, p. 27 et seq.

were made self-evident. The distinction between the words CENT. "Person" and "Nature" was more accurately defined after VI. the errors of the Tritheists: the controversies between the Severians and Julianists or Aphartodocetes as they were called, evoked truths connected with the Body of our Lord, by the very juxtaposition of that which was false: the Agnoetes opened the way to a curious enquiry respecting his soul; the Theopaschites pointed to the joint work of the Trinity in the Incarnation of the Word: as well as to the reciprocation of properties in His bipartite existence. It is needless to anticipate a more particular enumeration of these and the like sects: it may be simply remarked, that whatever were the intentions of those who originated them, they were certainly overruled for the edification of the Church: so that while perhaps there is not a single article in the Creed that has been so warmly and so minutely controverted as that of the Incarnation, it may be said with equal justice there is not a single article of the Creed so fully realized and taught; it is indeed the key-stone of the redemptive scheme, and it may be no less called the most elaborately developed verity throughout theology<sup>m</sup>.

In a like spirit it may be observed, that in the same proportion that the Church shook off the above-mentioned heresies, and emerged from the perils and trials to her orthodoxy which they occasioned, worldly influences on the other hand accumulated around her, and laid a no less systematic snare for her enthrallment. It is not intended to be asserted that every innovation upon primitive views and practice was a positive corruption: very many were praiseworthy: and still more were adapted to the circumstances of the age: much that was bad however was insinuated with the good: and much that was good was perverted into a stumbling-block: while, generally, the more the outward and visible gained upon the Church, the less prominence was attached to the invisible: and the more consolidated the alliance between the Church and the world, the more insensible the former grew to the fact, that she was a pilgrim and sojourner in the earth. It was one result of the *settlement* of the Israelites in the earthly Canaan, that even the significant feast of tabernacles

The invisible neglected for the outward and visible.

<sup>m</sup> Vid. Scholast. ad Sent., lib. iii. dist. i.—xxii.

**CENT. VI.** was gradually celebrated without tents. Among the additions that had been gaining ground, the use of images has been already noticed. S. Gregory the Great commends them for the instruction which they conveyed to the illiterate: and passes a severe censure upon Serenus, bishop of Marseilles, because in his zeal to prevent idolatry, he had broken these visible representations: at the same time his words are most remarkable. "Should any person desire to make images, hinder him not, but that images should be adored forbid by all possible means<sup>n</sup>."

Sacra-  
mentary of  
S. Gregory.

In the same spirit S. Gregory will not address invocations to the departed saints directly: while his Sacramentary teems with prayers to the Almighty, that their good offices and intercessions might be made available to the Church militant through Jesus Christ. Almost every prayer indeed in the whole work is addressed through the Saviour. Still it was not long before supplications were made to the Blessed Virgin, to the Baptist, Apostles, Martyrs, and others, though S. Gregory appears to have intended that his litanies or supplications should be addressed only to God<sup>o</sup>. Again, though it is clear that the honour paid to the bodies of the departed saints had degenerated into a minute and superstitious reverence founded upon the belief of a certain intrinsic excellence necessarily attached to them, as before observed: it is equally clear, that the adoration of relics, as it afterwards existed, had not actually commenced in the present age.

§ 3.  
RITES AND  
CEREMONIES.

The ceremonial received proportionable augmentations. Churches were built in honour of the prophets, apostles, and martyrs, and called from them: Justinian erected many to the honour of the Blessed Virgin under her title *Θεότοκος*, as Procopius says<sup>p</sup>. At Carthage the same author relates there was a church called after S. Cyprian and a festival instituted to his memory<sup>q</sup>. Many temples of the heathen gods and goddesses, after undergoing a suitable purification, were set apart to the service of the true God, and dedicated to one or more of His saints. At the beginning of the next century,

<sup>n</sup> Ep., lib. xi. Ind. iv. Ep. xiii. ad Serenum, ubi Ben. ed. "S. Gregorii imagines adorare vetantis verba duriuscula videatur Gussanvillæo, qui corrigendus est ex S. Thomæ 11. ii. 9.

art. 2, ad 1<sup>mem</sup>.

<sup>o</sup> Greg. Turon. Hist. x. 1.

<sup>p</sup> De Ædific. Justin.

<sup>q</sup> De bello Vandal. i. 21.

for instance, Phocas at the request of Boniface permitted the Pantheon to be converted into the church of S. Mary the Mother of God and All Saints. CENT.  
VI.

Among the new festivals were the Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary, instituted by Vigilius, bishop of Rome, and celebrated on the second of February, thus supplanting the Lupercalia. The feast of the Annunciation probably belongs to the same date: but the assumption, immaculate conception, and nativity of S. Mary were subsequent introductions. New fes-  
tivals.

Processions had long since been current among the heathen, whose witness is often commendable; and they were now adopted into the Church with a view to avert or abate those Divine judgments which pressed so heavily upon the effete parts of the empire. Gregory of Tours minutely describes those appointed by S. Gregory the Great; and others ascribe the origin of them to Agapetus the First, who preceded Vigilius. Proces-  
sions.

Churches were now consecrated with infinitely more pomp and external ceremony than they had been heretofore: litanies, tapers, incense, and holy water, were among the new rites: and relics were deposited beneath the altar. Other consecrations and benedictions are supplied by S. Gregory in his Sacramentary. It is needless to enumerate the innovations that were made with respect to the sacerdotal and pontifical vestments, the use of lights during the day, altar and other decorations; the celebration of the holy Eucharist over the bodies of the departed, votive and other masses, exorcisms, satisfactions, and the like. But the chief thing to be noticed is the re-arrangement and subsequent publication of the canon of the mass by S. Gregory. Here the psalmody, antiphons, chants, lessons, gestures, vestments, hours, are prescribed for every day, festival or not festival, throughout the year. In it he departs considerably from the canon of his predecessor Gelasius, and even frankly allows that he had not considered himself pledged to the customs of the Apostles. Among the principal ceremonies may be mentioned the various preparatory rites on the part of the priest about to celebrate: the introit, alternate singing and salutation; the collect, lections, gradual, offertory, and whatever else preceded the canon: the canon itself said in a low voice by Additions  
to the ce-  
remonial.



C E N T. VI. the priest, which contained various prayers, the consecration, elevation, commemoration of the departed, and the Lord's prayer: afterwards the Communion, in which both kinds were still administered to the faithful, and lastly the post-communion and consummation of the mass. These several parts of the service are ably discussed by Cardinal Bona in his second book *Rerum Liturgicarum*. Not however that the canon of S. Gregory obtained universally in the present

Liturgy of S. Ambrose, or even subsequent age. On the contrary the Milanese used that of S. Ambrose with the greatest pertinacity till the time of S. Gregory VII.: the Goths, in Spain and Narbonne, that called the Mozarabic, from the fusion of the Arabians throughout Spain with the Christians, which they only dropped about the same time with the Milanese: and Gallican. lastly the Gallican Churches, who it is clear from the second question of S. Augustine, possessed a different liturgy from the Roman. The discrepancies between these and the last were by no means inconsiderable: and it is incontrovertible that for a considerable time the British, Gallican, and Spanish Churches, as they had a national liturgy, so they did not hold themselves bound by one and the same rule as regards ecclesiastical discipline. As for the Roman canon, while it finds a counterpart on the one hand in the preciseness of the Jewish ceremonial, the fact is equally noticeable that it was framed in a language understood at the time by the people.

§ 4.  
GOVERNMENT.

Concerning government the same advance, and it may be added the same excess, is observable. Privileges and additional rights were confirmed to the episcopal office by the emperors, especially Justinian, whose Novels teem with the subject: hence a proportionable increase in the subordinate functionaries commencing with the previous century, for instance the defensors or ecclési, who probably resembled our modern chancellors, the chartophylaces, scenophylaces, syncelli, œconomi, and the like, whose different offices are enumerated in the catalogue of the dignities of the Constantinopolitan Church.

In the same way the privileges of the patriarchates already mentioned, four of which were in the East, were aggrandized and augmented; Justinian even erecting a new one in the

city of his foundation called after him Justiniana prima. CENT. VI.  
 The original name of it had been Lychnidus or Achrys : Justinian made the see of which it was the metropolis archiepiscopal, and withdrew several provinces from the Thessalonian diocese to be put under it.

But the rest were completely thrown into the shade by the more powerful sees of Rome and Constantinople : and it contributed no little to the exaltation of the former that it was the only recognised Apostolical Church in the West : on the other hand the only Eastern Church that could vie with it was of a far later origin. Circumstances therefore being and continuing, as we shall see, so exceedingly favourable, we are not reduced to strain or exaggerate the charge of pride and ambition on the part of the Roman prelates, as is sometimes done, to account for the growth of the greatness of the see over which they presided : rather we should examine the conduct of these patriarchs according to the circumstances in which they were placed, and with the infirmities of our fallen nature fully taken into consideration. As for the Constantinopolitan patriarch he was the first who added "Œcumenical" to his title : he is so designated by Justinian in his Novels and Code frequently, and it is the appellation always attributed to him in the synod against Anthimus received by the Romans, and held at Constantinople, A.D. 536', though Baronius makes it a ground for doubting the genuineness of the acts. Justinian moreover styles the Church of Constantinople the "head and mother" of Churches. On the other hand the title of "Œcumenical" was vehemently censured by Pelagius I. and Gregory the Great ; the latter terming it a proud, blasphemous, profane, diabolical, foolish, frivolous, new name : a precursor of Antichrist and antichristian. It was not long however before it was asserted to belong exclusively to the Roman see : and hence it has been said that it was not the name, but the presumption of the Constantinopolitans who assumed it, that was so stigmatized. Like the title "Catholicus," which many Eastern prelates afterwards assumed, it only implied a universal superintendence with the necessary limitations, and hence in the case of the Constantinopolitan

Claim of the Constantinopolitan patriarch to be œcumenical.

The term Catholicus.

' Vid. Mansi Concil., vol. viii. p. 875.

**C E N T.** bishop it is often limited by the following addition "of new  
VI. Rome." New theories invented a new sense for the word, nor can it be said that they did not derive a colour from facts. Owing to the continuous absence of the emperors in the East, partly circumstances obliged, and partly opportunities may have induced, the Roman bishops to take a still more prominent part than they had hitherto done in the affairs of the Western Church: appeals would have been difficult, whereas on the contrary they felt that they had the power to act themselves. Accordingly Symmachus, Hormisdas, Agapetus, Vigilius, Pelagius, and S. Gregory, were not slow to command, and it happened for the most part that they were obeyed. They constituted vicars here and there in the West, encouraged and claimed appeals, made even archbishops beholden to them, and, as opportunities offered, humbled the rival see: the words of our Lord to S. Peter were magnified and expanded by them respectively to suit every new acquisition and found a title to it upon Divine right. Even Justinian styles the Roman Church continually "head of all Churches:" in his letter to John II. he adds, "It is our endeavour by all means that the authority of your see should increase," and in a like spirit it was that Justin allowed Hormisdas to have the names of Acacius, Euphemius, and Macedonius, erased from the registers. So too when Agapetus came to Constantinople and took cognizance of the charge made against Anthimus, Justinian concurring in his sentence, Anthimus was deposed and Memnas elected and consecrated to the vacant see by him with the unanimous consent of the people. Lastly, when Justiniana prima was erected into a patriarchate, the archbishop of the place was nevertheless enjoined by the emperor to have the same deference to the Roman prelate, that he had before, when under the exarch of Thessalonica the Roman vicar<sup>1</sup>.

Rivalry for  
 the ponti-  
 ficate.

So great had the attractions of the pontificate become, that it was made continually the object of a fierce rivalry, and even sought by foul arts. Among those who strove for it in the present age were Symmachus and Laurentius, Boniface II. and Dioscorus, the latter of whom was condemned immediately after his death by his rival. Vigilius, as

<sup>1</sup> Cod. i. tit. i. viii. De Summa Trin.

<sup>2</sup> Novell. 131. c. 3.

we are informed by Liberatus<sup>u</sup>, got Silverius driven into C E N T. VI. exile and subsequently procured his death, having compassed his own election by bribes and other unfair means through the influence of Theodora, whom he had deceived by his propositions.

On the other hand it is clear that the temporal powers still exercised great authority over the Church. The synods of Constantinople, to which the Roman prelate was himself invited, met at the imperial summons: Theodoric even convened Roman synods: the synods of Spain were summoned by the kings of the Goths and Suevi<sup>x</sup>: and in the Gallican synods the kings likewise assumed to be moderators<sup>y</sup>. The Roman bishops themselves, elected as they were by the clergy and people, were confirmed by the emperors, after Italy had been regained from the Goths: and hence S. Gregory, as a last resource to escape the honour designed him, besought Mauricius not to confirm his election<sup>z</sup>. The emperors likewise deposed bishops and clergy for certain crimes and misdemeanors, as well as those who had lapsed into heresy<sup>a</sup>.

Justin and Justinian indeed so busied themselves with ecclesiastical affairs, that they deserve special mention. By the former of these, whom Hormisdas styles a second Hezekiah, reconciliation was effected between the Eastern and Roman Churches by erasure from the public registers of the names of Acacius, Euphemius, and Macedonius, bishops of Constantinople, and of the emperors Zeno and Anastasius: and so the schism was healed which had commenced with Felix III.

Justinian his nephew and successor laboured for forty years, from A.D. 529, at the helm of the empire: though his deeds have been assailed with slander and obloquy, and much laid to his charge that is absolutely false. Among other calumnies it may be sufficient to mention his alleged conduct towards Belisarius, his illiterate education, and lastly his belief in the opinions held by the Aphantodocetæ. On the other hand his solicitude for the orthodox cause manifested itself

<sup>u</sup> Brev. c. 22.

<sup>x</sup> Vid. Collect. Concil. Hisp. a Gar-  
sia Loaisa, inde ab A.D. 561.

<sup>y</sup> De Marca, De Concord. iv. 5.

<sup>z</sup> Spondani Epit., A.D. 590. n. 3.

<sup>a</sup> Vid. Novell. vi., xlii., cxliii.

**CENT. VI.** in his unquestionable acts. He opposed the Eutychians, and Nestorian monks called Acœmetæ: he consented to the deposition of Anthimus, whom the influence of Theodora had thrust into the Constantinopolitan see; he condemned the three chapters, exhibited a just indignation against Vigilius, summoned a general council, and confirmed those which had preceded it: he built many churches at Jerusalem, Ephesus, Carthage, and elsewhere, more particularly that of S. Sophia in his own imperial city.

Constitutions affecting the Church.

Moreover, innumerable constitutions were made by him respecting ecclesiastical persons and sacred things. Religion frequently, the most High Trinity, the Catholic faith: bishops, clergy, monks, abbots, monasteries, churches, cemeteries, festivals, rites and ceremonies, synods, with many subjects respectively appertaining to them, are minutely considered in the Novels and Code, and regulated with the utmost care. Indeed, it has been frequently laid to his charge that he was too fond of legislating for the Church. It is not to be denied that Justinian had his faults: and among these may be reckoned his partiality for the Eutychians through the arts of Theodora, his patronage of the Incorruptionists or Aphantodocetæ in his old age, his avarice, his over obsequiousness to female rule, and, even in the matter of his laws, occasional inconsistency. Perhaps, too, upon some points he betrayed superstition.

§ 7.  
HERESIES.

Among the heresies which disturbed the sixth century, Arianism revived anew under the Goths throughout Italy, under the Vandals throughout Africa, and the Visigoths and Suevi throughout Spain and part of Gaul: in which places persecutions hereafter to be noticed occurred. On the other hand Clovis, king of the Franks, upheld the orthodox cause against Alaric: Justinian against the Goths and Vandals: and Reccared, after the death of his father, drove Arianism from Spain. The origin of the Severians has been already noticed: they were but the remains of the Acephali, united under Severus, who with the good will of Anastasius was installed in the Antiochian see, the rightful bishop Flavian having been forcibly rejected. Severus excited a bitter persecution against the orthodox, among whom was Elias patriarch of Jerusalem: but he was in his turn expelled by

the emperor Justin : and with Anthimus, Peter, and Zoaras C E N T.  
condemned in the Constantinopolitan synod already men- VI.  
tioned under Memnas : as Evagrius, Liberatus, and the acts  
of the council attest. His party were likewise called "Mono-  
physites," because they confessed only one nature in Christ  
after the Incarnation : and Theopaschites, because they af-  
firmed the Divine nature of the Son it was that suffered,  
having absorbed the human.

The Jacobites were so called from one Jacob, a disciple Jacobites.  
of Severus, who professed nearly the same opinions with  
his master, and against whom S. Ephrem is said to have  
written. They further imbibed the errors of the Apollina-  
rians : and are to be still found scattered about Armenia,  
Syria, Egypt, and Æthiopia. The orthodox, as contradis-  
tinguished from them, were called Melchites ; a Syriac  
name derived from their adherence to the faith professed  
by the emperors.

Unity was not however the characteristic of the Mono-  
physites : they soon split into factions almost interminable.  
A controversy having arisen about the body of our Lord,  
Severus above mentioned asserted it to have been corrup-  
tible : while Julian of Halicarnassus maintained with equal  
earnestness that it was incorruptible. Hence the origin of  
the Julianists and Severians, the former of whom were called  
Aphartodocetæ, Docetæ, Phantasiastæ, Manicheans, and  
afterwards Gajanists, from one Gajanus of Alexandria : the  
latter Pthartolatræ, Ktistolatræ, Corrupticolæ, and ulti-  
mately Theodosians. Theodosius, with whom originated the  
last name, had maintained himself successfully against Ga-  
janus in the Alexandrian see : but weary of the opposition  
he experienced there, says Liberatus, he eventually retired to  
Constantinople, and founded a new sect called Agnoctæ,  
from the ignorance they attributed to our Lord with refer-  
ence to His human nature. Justinian, we are informed by  
Evagrius and others, attached himself to the sect of the  
Aphartodocetæ to the bane of the orthodox cause : Anasta-  
sius, bishop of Antioch, on the other hand, who was surnamed  
Sinaita, from the place of his education, stoutly opposed these  
new errors in his orations, which are still extant.

Another leader of the Agnoctæ was Themistius, a deacon

C E N T. of Alexandria, whom Nicephorus<sup>b</sup> confounds with the philosopher and commentator upon Aristotle who lived under Valens: John Philoponus, the peripatetic commentator of the present age, originated a very different party, called the

**VI.**

**Tritheists.** The Monophysites urged that a twofold nature involved a double personality: John applied the argument conversely to the subject of the Trinity, and inferred each Person to be a distinct substance. He is said moreover to have denied the resurrection of the flesh, that is, the same flesh: and to have held other errors of the Origenists. So restless indeed was the temper of the age, that there were questions that raised dissensions among the orthodox themselves: for instance it was asked whether it could be rightly said that One of the Trinity was crucified. Peter the deacon, John Maxentius, and the Scythian monks, held the affirmative: Hormisdas, bishop of Rome, and his legates, condemned the expression, as appears from his letters<sup>c</sup>. Doubtless what was intended as a protest against the Nestorians might have been twisted by the Eutychians into a Theopaschite sense: but so rudely did Hormisdas express his judgment to the apparent countenance of the former, that his language was disowned by his successor John II. and the fifth general council. Baronius<sup>d</sup>, while he endeavours to exculpate Hormisdas, fully admits the justice of the opposite opinion condemned by him. Another question was whether the Person of our Lord was compounded: and here the Scythian monks and John Maxentius espoused the affirmative, in which they were eventually followed by the fifth council. As by the Hypostatical Union the individuality of the Person was maintained against the Nestorians, so by the composition here specified the two Natures were preserved entire against the Eutychians. Moreover it was vehemently debated whether a person could be anathematized after his death. The fifth council had anathematized Theodorus of Mopsuestia with Origen, Apollinarius, and Nestorius. Vigilius, (who by the way had done the same thing upon his elevation, to satisfy Theodora<sup>e</sup>;) with other Eastern Churches, opposed the sen-

Various  
points  
brought  
into con-  
troversy.

<sup>b</sup> E. H. xviii. 50.

<sup>c</sup> Mansi Concil., vol. viii. p. 379—530.

<sup>d</sup> Spond. Epit., A.D. 533. n. 2 et seq.

<sup>e</sup> Vid. Liberati Brev., c. xxii.

tence. Baronius attempts to disprove his inconsistency by disparaging the genuineness of his former epistle.

CENT.  
VI.

Lastly, the British Church was still agitated by the paschal controversy: the Scots adhering to the Jewish custom of the fourteenth day. The dispute lasted to the following century, when a conference being held before Oswi, king of the Northumbrians, between Colman, bishop of the Scots, and Wilfrid: Oswi, it is said, was overawed by the authority of the see of S. Peter, and conformity to the catholic usage was gradually introduced<sup>f</sup>.

Paschal  
contro-  
versy set-  
tled in  
Britain.

To allay these and the like dissensions, as well as to condemn the above-mentioned heresies, the following councils were held. First and foremost the second Constantinopolitan or the fifth general or œcumenical one; the date is fixed by Clinton to A.D. 553. It met at the summons of the emperor Justinian, as Evagrius, whom Nicephorus implicitly follows, records<sup>g</sup>, and was attended by 165 bishops, among whom were Domnus the Antiochian, and Apollinaris the Alexandrine patriarchs: Eustochius of Jerusalem was represented by his three legates: and Eutychius, who had succeeded Memnas in the Constantinopolitan see, and subscribed first, probably presided. Vigilius was at the time staying in the city, but excused his personal attendance possibly from his dislike to the place in which it was held.

§ 8.  
COUNCILS.

Fifth gene-  
ral council.

Vigilius in  
Constan-  
tinople at  
the time.

The council is said to have originated in a dispute between the monks of Nova Saura, who were Origenists, and Eustochius, bishop of Jerusalem. He had condemned them upon his first entrance into his see, but they were supported by Domitian of Ancyra, Peter of Alexandria, and most particularly by Theodorus, bishop of the Cappadocian Cæsarea, who formerly belonged to them, and had the ear of the emperor. Rufus and Conon however, two abbots, and others, having been despatched by Eustochius to represent the true state of the case, Justinian was induced to join in his condemnation. Whereupon Theodorus, with a view it is said to divert the emperor from the Origenists, or alleviate the sentence passed upon them, revived the question of the three chapters, which, it is true, seemed to give some colour to the Nestorians. Further, belonging himself to the Acephali, he insinuated

Brought  
about by  
the Origen-  
ists in the  
first in-  
stance.

<sup>f</sup> Ven. Bede, E. H. iii. 25.

<sup>g</sup> E. H. iv. 38.



CENT. VI. that were those writings only condemned, his party would come over to the orthodox side. The emperor, who went many lengths to promote union, immediately promulgated an edict in which the writings of Theodorus of Mopsuestia, the twelve chapters of Theodoret against S. Cyril, and the epistle of Ibas, were expressly condemned: and to it, partly by promises and partly by threats, he induced most of the oriental bishops to subscribe. Memnas however hesitated, Stephen, the proctor of Vigilius at the imperial court, demurred: while Facundus and Pontianus, African bishops, openly defended the three chapters. The defence of the former is still extant, and was edited by Sirmondus, A.D. 1602: but we shall not enter into the reasons for and against them. The tergiversations of Vigilius upon the subject are notorious. In the first instance he refused subscription, whereupon he was summoned to Constantinople by the emperor, whither he arrived after some delay on the road, A.D. 547. He next refused to communicate with those who had condemned them; but the following year, in a work addressed to Memnas entitled his *Judicatum*, he condemned them himself, with deference however to the authority of the fourth general council.

Vigilius publishes his *Judicatum*.

Such a decision was highly resented by the Roman deacons Rusticus and Sebastian, and by the African and Western bishops, while Justinian was scarcely less indignant at the salvo with which it was accompanied. A dispute ensued between him and Vigilius, which caused the latter to withdraw to Chalcedon: but the storm over he returned, and the council commenced May 3, A.D. 553, Vigilius himself among the rest having received the imperial summons, though he excused his attendance. The principal acts of the synod were to anathematize Theodorus of Mopsuestia (whose name it was formally announced had been struck out of the sacred registers of the Mopsuestian Church) and his writings: thereby sanctioning the principle that it was lawful to anathematize the dead; to condemn the writings of Theodoret in which he opposed S. Cyril and the Ephesine council, or defended Nestorius, under a like ban: and thirdly, to do the same by the letter of Ibas to Maris, commonly called the third chapter. These matters ended, the council

Three chapters condemned.

passed fourteen canons, in which the faith of the four general councils preceding was confirmed, against the Nestorians and Acephali: and finally having anathematized Didymus and Evagrius, (for Origen would appear to have been anathematized before the decision upon the three chapters<sup>b</sup>), published fifteen more canons expressly against the Origenists<sup>1</sup>.

C E N T.  
VI.

Fifteen  
canons  
against the  
Origenists.

Meanwhile Vigilius had composed another document called his *Constitutum*, in which he revoked his former judgment, forbid the condemnation of the three chapters, and denied it to be lawful to anathematize the dead. This he sent to the emperor, whereupon, according to his biographer Anastasius, he was sent into exile. The fact however has been questioned, and perhaps it may have been a mere threat, for the council had scarce concluded, before Vigilius wrote a letter to Eutychius in which he once more changed his mind, alleging the Retractions of S. Austin as a precedent: approved the council, and condemned the three chapters. In his last judgment he was followed by his successors Pelagius, John III., Benedict I., Pelagius II., and S. Gregory the Great: so that it is wonderful that a modern writer like Halloix, should be found to except to the authority of the council.

Vigilius  
contradicts  
the council  
in his *Con-*  
*stitutum* :

accepts the  
judgment  
of the  
council in  
his letter to  
Eutychius.

The provincial synods of the present century were numerous in the extreme: and some of them against orthodoxy; for instance that of Sidon under Anastasius against the orthodox bishops, Flavian of Antioch, and Elias of Jerusalem: though according to Theodore the Reader and Theophanes, Elias had already been forced to reject the fourth general council.

Of the rest, the great African synod, A.D. 553, held after the overthrow of the Vandals, to restore discipline, stands pre-eminent. It addressed a synodical epistle to John II. bishop of Rome, but the embassy to whom it was entrusted finding him dead, delivered it to Agapetus his successor. Another embassy was despatched at the same time to the emperor to request that what had been robbed from the churches under the Vandals might be restored.

<sup>b</sup> Vid. Hen. de Noris Diss. Hist. de Synod. v. c. 6. On the other hand see Bull. Def. Fid. Nic. ii. 9. 3, and Bur-

ton's note.

<sup>1</sup> Mansi Concil., vol. ix. p. 395.

**C E N T. VI.** Among the Constantinopolitan synods of the present age the fourth was that held in A.D. 536 under Memnas against Anthimus, Severus, and the other leaders of the Acephali. It confirmed the deposition of the first, and condemned the rest. A.D. 541, or according to Valesius A.D. 538, a fifth synod was held under the same patriarch and in the same city, to consider the protest of the Palestine monks Eulogius, Conon, Cyriacus, and Pancratius, against the Origenists, which had been presented to the emperor, and had occasioned his edict. By Evagrius, Cedrenus, and Theophanes, it has been confounded with the fifth general council, A.D. 553, probably from the coincidence that it was the fifth Constantinopolitan one, and dealt with a common subject. Cave and Valesius indeed imagine that the Origenists were condemned here and not in the former: and likewise that the fifteen canons already mentioned are to be attributed to the provincial and not the oecumenical assembly. The last indeed may be a doubtful point, but it seems unquestionable that the Origenists were a second time condemned in the council which condemned the three chapters<sup>1</sup>.

Fifth Constantinopolitan confounded with the fifth general council.

**Spanish.** Of the Spanish synods the second, or, as it is commonly styled the third of Toledo, was held A.D. 589 and attended by seventy-eight bishops from all parts of the country. Here Reccared who convened it, with his subjects the Goths, abjured Arianism and embraced the orthodox faith. Twenty-three anathemas were directed against those who denied the Creed of the four general councils; and twenty-three canons passed respecting discipline. The synods of Braga were somewhat earlier, the first, according to the usual accounts, occurring A.D. 561, in the third year of Ariamir, king of the Suevi, who with his subjects had espoused orthodoxy. The Priscillianists had seventeen canons directed against them especially, while ecclesiastical discipline was enforced in twenty-two more. The second synod was held A.D. 572, under Mirus or Theodomir, and Loaisa thinks<sup>2</sup> him the same with Ariamir above mentioned: while other authorities name the synods themselves differently<sup>1</sup>.

**Gallican.** The various Gallican synods held among the Franks, Bur-

<sup>1</sup> Mansi Concil., vol. ix. p. 124.

<sup>2</sup> Collect. Concil. Hisp., p. 124.

<sup>1</sup> Mansi Concil., vol. ix. p. 773.

gundians, or Goths, have been carefully collected and edited by Sirmondus in a separate work. Of these the second of Orange was convened A.D. 529, on the occasion of the dedication of a church by the prefect Liberius, against Faustus and the Massilians; that of Agde under Alaric, king of the Visigoths, A.D. 507; that of Yenne, subsequently to the conversion of Sigismund, king of the Burgundians, A.D. 517; that of Arles, making the fifth held there, A.D. 554, in which monasteries are placed under episcopal jurisdiction; the second of Mascon under Guntheram, which is called a general one, and many more.

Among the Britons the synod of Llanddewi Brevi stands pre-eminent, A.D. 519, in which S. David, afterwards archbishop of the see called after him, refuted the Pelagians. Spelman and Wilkins have made collections of the British synods from the earliest time, to which fuller reference may be made.

These synods were held either against Arianism, Pelagianism, Priscillianism, and other prevalent heresies of the age, or else for the purpose of establishing ecclesiastical discipline, and other matters connected with it. Besides laying down the orthodox faith, and condemning unsound opinions, canons were passed respecting ordinations of the clergy, metropolitan or episcopal rights, ecclesiastical revenues, monasteries, monks, nuns, widows, penitents, marriages, especially with reference to the prohibited degrees, and the like: further regulations were made about rites and ceremonies: for instance, the observation of the Lord's day, vigils, the quadragesimal fast, oblations for the dead, and many more. Nothing is more clear than that they were frequently convened by royal authority, though they met sometimes under the metropolitan, without mention of the temporal power: kings and other eminent laymen were occasionally present, and subscribed to them: and throughout their proceedings we find exhibited a strong national independence.

The writers of the present age were neither so numerous nor so conspicuous as those of the fourth and fifth centuries: in fact literature throughout the world was already on the decline, and though it can never be said to have wanted

CENT.  
VI.§ 9.  
WRITERS.

**CENT. VI.** a genial retreat in the Church, still the chilliness of the surrounding atmosphere confined it strictly within bounds, and prevented expansion when it could not entirely destroy animation.

**Maxentius.** Among Eastern authors, the first to be mentioned is John Maxentius, the monk, who wrote against Faustus concerning grace, on the one hand: while he defended the Scythian monks, his countrymen, against Hormisdas, in the controversy about the Trinity before mentioned, on the other. Baronius and others pass a heavy censure upon the last part of his conduct, but, as Cave remarks, he has been learnedly vindicated. He wrote moreover against the Nestorians and Acephali; he was a presbyter of Antioch, and flourished about A.D. 520.

**Leontius.** Leontius, surnamed the Byzantine, though it is doubtful where he was born, wrote a book about sects, divided into ten actions, besides works against the Nestorians, Eutychians, and other heretics. He is not to be confounded, as Du Pin says, with his namesake the Origenist mentioned in the life of S. Sabas, as he declared openly against Origen and Theodorus in the book above mentioned. He flourished

**Evagrius.** about A.D. 590. Evagrius Scholasticus, as he is called to distinguish him from a native of Pontus of the same name, continued ecclesiastical history down to the twelfth year of the emperor Maurice. He was born at Epiphania, about A.D. 536, and from the doubtful character of his predecessors, Eusebius, Socrates, Sozomen and Theodoret, has been styled the first orthodox ecclesiastical historian, his own orthodoxy being indisputable. Still he has been considered over-credulous, and his narrative too replete with unnecessary digressions.

**Anastasius.** Anastasius, a monk of Mount Sina, whence his surname, succeeded Domnus in the Antiochian see A.D. 561, from which he was eleven years afterwards ejected, through the arts of John of Constantinople, by Justin II., but restored to it once more by the emperor Maurice, A.D. 595. While he opposed the Acephali on the one hand, he was equally consistent on the other in his opposition to the Apathodocetæ whom Justinian had espoused. Another monk of Mount Sina of the same name succeeding him in the see, it had been questioned to which of them the work entitled

ὁδηγὸς is to be ascribed. Cave indeed considers it a mere C E N T. compilation, and even interspersed with more modern inter-  
 VI.  
 polations. Eulogius was first presbyter in the Antiochian Church, and afterwards became patriarch of Alexandria; he flourished under the emperors Tiberius and Maurice, enjoyed the friendship of S. Gregory the Great, to whom he was scarce inferior as a defender of the faith, and finally died A.D. 608, leaving behind him many works against heretics. Eulogius.

The last oriental we shall mention is John, patriarch of Constantinople after Eutychius, A.D. 585. His extreme asceticism procured him the name of the "Faster:" while his own assumption to be styled "œcumenical patriarch" drew down upon him the well-known indignation of the Roman bishops, Pelagius and S. Gregory. John of Constantinople the Faster.

Among the Latin or Western fathers S. Fulgentius, bishop of Ruspe, is one of the earliest and most conspicuous. He was a worthy disciple of the great S. Austin, and was banished for his orthodoxy by Trasimundus, but restored to his see about A.D. 523, by the next king, Hilderic. Of his numerous works, of which some are lost, his treatises upon predestination and grace against the Pelagians have coupled his name inseparably with the distinguished opponents of those heretics. His death is referred by Cave to A.D. 533. S. Fulgentius.

Alcimus Avitus was a few years earlier, but not so celebrated as a prose writer, as a poet. He converted Gundobald, king of the Burgundians, and afterwards his son Sigismund, from Arianism. He died archbishop of Vienne, A.D. 523, in which see he had succeeded his own father A.D. 490. Avitus.

Cæsarius, bishop of Arles, for there were others of the same name, was contemporary with Avitus, and a resolute opponent of Faustus and the semi-Pelagians. About A.D. 506 a false charge procured his banishment under Alaric, king of the Goths, who nevertheless subsequently recalled him. A.D. 529 he presided at the second synod of Orange, and died at an advanced age A.D. 542. Of his works his homilies and monastic rules are still extant, though Du Pin will scarcely allow the genuineness of a single work ascribed to him. Cæsarius, bishop of Arles.

Paschasius, deacon of the Roman Church, flourished about Paschasius.

**CENT.** the beginning of the century: and is generally considered  
**VL** the author of a work upon the Holy Spirit, though it has  
 been otherwise assigned.

Felix Ennodius, bishop of Pavia, suffered much for his constancy from Anastasius the emperor, when despatched by Hormisdas to attempt the re-union of the Eastern and Western Churches. Among the works he left behind him are two hundred and ninety-seven letters divided into nine books. He died A.D. 521.

**Boethius.** F. A. M. T. Severinus Boethius is no less entitled to the name of a philosopher than of a Christian: and he was not only twice consul himself, but saw his sons promoted to the same dignity. Nevertheless he underwent a most cruel imprisonment and death under Theodoric, the crime alleged against him being a conspiracy for the overthrow of the Goths. Besides his Consolations of Philosophy, written during his imprisonment, he wrote against Eutyches and Nestorius, and composed a work upon the Trinity. Many more of his pieces are extant that have reference to purely philosophical questions.

**Dionysius Exiguus.** Dionysius, surnamed Exiguus, was a Scythian by birth, but embraced the monastic habit in the Western Church. He flourished under the emperors Justin and Justinian, and was the originator of the method of dating events from the birth of our Saviour. The nativity itself, however, is placed by him four years too late. He understood Greek and Latin perfectly, and translated into the latter tongue a code of canons, containing the first fifty apostolical, the Nicene, Constantinopolitan, Chalcedonian, Sardican, and a hundred and thirty-eight African, which he had compiled at the request of Stephen, bishop of Salona. He also made a collection of the decretals of the popes, from Siricius to Anastasius II., and was the author of other works and translations.

**Marcellinus.** Count Marcellinus flourished about A.D. 534, in which year he concludes his continuation of the Chronicon of S. Jerome.

**Primasius.** Primasius, bishop of Adrumetum in the African Byzacena, rivaled Fulgentius in his adherence to the doctrine of S. Austin; he was invited to the fifth general council, but subscribed to the *Constitutum* in favour of the three chapters.

His commentaries upon the Apocalypse and Pauline epistles have been printed in a separate form respectively. CENT.  
VI.

Ferrandus, a deacon of the Church of Carthage and disciple of Fulgentius, whence his surname, flourished about A.D. 533. He made a compendious collection of ecclesiastical canons, perhaps the most ancient, after that of Dionysius Exiguus, in the Western Church. They are ranged under heads, of which the whole number is two hundred and thirty-two. Ferrandus condemned the proposition that the dead may be anathematized, and encouraged the African bishops to oppose Justinian in his condemnation of the three chapters. In his letters to Severus and Anatolius he shews in what sense it might with propriety be said that One of the Trinity suffered. Ferrandus.

Facundus, bishop of Hermiana in the province of Byzacena, took a still more active part in the controversy relating to the three chapters, as he wrote twelve books in defence of them, and refused to communicate with Memnas and Vigilius when they respectively condemned them. In the fifth chapter of his ninth book<sup>m</sup> there is a celebrated *locus classicus* often quoted as a lucid exposition of the primitive doctrine respecting the Holy Eucharist contra-distinguished from a modern dogma. Facundus.

Liberatus, deacon or archdeacon of the Carthaginian Church, a contemporary of the preceding, and equally favourable to the three chapters, wrote a brief but useful narrative of the controversies engendered by the Nestorian and Eutychian heresies; it begins with the ordination of Nestorius and ends purposely just before the fifth general council, A.D. 553. Liberatus.

Junilius, an African prelate, flourished about the same time, and is the author of a treatise upon the parts of the Divine law still extant, addressed to Primasius. Junilius.

M. Aurelius Cassiodorus, a senator and of a noble family, filled many distinguished offices under Theodoric and Athalaric, kings of the Goths; A.D. 514, he was elected to the consulship. When about sixty or seventy years old he retired from public life, and founded a monastery near Squillace in Calabria, his birth-place, over which he presided. Cassiodorus.

<sup>m</sup> Cave, Hist. Lit., a. v.



C E N T. VI. He was the compiler of the tripartite history, taken from the Greek writers, Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret, whom Epiphanius Scholasticus had already translated into Latin; and now Cassiodorus compressed them into a single continuous history. His epistles, commentaries and institutions have been likewise preserved.

Gregory,  
bishop of  
Tours.

Gregory, bishop of Tours, wrote a history of the Franks in ten books, which has suffered considerably from his credulity, but is nevertheless esteemed a useful work. He died A.D. 595.

S. Gregory  
the Great.

His namesake S. Gregory the Great is the last we shall dwell upon in the present century. He was the son of Gordian and Silvia, and his father was great grandchild of Felix III. A.D. 581 he was elevated to the city prefecture, but he soon exchanged public life for a Sicilian monastery, from which two years after he was promoted to the diaconate, by Pelagius bishop of Rome, and sent by him to Constantinople as his court representative. During the pestilence which afflicted Rome A.D. 590 he divided the people into seven companies for the performance of a solemn litany: and upon the death of Pelagius was unanimously chosen as his successor, though he vainly attempted to induce the emperor Maurice to void his election. He was as indignant at the style of oecumenical bishop, assumed by John the Faster as his predecessor had been. He sent two distinguished missions for the conversion of the Angli. It has been said, though not upon the most satisfactory evidence, that he made a bonfire of the heathen works and antiquities in the Palatine library; and his excessive adulation to the usurper Phocas has been justly considered unworthy so great a man. Of his piety and learning however there can be but one opinion. He left numerous and celebrated works behind him, among which are his Antiphoner and Sacramentary, his Morals and Dialogues, his Homilies, Expositions, and Pastoral Care, and lastly his Letters. Of all the writers of the present age, S. Gregory the Great alone has been honoured with a Benedictine edition. Of the rest, some few have been published separately, but many more are to be found in different Bibliothecas of the Fathers, among the works of Sirmondus, the miscellanies of Baluzius, and Spicilegia of D'Archerius.

Gildas, S. Columbanus, and Isidore, respectively left works behind them, which do not however require separate notice : and having mentioned S. Benedict as the author of his celebrated rule, we shall connect his history with a new head, namely monks and monasteries.

S. Benedict was born at the Umbrian Nursia A.D. 480, and of the illustrious family of the Anicii. He began his asceticism at the early age of fourteen, in a solitary retreat called Sublacum, about forty miles from Rome. Here he eventually established twelve monasteries, each containing twelve monks. Afterwards Mount Cassino became his residence, from whence, A.D. 531, he was summoned by Boniface II. to attend a Roman synod. He died about A.D. 542 or 3, and the marvels of his life are elaborately described by S. Gregory the Great in the second book of his Dialogues. His rule has gone through innumerable editions.

§ 10.  
MONASTIC  
ORDERS.  
S. Benedict  
founder of  
the monas-  
tic orders.

S. Benedict is to be considered the developer rather than the author of the cœnobite life : though he was perhaps the first who introduced a perpetual vow into his regulations. A probation of twelve months preceded admission, during which time the rule was thrice read to the candidate, who promised the most implicit obedience before he could be received into the brotherhood. Otherwise too the system assumed a more formal character,—nocturns, matins, tierce, sexts, nones, vespers, and compline, the seven canonical hours as they are called, are respectively enjoined and provided with a suitable office. Manual labour was prescribed daily with the same exactness. Between Easter and Pentecost a refection was allowed at the sixth hour, and supper towards evening. During the summer months they dined at the sixth hour, except upon Wednesdays and Fridays, when they fasted till the ninth hour, and from the middle of September to the commencement of Lent, the ninth hour is the one named for a refection, which, after Lent had begun till Easter, was deferred to the evening. Whether they eat once or twice during the day, a pound of bread was the usual allowance, and as for wine, though the exact measurement is disputed, it was at all events a very small quantity ; meat was never allowed except to the sick, but of the porridge which was substituted for it there were always two kinds. The use of

Perpetual  
vows first  
imposed.

Canonical  
hours.

Manual  
labour.  
Refectons  
and fasts.

Meat never  
allowed,  
baths  
seldom.

**CENT. VI.** the bath was granted to the sick as often as it was requisite, but more sparingly to the rest. Their clothing was of a coarse description, subject to the discretion of the abbot, and they slept in the same dress that they wore during the day. After compline conversation was strictly forbidden, and during meals a portion of the Scripture was read, to which they were required to listen with the utmost attention. The office of reader, as well as of cook and waiter, went down the entire brotherhood, each person discharging them severally for a week; and upon the same rigid fundamentals of equality and fraternity, nothing like private property or even private correspondence was allowed.

**One coarse dress by night and by day.**  
**Silence.**  
**Scripture read during meals.**  
**All offices performed in turn by all.**  
**Communism of goods.**

These may serve as a specimen of the seventy-three rules of the founder of the Benedictines: an order destined to become the prolific mother of the Clunians, Cistercians, Carthusians, Præmonstratensians, Celestinians, Dominicans, and many more whose services to religion and to literature have too often been overlooked in the corruptions, which naturally, like every thing else that is human, they exhibited proportionably as they developed.

**Congal.** Congal was another monastic patriarch in the Western Church; he founded Banchor, which rose to be one of the largest existing monasteries, situated on the Irish coast to the north-east, and is said to have presided over three thousand monks. One of his disciples was Columbanus, who with twelve companions A.D. 589, passed over into Burgundy, and founded the monastery of Luxovium: his rule is still extant: others dispersed themselves throughout Ireland, France, Germany, Switzerland, and even Italy.

**Rule of S. Columbanus,**

**of S. Gregory the Great.** On the other hand S. Gregory the Great instituted a peculiar rule in the monastery of S. Andrew, which S. Augustine brought over into England, and established in his metropolitan cloister.

**Vow of a triple kind.** Under these auspices monasticism rapidly developed into a regular profession which, like holy orders, once embraced, could never be laid aside. That which was essential to it was the triple vow of chastity, poverty, and obedience; the rest, though based upon a common principle, presented a superficial difference according to the order and the age. Generally speaking, bodily discipline was carried to a greater

extent in the East than in the West, and consequently the contemplative life was preferred, or gave way to the practical in the same proportion. S. Simeon Stylites was even exceeded by his namesake and junior, who died A.D. 595, after passing sixty years on a pillar. Numerous others in the East adopted the same asceticism. Contrariwise manual labour became part of the monastic discipline in the West. The tunic, cowl, and tonsure, gradually assumed a distinctive character. Justinian encouraged the profession by his edicts. Husband might leave wife, or wife husband, and devote themselves and what belonged to them to the convent. Children six or seven years old were protected upon the same grounds from parental authority.

Not however that the law of the Church sanctioned these proceedings<sup>n</sup>; at the same time it cannot be denied it inclined to give every legitimate encouragement to what was termed pre-eminently a religious life; and hence monasticism, as it grew into shape, obtained even at the hands of the ecclesiastical legislature privileges heretofore unknown. As early as A.D. 455 the third council of Arles granted exemption from the episcopal authority to Faustus, abbot of Lerins; a precedent which, with others of a like tendency, may be said to have paved the way for a wholly new system in the Church.

First case of exemption from episcopal authority.

To turn to the more exoteric part of the history. Persecutions were raised either against the orthodox, or against Christianity generally, by the Vandals, who inhabited Africa, under Trasemund, when Fulgentius and seventy more bishops were exiled. They were restored by Hilderic, the next king, A.D. 522, and Trasemund, having been defeated by the Moors near Tripolis, died, according to Procopius<sup>o</sup> and others, by a supernatural visitation.

§ 11. PERSECUTIONS.

Theodoric, king of the Ostrogoths in the West, acted with impartiality till inflamed by the Arians. Afterwards Boethius and Symmachus fell by his sword, and John I., who had even so far humoured him as to be one of the embassy sent by him to Justin to plead for the Arians, was imprisoned by him at Ravenna, and died there, A.D. 525. Theodoric on

• Vid. Bingham Antiq. vii. 3. § 3 et 4.  
• De Bell. Vandal. i. 8.

CENT. the other hand, as we learn from Procopius, died of a troubled conscience<sup>p</sup>.

VI.

Other miseries were inflicted upon Christians by the ravages of the Huns, who menaced the very gates of Constantinople. Baronius<sup>q</sup> would attribute these and the like judgments which occurred under Justinian to the tyranny of that emperor over the Roman see. The fall of Belisarius is by him traced to a like cause.

The Franks and Alemanni devastated Italy during the same reign under Leuthar and Butellinus: of these the former, as Agathias reports in his history, became mad, and the latter was defeated by Narses near Capua and slain, with his whole army.

In Spain, Leowigild was so addicted to the Arian cause that he put his own son Hermanigild to death because he espoused orthodoxy<sup>r</sup>. Not only the Visigoths but the Suevi now adopted heretical opinions: upon the accession, however, of Reccared a change ensued, and Arianism was publicly abjured throughout Spain.

Alboin, king of the Lombards, regarded Christianity with the utmost aversion: but a miracle which he is said to have witnessed near Ticinum overawed his intentions<sup>s</sup>, and he not long afterwards perished by the arts of his wife.

Chosroes, king of the Persians, was originally no less hostile: but his conversion has been already noticed. Finally, the emperor Anastasius was excommunicated by the Roman bishop Symmachus for his persecution of the adherents to the fourth general council, and it was part of the terms of a subsequent re-union between the East and West that his name should be erased from the registers, which was accordingly done.

Among the remarkable events of the age was the substitution of the Christian for the Diocletian era before mentioned. It has been also noticed that the alteration originated with Dionysius Exiguus, a Scythian monk. The birth of our Lord occurred, according to him, in the three thousand nine hundred and fiftieth year of the world, or the

<sup>p</sup> De Bell. Goth. i. 1.

iii. 21.

<sup>q</sup> Annal. A.D. 539. n. 11.

<sup>s</sup> Ibid. ii. 27.

<sup>r</sup> Paul. Diacon. De gestis Langob.

first year of the hundred and ninety-fifth olympiad : which is nevertheless by some called the vulgar, as distinguished from the Dionysian, era : and is generally thought to be placed four years too late. Chronologers, however, vary considerably. Dionysius made his calculations about A.D. 532 ; but it was only gradually that they superseded the old style, hence some have attributed the first sanction of them to Justinian, others to Charlemagne, and others to Louis the Pious.

C E N T.  
VI.

The next great event to be noticed is the collection of the old Roman and Imperial law under Justinian. Tribonian, a pagan, as it would seem, was by him placed at the head of the undertaking : and he with nine coadjutors after fourteen months' toils, produced the twelve books of the code, A.D. 529. It is probable that the number of persons employed, together with the divisions of the work, were intended as a counterpart to the twelve tables of the first decemvirate ; it was compiled from the Gregorian, Hermogenian, and Theodosian codes, to which the emperor added a certain number of his own constitutions, and, in a subsequent edition, other imperial constitutions, from Hadrian downwards, were appended.

His next undertaking was one of a still greater magnitude, and Tribonian was allowed sixteen of his own profession to assist him in it. The decisions of the most eminent civilians were collected from innumerable sources, and compendiously and systematically arranged in a single work styled the Pandects or Digest, comprising fifty books. This extraordinary performance was completed within three years, while its appearance was anticipated by a third treatise of a more elementary character in four books termed the Institutes, A.D. 533. Lastly, by way of a supplement, other constitutions of the same emperor have been collected, though not by him, and, with a few of Justin and Tiberius, form what are called the Novels. Of these the number is a hundred and sixty-eight, and by them are abrogated many of the former laws.

Pandecta.

Institutes.

Novels.

Other events have been already detailed, or may be dismissed with a bare notice ; e. g., the expulsion of the Arians from Spain under Reccared, from Burgundy through the

Miscellaneous  
events.

**CENT.** conversion of Sigismund, from Italy, Sicily, and Africa, **VI.** under Justinian, and from Lombardy through the influence of the queen Theudelinda. Rome was twice taken by the Goths and Totila. A plague is recorded by Evagrius to have ravaged Egypt and Æthiopia, and thence to have spread over the whole world during a period of fifty-two years. Another plague towards the close of the century occasioned the celebrated procession of S. Gregory through Rome. Wars, pestilences, and desolations, were among the ordinary events of the age.

General  
view of the  
miracles of  
the age.

The innumerable miracles recorded by Nicephorus, Gregory of Tours, and other writers of a questionable stamp, have disparaged even those which have been handed down upon better authority. Barbarian conversions and Christian suffering, on the one hand, contravene supposed antecedent improbabilities of a supernatural agency: the annals of the times, on the other hand, argue considerable superstitions. Historical evidence is therefore the safest criterion, and those only can be deemed facts, which will stand the ordinary tests requisite to prove facts.

§ 12.  
JEWISH  
AND GEN-  
TILE AP-  
PAIRS.

The completion of the Gemara by Rabbi Joses among the Jews has been already mentioned; likewise the rise of a new school of doctors called "Gæons" or "sublime." More particulars about them are supplied by Maimonides in the preface to his work upon the Talmud<sup>1</sup>.

Jewish  
conver-  
sions in  
the West.

Many Jews are said to have been converted in the present age, and these principally in the West, through the instrumentality of Avitus and S. Gregory the Great. A curious story is told by Evagrius<sup>2</sup> about the conversion of a boy and his mother at Constantinople under Justinian. The rest of the nation continued to be turbulent and offensive; those of Palestine and Samaria for instance breaking out into open rebellion, A.D. 556. Hence the Code and the Novels abound with constitutions passed against them; while the third and fourth synods of Orleans, to name no more, limit their intercourse considerably with Christians.

Gentile conversions have been already noticed. Further, the laws before mentioned as unfavourable to the Jews in the Justinian code, affect Greeks or pagans almost in the same

<sup>1</sup> יד חזקה, manus fortis. Ven. 1574.

<sup>2</sup> E. H. iv. 36.

degree\*: the constitutions themselves being for the most part extracted from the Theodosian code, of which some account has been given in the preceding century. CENT.  
VI.

Neither Jews nor Gentiles however, it is observable, were to be forced to embrace Christianity. Both councils and edicts repudiate the desirableness of a compulsory conversion: "Concerning the Jews," says the fourth synod of Toledo near the commencement of the subsequent age, "the holy synod has commanded that nobody should for the future be forced to embrace the faith," while the following expressions of S. Gregory still more attest the method of the Church. "Those who differ from the Christian religion are to be brought over to the unity of the faith by mildness, by kindness, by admonition, and by persuasion" . . . . . and again, "those who desire to bring over aliens to the Christian religion should endeavour to do so by tenderness and not roughness," and "synagogues granted to the Jews are not to be consecrated or taken away from them . . . . . nor are they to be disturbed for their religious observances: in a word, we should so treat with them as to make them desirous of following, and not avoiding, us".

Among the Gentile writers and eminent men were the lawyer Tribonian above mentioned: Proclus the mathematician, who wrote bitterly against Christianity, and was opposed by John Philoponus, leader of the Tritheists, but it would seem a Christian: Procopius and Agathias, the historians, though the former of these sometimes ranked as a Christian: Priscian the grammarian, and others of a like celebrity. Eminent  
Gentiles.

\* Vid. Cod., lib. i. tit. v.—xi.

† Ep., lib. i. 35; lib. xiii. 12; Ind. vi. lib. ix. 6; Ind. ii.



CENT.  
VII.

## CHAPTER VII.

§ 1.  
STATE  
OF THE  
CHURCH.

THE first year of the seventh century, computed according to the Dionysian era, which was not, however, the correct one, was the nineteenth of the reign of the emperor Maurice. His murder by Phocas occurred the following year, according to the best accounts. Agilulphus, who had married Theudelinda, reigned over the Lombards, and Clothaire II. over the Franks.

On the other hand, the Roman see was held by S. Gregory the Great, who died A.D. 604, and was succeeded by Boniface III. Cyriacus, successor of John the Faster, presided over Constantinople: Eulogius over Alexandria: Anastasius II., successor of his namesake the Sinaite, over Antioch: Amos, successor of John IV., over Jerusalem: unless Hesy-chius, to whom S. Gregory writes in answer to his synodical epistle, had already been installed into the see.

External  
peace gene-  
rally under  
Maurice  
the em-  
peror.

Under the mild sway of the emperor Maurice the Church had enjoyed uninterrupted external felicity, with a few exceptions. For instance, the Nestorians and Eutychians continued to raise disputes about the fifth general council: the Lombards, and other barbarians in the East and West, exercised oppression and rapine; the two great patriarchs of the East and West quarrelled about the title of œcumenical, while the general decline of the arts and sciences was followed by superstition, even in the Church.

§ 2.  
SPREAD  
OF THE  
CHURCH.Conversion  
of the Angli  
more fully  
detailed.

However, conversions were neither few nor unimportant in the present age. In our own isle a great change was effected by the arrival of S. Augustine, who, with his companions Laurentius, Mellitus, and others, had been despatched by S. Gregory the Great to evangelize the Angles. Ethelbert, king of Kent, whose dominions extended as far as the Humber, as we learn from Bede\*, had espoused Bertha, daughter of Cherebert, king of the Franks, and a Christian. The terms of her marriage were that she should be allowed the free exercise of her religion: and a bishop was even sent over with her, named Luidhard. These were not indeed the

\* E. H. i. 25.

circumstances which induced S. Gregory to make the experiment: at the same time they doubtless providentially contributed to his success. The missionaries were allowed by Ethelbert a residence in his metropolis, where there was already a very ancient church dedicated to S. Martin, and here, after a brief interval, the king was baptized, and his example followed by the majority of his subjects. York and London were subsequently designed by S. Gregory to be metropolitan sees, having under them respectively twelve suffragans, but the primacy was vested by him in the see of Canterbury, of which S. Augustine was the first archbishop. The questionable part of the proceeding (and it seems a serious one) is, how S. Gregory could presume to subject to him, and in the name of Christ, not only those bishops, whom he or the newly appointed prelate of York might ordain, but all priests, that is, bishops, throughout Britain\*. For it is clear that there were British bishops existing before the arrival of S. Austin and his companions. Seven is the number at which Venerable Bede reckons them<sup>b</sup>; and it is equally clear that they had never been under Rome, as they were found observing usages which Rome condemned, and utterly refused to acknowledge S. Augustine for their archbishop. That S. Augustine proved eventually too strong for them does not affect their original independence. Besides Ethelbert, other kings in the island shortly embraced the faith: Sabert, for instance, nephew to Ethelbert: upon whose conversion the latter adorned London with the church of S. Paul, and confirmed Mellitus in the see. Edwin, fourth king of the Northumbrians, married a sister of Ethelbert, and was converted and baptized at York by S. Paulinus, who had accompanied her as her chaplain. S. Paulinus afterwards received the pall from Honorius I., but troubles eventually forced him to quit York for Rochester, in the possession of which see he died. By Oswald, who succeeded Edwin, Christianity was, however, restored among the Northumbrians. He having been educated among the Scots applied to them for a bishop: and Aidan, a monk of Iona, was by him instituted into the new see of Lindisfarne, founded expressly for the occasion. In the same way Christianity was

CENT.  
VII.

Seven independent bishops, even according to Bede, before the coming of S. Augustine.

Church of S. Paul in London.

\* Bede, E. H. i. 29.

<sup>b</sup> Ibid ii. 2.

**CENT. VII.** gradually embraced by the west and south Saxons: among the former of whom Birinus and Agilbert, and among the latter S. Wilfrid were active missionaries. Birinus, it is to be observed, came over at the instigation of Honorius above mentioned, and S. Wilfrid, though a Saxon, was a zealous advocate of the Roman see.

West and south Saxons evangelized.

Swabians and others.

Helvetians.

Friesland-ers.

On the other hand Christianity was reflected back from Britain to the opposite coasts. S. Columbanus, already mentioned as a monk of Banchor under Congal, preached the gospel among the Swabians, Bavarians, and Franks, about A.D. 612; among his companions were Kilian, first bishop of Wurzburg, Florentius, bishop of Strasburg, and Gall, who preached to the Helvetians, about A.D. 690. Willibrord, with eleven companions, crossed over into Batavia, and from thence evangelized Friesland and Denmark. Willebrord was afterwards consecrated archbishop of Utrecht by the Roman prelate Sergius, by whom also he was surnamed Clemens. Pepin, king of the Franks, assisted these missionaries against Radbod, the Frisian king, who opposed them. Add to which they had likewise the active support of the Roman see.

In the East, controversy, with other unfavourable circumstances, impeded the orthodox spread of the gospel. The Nestorians, indeed, seem to have made many converts in the East, and even sent a mission into China.

**§ 3. DOCTRINE.** With regard to the doctrine of the seventh century, it was for the most part anticipated under the same head in the last age: and more will be said about the Monothelite heresy in the sequel. The following innovations gained ground and developed progressively. The belief in the Divine right of the supremacy of the Roman see: belief in a purgatory immediately after death: belief in the merits and intercessions of the departed saints: the inherent efficacy ascribed to relics: the adoration of the cross, and other visible representations: the cultus paid to the Blessed Virgin. In the same spirit various additions were made to the mass: altars were multiplied, images erected, sacred vestments and ceremonies increased: endless distinctions were introduced about days

\* Vid. Mosheim, cent. vii. part. i. c. 1. Eng. Tr., note.

and meats: indifferent customs, like the tonsure, invested with exaggerated importance: the married state made a bar to the ministry; and the monastic life unduly magnified, and too often enforced. We shall not repeat the prefatory observations already made upon these points: it will be sufficient to notice that the corruptions thereby engendered are not to be traced to a single cause. Most of the innovations it is true, were introduced, or else sanctioned, by the Roman see: but on the other hand it was the degeneracy of the other Western Churches that brought them under her jurisdiction, and predisposed them to move in the same direction, and occasionally to lead the way. Then barbarian invasions are not to be overlooked in our criticisms upon the state of the Church.

CENT.  
VII.

A pestilential atmosphere will affect the body, and the body will affect the head, and both give back infection into the atmosphere. These are the conditions of our present existence: besides which the enmity of the spiritual argu-  
eyed Adversary of the Woman never rests.

To detail, however, a brief historical sketch of the progress on the part of the accredited leaders.

The alterations made by S. Gregory the Great in the canon of the mass have been already noticed. Sabinianus, his unworthy successor, introduced bells into churches<sup>d</sup>; and ordered lights to be kept burning in them continually<sup>e</sup>. Boniface III., who succeeded him, A.D. 606, claimed the once repudiated style "œcumenical" as the exclusive prerogative of the apostolic see. Boniface IV., A.D. 607, it has been already noticed, converted the Pantheon into the church now called S. Maria Rotunda. He also instituted the feast of All Saints according to the Roman martyrology<sup>f</sup>, corresponding to the feast of Souls among the Gentiles. Deusdedit I., A.D. 614, introduced spiritual relationships that were afterwards enlarged, by forbidding marriage between the son of a godfather and a god-daughter. Boniface V., A.D. 617, ordained that the persons of those who took sanctuary in a

Innova-  
tions.

Bells.

Lights.

œcumeni-  
cal claim-  
ed for the  
Roman see.Feast of  
All Saints.Spiritual  
relation-  
ships.Right of  
sanctuary.

<sup>d</sup> Polyd. Verg. De Rer. Invent. vi. 11.

<sup>e</sup> Platina De Vit. Pontif. sub v.; comp. ad seq. Anastas. De Vit. Pontif.

Raph. Volaterr. Comment. Urban., lib. xxii.

<sup>f</sup> Cf. iii. Id. Maias et Cal. Nov.

**CENT. VII.** church should be deemed inviolable. Honorius I., A.D. 626, was conspicuous for the costly decorations of the churches erected or restored by him. He likewise instituted weekly litanies and processions. Severinus I., A.D. 638, was equally noted for the costly pomp and splendour of his churches: and John IV., A.D. 639, enhanced the regard paid to relics by the ceremony with which he translated them. The same may be said of Theodorus, his successor. To Martin I., who assumed the tiara A.D. 649, are attributed regulations about the Sabbath-day fasts, the tonsure, and celibacy. Eugenius I., A.D. 653, conferred upon bishops the right of imprisoning delinquent clergy within monasteries<sup>c</sup>: and to him is often ascribed the law of his predecessor, prohibiting deacons to be married<sup>h</sup>. Vitalianus I. is made by his biographers author of a rule closely resembling the hundred and sixty-nine chapters of our own Archbishop Theodore<sup>i</sup> sent by him into Britain. These documents well illustrate the tone of the age. Vitalian introduced organs into churches, and sat from A.D. 655 to A.D. 669.

**Daily processions.** Adeodatus, A.D. 669, appointed daily processions and adorned churches. Donus, who succeeded him A.D. 676, added to the privileges of the clergy. Agatho, A.D. 688, promulgated a law ordaining that the decisions of the apostolic see should be received as ratified by S. Peter himself<sup>k</sup>. Leo II., A.D. 673, obliged the archbishops of Ravenna to come to Rome to be confirmed and ordained. He also magnified relics in the consecration of his churches. Benedict II., A.D. 684, laid out vast sums upon churches, ecclesiastical vestments, utensils, and the like. Finally, to pass over his short-lived predecessors John V. and Conon; Sergius, A.D. 686, encouraged the adoration of the cross, enjoined the tripartite division of the host<sup>l</sup>, and the chant entitled the Agnus in the mass. Add to which he instituted annual processions, honoured relics, patronized images and statues, and carried ecclesiastical ornaments to a high pitch. It may be seen upon examination how a like tone was reciprocated in the canons of the different synods.

<sup>c</sup> Vid. Grat. Dec. P. i. dist. lxxxi. 7.

et seq.

<sup>h</sup> Ibid., dist. xxvii. 1.

<sup>k</sup> Gratian ut sup. dist. xix. 2.

<sup>i</sup> Vid. Mansi Concil., vol. xii. p. 26

<sup>l</sup> Ibid., P. iii. De Consec. dist. ii. 22.

In the same way as regards government, a change had been gradually working which began to develope into broad daylight in the present age. The title of "œcumenical," it has been already recorded, had been assumed by the Constantinopolitan prelate John, and vehemently denounced by Pelagius and S. Gregory the Great. It has been attempted indeed to prove that the denunciations of the latter are not to be construed absolutely, but unquestionably his language is couched in the most exclusive form<sup>m</sup>. On the other hand his unworthy submission to the monster Phocas has been already noticed. Phocas was therefore more favourably pre-disposed towards the Roman see than his predecessors had been; he had moreover a great antipathy to Cyriacus who presided over Constantinople, for the protection which the bishop afforded to the widow and orphans of the late emperor Maurice, his victim. Consequently when Boniface III., his old acquaintance, assumed the tiara, for he had represented S. Gregory the Great at the imperial court formerly, Phocas was only too ready to advance the Roman see, the more effectually to humble Cyriacus. Hence it is said of Boniface III. by his biographer Anastasius: "He it was who obtained from the emperor Phocas that the apostolical seat of the blessed Apostle Peter should be head of all Churches, that is to say the Roman Church; for the Constantinopolitan Church used to style herself first of all Churches. It is a very gratuitous inference to suppose that Phocas hereby recognised a supremacy founded upon Divine right—why *Anastasius himself* regarded it as a thing *obtained* from the usurper! It is a more debatable question, what kind of a supremacy he actually conceded. The immediate object and effect being to depress the rival see, it would seem intended to have been of a simply negative character; on the other hand what means the significant formula, 'We will and command,' in which episcopal elections henceforth began to be ratified by the pontiff?" This was a clear innovation upon the primacy, which we have seen existed from the earliest age.

CENT.  
VII.  
§ 4.  
GOVERN-  
MENT.

What  
Anastasius  
says Boni-  
face III.  
OBTAINED  
from the  
usurper  
Phocas.

"Volumus  
et Jube-  
mus."

But otherwise the Roman see had been and was gradually

▪ Vid. Gratian, Dec. i. dist. xcix. 4 et 5.  
▪ Platina in Vit. Pont. ad Bonifac. III.

**CENT. VII.** on the increase. S. Augustine the British missionary received his pall from thence, so did his successors and the bishops of the sister metropolis. Theodore moreover by his appointment, and Wilfrid by his appeal eventually successful, made Britain still more dependent upon Rome. Gaul had already admitted Roman vicars. S. Columbanus and his companions, and Willebrord and his companions, sought and received palls from Rome, thereby rendering the nations which they converted beholden to the same influence. Sometimes even the emperors directed appeals to be made to it : and still more frequently the weaker party, pleading the canons, sought protection and redress there. Lastly, monasteries began to put themselves immediately under Rome, to escape the jurisdiction of the diocesan.

How Rome was otherwise aggrandized.

Opposed by the British and Scottish Churches.

Ignored by the Spanish,

and partially by the French Church and others.

On the other hand, even in the Western Church these new powers were not always admitted willingly or without resistance. The British Churches, for instance, demurred not only to celebrate Easter and perform the tonsure differently to what they had been accustomed, but they would not submit to the archbishop set over them by the Roman see. The Scots for a long time refused to abandon Asiatic usages as regards Easter and the tonsure. The Spanish Church still recognised in her kings the power of assembling national synods and confirming them, of appointing and deposing bishops, of enforcing discipline, of granting privileges to the clergy, and so forth. There were fifteen synods of Toledo in the present age, at the first of which, under Gundemar, that city was declared the metropolitan see. Not a word however is said in the canons about the Roman pontiff, nor is there the least hint that they were beholden to his authority. Hence the only salvo made by the first synod upon the appointment of a metropolitan was to the rights of the king\*. In the same way royal prerogatives were still exercised in the Gallican Church ; for instance, Parisian synods are expressly said to have been convened by Clothaire II. and Dagobert, and the second synod of Chalon by Clovis II. : Desideratus on the other hand was appointed to the see of Cahors by Dagobert†. Even Italy was not entirely reduced

\* Vid. Gratian, Dec. i. dist. lxiii. 25.

† Mansi Concil., vol. xi. App. p. 97.

under a supreme spiritual head, and the archbishops of Ravenna, the patriarchs of Aquileia, and the bishops of Istria and Lombardy generally had hitherto claimed to be independent. Theodore was the first to subject Ravenna to the Roman see, and Felix his successor laboured ineffectually to be released. Moreover the Roman prelate Servius gradually brought the others under the same yoke. The Waldenses again, who, Reymer himself testified in the thirteenth century, were said to have existed from the reign of Constantine the Great and upwards, would appear to have never once surrendered their independence<sup>1</sup>.

The Waldenses never under Rome.

But the chief resistance was that offered by the rival see, Constantinople. She had winked at the growth of the supremacy in the West, that she might arrogate the same for herself in the East: and being the residence of the emperors, she for the most part had the civil power on her side. Hence the obsequiousness of S. Gregory to the emperors Maurice and Phocas, and of his successors to the subsequent emperors. Again, the general councils that had hitherto met in the East only advanced her growth: and the more so, the more the peculiarities of the East and West expanded into open contrariety. Witness the canons of the Quini-sexth council. Hence, as she rose to the indisputable occupation of the second place, she became excessively jealous of the claims of a superior. And therefore when Vitalian restored one John to his see, who had appealed to him from Paul, archbishop of Crete, his metropolitan, we find his sentence couched in the most moderate terms: and he appeals to the *canons* for a justification of the procedure<sup>2</sup>.

Constantinople her most important adversary.

The last-mentioned fact indeed would prove the superiority of the see of S. Peter to have been still recognised in the East: at the same time, it cannot be denied, matters had been and were yet gradually tending to a separation. The jealousies engendered by the term "œcumenical:" the disputes about the Monothelite heresy: the rites and ceremonies decreed at the Trullan council on the one hand, and the restoration or addition of the word "Filioque" with reference to the procession of the Holy Ghost on the other; a change

<sup>1</sup> Cave, Hist. Lit. Conspect. Sæc. xii.  
<sup>2</sup> Vid. Vital. Ep. ap. Mansi Concil., vol. xi. p. 18.



**CENT. VII.** beginning to be made very generally in the Creeds of the Western synods of the present age<sup>\*</sup>; these, while they did not for the present actually cause a schism, effectually laid a train to be exploded under Photius in the ninth century.

**§ 5. HERESIES.** Meanwhile the common faith was still beset by the heresies already mentioned, as well as a new one dating from the present age. Arianism was rife among the Lombards, as we learn from Paul the deacon<sup>†</sup>: Pelagianism, as Venerable Bede reports<sup>‡</sup>, among the Britons and Scots: remnants of the Nestorians, Severites, Jacobites, Agnætæ, and Acephali, were to be found scattered about the East<sup>‡</sup>. But the heresy which arose A.D. 630 pressed most heavily upon the Church, while it placed, as it were, the colophon upon the controversy respecting the Incarnation. This was the error of those who would admit but one will in our Blessed Lord: whence the origin of the name Monothelites. From the Oneness of His Person, they deduced the Oneness of His will and operation. Thus it was mere Eutychianism in a more subtle form, and Sergius, patriarch of Constantinople, and Cyrus, bishop of Phasis, afterwards patriarch of Alexandria, seem to have been led into it in the first instance by a desire to gain over the Monophysites. Heraclius the emperor had consulted them upon the subject after a conference held by him with Paul, a leader of the Severians, A.D. 622, and subsequently with Athanasius the catholicus or patriarch of the Monophysites, A.D. 629. Both had laid stress upon the assertion that there was but one will and operation in Christ, and the latter had even promised adhesion to the fourth general council provided the recognition of a twofold will was not required of him. Theodore, bishop of Pharan, had long since predisposed Sergius upon these points, and Heraclius, after consultation with the latter and Cyrus, assented. Finally, Cyrus having been appointed, A.D. 633, to the see of Alexandria, promulgated certain articles in a synod, in which it was asserted that our Lord performed Divine and human actions by a single

**Monothe-  
lism.**

**Espoused  
by Sergius  
and Cyrus.**

<sup>\*</sup> E.g. Synod. Tolet. iii. A.D. 597, ap. Loaisæ Collect., p. 203; Tolet. iv. A.D. 633, *ibid.*, p. 331; Tolet. vi. A.D. 638, *ibid.*, p. 385; Tolet. viii. A.D. 653, *ibid.*, p. 422, &c. Synod. Anglic., A.D. 680, ap. Mansi Concil.,

vol. xi. p. 177; comp. Greg. Turon. Hist. Franc. i. 1.

<sup>†</sup> De gestis Langob. iv. 44.

<sup>‡</sup> E. H. ii. 19.

<sup>‡</sup> Vid. Niceph. E. H. xviii. 47 et seq.

Divine-human operation. Sophronius a monk, who was in the city at the time, was the first to enter his protest against these subtle errors: on the other hand, Sergius pledged Honorius to a specious neutrality. How far the Roman prelate actually advocated Monothelism has been made a considerable question. But in the first place, that he maintained one will in a certain sense, while deprecating the whole discussion, is clear from his letter<sup>y</sup>: and secondly, that he was anathematized by the sixth general council, as holding and confirming in all respects the same opinions that Sergius held, is a fact which only the rejection of the acts of the council themselves can disprove<sup>z</sup>. His biographers again, Anastasius<sup>a</sup> and Platina<sup>b</sup>, do not discredit it: and as for his successors, if John IV. would have excused him<sup>c</sup>, it is equally certain that Leo II. expressly anathematized him<sup>d</sup>.

CENT.  
VII.  
Μηδ' ὁσων-  
δρικῆ ἐνερ-  
γεία.  
The  
Roman  
Honorius  
anathema-  
tized by  
the sixth  
council,  
and by  
Leo II.

Meanwhile Sophronius had become patriarch of Jerusalem, A.D. 634, and forthwith published a synodical epistle containing a complete refutation of the Monothelite errors; it was met by the ecthesis of the emperor, composed by Sergius, and made public A.D. 638. Here, while discussion was interdicted about either a single or twofold operation, one will was artfully maintained upon the same grounds that had influenced Honorius. His successors, however, were not to be misled so easily: and while Cyrus, patriarch of Alexandria, Pyrrhus, Paul, and Peter, successively Constantinopolitan patriarchs, upheld the edict, it was vehemently opposed by John IV., Theodore, and Martin. The abbot Maximus, moreover, after the death of Sophronius, A.D. 636, became a distinguished advocate of the orthodox cause in the African Church.

A.D. 648 a new edict was composed by Paul and published by Constans II., in which discussion upon the disputed points was strictly prohibited. Theodore and Martin opposed this edict as much as the former one: but subsequently the latter was deposed by the emperor, and treated

<sup>y</sup> Vid. Mansi Concil., vol. xi. p. 538 et seq.

<sup>z</sup> Ibid., p. 556.

<sup>a</sup> Anast. in Vit. Leonis II., A.D. 683.

<sup>b</sup> In Vit. Honorii I.

<sup>c</sup> Ep. ad Constant. apud Mansi Concil., vol. x. p. 682.

<sup>d</sup> Ep. ad Constant. ap. Mansi, vol. xi. p. 731 et seq. Baronius of course doubts the genuineness of the letter. Mansi, *ibid.*, p. 1050.

C E N T. with a severity and cruelty that caused his death. The abbot  
 VII. Maximus shared the same fate, A.D. 662. Orthodoxy, nevertheless, eventually triumphed: and, A.D. 680, Agatho set forth the doctrine of a twofold will in a Roman synod, which was authoritatively confirmed the same year by the sixth general council under Constantine Pogonatus.

§ 6. This was the first of the two general councils of the present  
 COUNCILS. age; and it was commenced Nov. 7, A.D. 680, and ended  
 Sixth gene- September 16, A.D. 681. Its object was to restore peace,  
 ral council. and compose differences, especially those kindled by the last-mentioned heresy. Theodore, patriarch of Constantinople, would have opposed it, but he was ejected by the emperor, and George substituted in his place. Nothing can be clearer than that Constantine Pogonatus convened it of his own accord, as his royal letters or *Divales sacre* to Donus and George abundantly testify\*. Moreover, (act. i.,) the council expressly says that it was assembled by the imperial mandate; that it met in the chapel of the palace called "Trullus," and that Constantine presided. Agatho was represented by three legates, who subscribed first, and with three deputies from the Roman synod; George, who represented the patriarch of Jerusalem, and others, occupied the left side: while George, patriarch of Constantinople, Macarius of Antioch, and Peter, representing him of Alexandria, occupied the right. The number of the bishops present is variously stated: and may be said to fluctuate between a hundred and seventy and two hundred and eighty-nine; it is possible that the hundred and twenty bishops who composed the Roman synod and were here represented, are included in the last number. The proceedings of the council were divided into eighteen actions: in the first, second, and third of these the acts of the third, fourth, and fifth general councils were recited: and the interpolations of the Monothelites in the last of them detected and exposed. The fourth action was occupied with the letters of Agatho and the Roman synod to the emperor. From the fifth to the ninth action inclusive, the opinions of Macarius undergo a searching examination, and are finally condemned. Then the authorities cited by Agatho and the Roman synod are considered and approved. In the

Constantine pre-  
sided.

προκα-  
θησαυ.

Number of  
bishops  
doubtful.

\* Ap. Mansi Concil., vol. xi. p. 195 et seq.

two next actions the synodical epistle of Sophronius, and the letters of Sergius to Cyrus and Honorius, with the reply of the latter, are confronted; and in the following one, namely the thirteenth, anathemas are pronounced against Sergius, Cyrus, Pyrrhus, Paul, Peter, Theodore bishop of Pharan, and Honorius. Polychronius, a Monothelite, who offered to raise a dead man to confirm his heresy, was convicted in the fifteenth action: and, finally, a profession of faith was set forth in the last action, in which the doctrine that there were two natural wills and two natural operations in our Lord, was declared conformable to the teaching of the holy Fathers<sup>f</sup>. The same persons are once more anathematized who held the contrary opinion: and it is observable that their condemnation was confirmed by the quini-sext and second Nicene councils, by the emperors Constantine and Justinian II., and by Leo II., who succeeded Agatho.

The other council, styling itself a general one, though not allowed to be so generally by the Western Church, was the quini-sext, or Trullan, as it is called, from the place in which it met. Neither the fifth nor sixth œcumenical councils having passed any canons respecting discipline, it was intended to be a supplement or appendix to them, as the name imports; and it was convened by Justinian Rhinotmetus, A.D. 691 or 2, according to the best authorities. Two hundred and twenty-seven or two hundred and forty bishops were present, and among them the patriarchs of Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem. The Roman prelate was certainly absent, though Balsamon asserts that he was not unrepresented<sup>g</sup>, and Anastasius, in his life, expressly says that his legates were there, and deluded into a subscription<sup>h</sup>.

In the subscriptions however that have come down a vacant space is left in the first place for the signature of the Roman bishop, and still lower in the list for the bishops of Thessalonica, Heraclea, Sardinia, Ravenna, and Corinth, who, Balsamon asserts, were then his legates. The bishop of Gortyna claims indeed in his subscription to represent the

CENT.  
VII.

Trullan or  
quini-sext  
council.

<sup>f</sup> Δύο φύσεις, θελήσεις, ἦτοι θελήματα ἐν Ἀβτῷ, καὶ δύο φυσικὰς ἐνεργείας, ἀδιαιρέτως, ἀτρέπτως, ἀμερίστως, ἀσυνχύτως, κατὰ τὴν τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων διδασκαλίαν ὡσαύτως κηρύττομεν. Ap.

Mansi Concil., vol. xi. p. 638.

<sup>g</sup> Bever. ad Synod. Concil. Trull., p. 126.

<sup>h</sup> De Vit. Pont. Rom. s. v. Serg., A.D. 687.

**CENT. VII.** whole Roman synod. A hundred and two canons, or, as some say a hundred and three, were passed by the council, several of which however have been ever excepted against by the Western Church: and it is probable these formed the grounds upon which Sergius refused his assent to what had been done there, for which he narrowly escaped ill-treatment from the emperor. The principal of these objectionable canons were can. 2, which concerns the number of the apostolical canons: cans. 6 and 13, which concern the marriage of the clergy: cans. 36 and 38, about the rank of the Constantinopolitan patriarch: can. 45, about the fast of the sabbath: can. 67, about the eating of blood and things strangled; and finally can. 82, about representations of our Lord as the Lamb. Can. 1, it has been already observed, confirms the anathema denounced by the last council against Honorius: nevertheless in a general way the quini-sext canons have been approved by the second Nicene council<sup>1</sup>; and by the Roman bishops Adrian I., Nicolas I., and others; Gratian even accounts it part of the sixth council<sup>1</sup>: and by the Greeks it has been generally so regarded.

Provincial synods.

Where to be seen in a collected form.

It would be superfluous to enumerate the lesser synods of the seventh century, whether national, or, more strictly, provincial. It will be sufficient to refer the reader generally to Mansi, vols. x. xi. and xii., or more specifically to the collections of the Gallican by Sirmondus, of the Spanish by Loaisa Garsia, of the British by Spelman and Wilkins, of the African in the Cresconian collection, and of the Greek in the Synodicon. Most of them concerned rites and ceremonies, celibacy, monasticism, and discipline generally: some few indeed occupied themselves with doctrinal questions, published Creeds, and condemned heretics, especially the Monothelites. Among these we may reckon that of the British bishops under Theodore, and of the Roman under Agatho, A.D. 680. The fifteen synods of Toledo, moreover, for the most part regarded faith as well as practice.

§ 7.  
WRITERS.

Authors of repute certainly did not abound in the present

<sup>1</sup> Act. iv. et viii., Mansi, vol. xiii. pp. 39 et 472.

<sup>1</sup> Dec. P. i. dist. xvi. c. 6, where he attributes moreover the following words

to Adrian I. "Sextam synodum sanctam cum omnibus canonibus suis recipio."

age: Agatho accounts to Constantine for his delay to send legates to the sixth general council, on the ground that there were so few to be found competent to undertake the office. CENT.  
VII.

In the East, S. Sophronius, patriarch of Jerusalem, deserves the first mention; he was born at Damascus, exchanged the profession of a sophist for that of a monk, and succeeded to his see A.D. 634. The year previous, it has been already observed, he opposed Cyrus at Alexandria: and the year following published his synodical epistle. He was indeed the chief of the orthodox champions against Monothelism: though he did not live long to take part in the controversy. He died A.D. 636: the same year that Jerusalem was taken by the Saracens. S. Sophro-  
nius.

Antiochus, a monk of Laura, wrote a compendium of the Christian religion and Scripture doctrine, it was divided into a hundred and thirty homilies. He lived and died about the same time with the last. Antiochus.

S. Maximus, abbot and confessor, was originally a much respected official at the imperial court, but when Heraclius began to favour the Monothelites he turned monk, and A.D. 640 passed over into Africa, and roused the bishops there against the new heresy. A.D. 645 he had a conference in the same country with Pyrrho the ex-patriarch of Constantinople, in which he exposed his errors: afterwards went to Rome: and finally died from the effects of the persecution, A.D. 662, which, with Martin, he experienced at the hands of the emperor. His works, which fill two folio volumes, were edited by Combefis, A.D. 1675. S. Maxi-  
mus.

George, surnamed Pisides, Andrew archbishop of Crete, John Moschus and others, may be dismissed without more notice. George  
Pisides and  
others.

S. Isidore, bishop of Sevil, stands first among the writers of the Western Church. Theodoric, king of Italy, was his grandfather: and his father, Severianus, was prefect of New Carthage. He had moreover two brothers who were bishops: Fulgentius, bishop of the last-mentioned place: and Leander of Sevil, whom he succeeded, A.D. 595. He presided at the fourth synod of Toledo, A.D. 633, and died three years after, leaving behind him commentaries upon the Old Testament. S. Isidore.

**C E N T.** and treatises literary, dogmatic, and devotional. The eighth  
**VII.** synod of Toledo speaks of his merits in the highest terms. The collection of decretal epistles falsely ascribed to him, is now generally considered the work of the Isidore surnamed Mercator: a collection however of the same kind, says Cave, was certainly made by the present writer<sup>1</sup>.

**S. Julian.** S. Julian, archbishop of Toledo, to which see he succeeded A.D. 680, presided over the twelfth, thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth synods held there. In the last of these he is somewhat hard upon Benedict II., for doubts entertained by the latter about a book of his, entitled *De tribus substantiis*. His learning and piety have been greatly commended: of his works, the "Prognostics" in three books are the most deserving notice.

**Venerable Bede.** Bede, surnamed the Venerable, most probably for his piety, learning, and gravity, though Baronius mentions a more puerile reason<sup>2</sup>, almost belongs to the next century. He was born A.D. 672, not far from Jarrow, a small village at the mouth of the Tyne, within the precincts of the monastery of Girwy. Here and in the adjacent cloisters of Weremouth he received his education, and indeed spent his whole life. At the age of nineteen he was ordained deacon, and, eleven years after, priest by John of Beverley, bishop of Hexham. Common consent accounts him the most learned, as well as the most pious man of his age: and so great was the fame of his erudition, that it was said of him that he was born in the farthest part of the world, but comprehended the whole world in his understanding. He died A.D. 735, May 26, which happened to be that year the feast of the Ascension, just as he had finished the last page of the translation of the gospel of S. John into the vernacular tongue. His works have been collected and published in eight volumes: of these his commentaries upon the Old and New Testament, and ecclesiastical history of his own country, from the invasion of Julius Cæsar to A.D. 731, stand pre-eminent, and are much esteemed. Many more authors may be dismissed with a briefer notice. **S. Theodore and others.** S. Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury, A.D. 670, the first who

<sup>1</sup> Hist. Lit. Sæc. vii. sub. v.

<sup>2</sup> A.D. 731. n. 24.

composed a penitential: Eligius, first a goldsmith, and afterwards bishop of Noyons; A.D. 646; Jonas, the biographer of S. Columbanus, who flourished about A.D. 630; Nennius, who is by some thought to have been the same with the abbot Dinooth, mentioned by Bede<sup>1</sup>, and the author of the work *De Gestis Britonum*, ascribed to Gildas; the abbess Hilda, a pupil of Aidan, and others. Venerable Bede celebrates one Cedmon, who had turned the whole Bible into rhymes in the language of his country.

The impulse given by S. Benedict to the monastic life was not destined to subside with him. Monasteries began to abound throughout Italy, Germany, France, Britain, and elsewhere: and even kings and queens became their inmates. For instance, Sigebert, king of the East Saxons, about the middle of the present age; Ina, king of the West Saxons, at the request of his wife Edilburga, in the next age; and Wamba, king of Spain, A. D. 680. Similarly in the East Elesbaan, king of the Ethiopians, if we may believe Nicephorus<sup>2</sup>, laid aside his diadem, shaved his head, and betook himself to the seclusion of a cell. Of the queens who adopted a like course, Fridiburga, wife of Sigebert king of the Burgundians, Gertrude and Begga, daughters of Pepin, from the latter of whom came the Beguinæ, were pre-eminent. The Benedictine rule was introduced into Britain by S. Augustine, and those who accompanied him, in the first instance: but much more so subsequently by S. Benedict Biscop, Adhelm, Wilfrid, and others; on the other hand, S. Columbanus and his companion, S. Gall, already mentioned, carried with them a different rule from Britain to the continent. S. Columbanus, it is to be observed, is not to be confounded with S. Columba founder of Iona, and somewhat his senior, whose life was written by Adamnanus, afterwards abbot of the same monastery. S. Columbanus betook himself to Burgundy in the first instance, where he founded the monastery called Luxeul or Luxovium. About twenty-five years after he founded Bobio, near Pavia, and died the following year, A.D. 615. Jonas, a monk of the last-named place, composed his life. As for his rule it was

CENT.  
VII.

§ 8.  
MONASTERIES.

Great personages  
who retired  
to the cloister.

Promoters  
of the monastic life.

<sup>1</sup> E. H. ii. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. xvii. 6.



**C E N T. VII.** more simple than that of the Benedictines: and was confirmed by the synod of Macon, A.D. 624, notwithstanding the objections urged against it by one of the monks of Luxovium, named Agrestius. It is to be seen in the collection of Lucas Holstenius already cited<sup>a</sup>. The rule of S. Gall was for the most part a transcript of that of his master. John, a Spanish bishop, surnamed from his see Gerundinensis, introduced a rule which was confirmed by Boniface IV., and other rules are still extant in the above collection.

**Various rules.**

**Abbeys founded.** Many magnificent abbeys were founded in the present century: among which may be noticed those of Luxovium, Fontaines, and Bobio: but most especially that founded by Dagobert, and dedicated to S. Dionysius, near Paris. Another celebrated abbey in the same country was that of Corbie, not to be confounded with the German one, built in the reign of Clothaire II., about A.D. 680. In Britain<sup>o</sup> Glastonbury was restored and enlarged by King Ina. In Switzerland the cell, and afterwards monastery, of S. Gall, was converted into a noble abbey by King Pepin, and called after the saint<sup>p</sup>.

**Monasteries the seats of learning and piety.** As for the monasteries, they still continued to be what they had been heretofore, seats of learning and piety, where religion was made the centre of a system, round which art and science were allowed to revolve. Indeed, throughout Britain, where Banchor had already set the example, the monasteries were so many schools or seminaries, in which Latin and Greek, and other accomplishments, were taught: and hence the writers and doctors of the present and subsequent ages in the Western Church were, almost to a man, monks: as the names of the Venerable Bede, Aldelmus, Mennius, Albinus, Usuardus, Haymon, Rabanus, and others, abundantly testify. To be sure, trifles were occasionally discussed by them with undue warmth. For instance, the question of the tonsure, differing however from the modern rasure, in which the Westerns followed S. Peter, and shaved the head after the pattern of the crown of thorns: while the Orientals,

**Occupied sometimes with trifles.**

<sup>a</sup> Cod. Reg. Monast., P. ii. p. 88—98, ed. 1613, Paris.

<sup>o</sup> Vid. Ussher. Brit. Eccl. Antiq., c. 6.

<sup>p</sup> Vid. Hospinian De Monach., lib. iv. 27, where many more are enumerated.

pleading the example of SS. Paul and James, shaved off the whole of the hair<sup>9</sup>. Still these were far from being the usual occupations of a society, in which prayer, fasting, meditation, study, manual labour, the task of transcribing books, and of instructing those who came there to be educated, were necessary duties.

C E N T.  
VII.

Graver  
duties.

We shall now turn to matters external to the Church, but at the same time deeply affecting it. Of these by far the most important was the scourge with which it pleased Almighty God to visit the corruptions of the Eastern Church—Mahometanism. Mahomet, Muhammed, or Mahumed, as his name is indifferently written, which in the Arabic tongue means “a man greatly desired” or “renowned,” was the son of one Abdallah, a citizen of Mecca, of the tribe of the Koreishites, and of the family of the Haschemites. His birth however, occurring after the death of his father, A.D. 590, he was brought up at the house of Abdelmutaleb, his grandfather, in the first instance, and afterwards of Abu-Taleb, son of the former, and his uncle; but his marriage with the rich widow Cadijah, when he was twenty-five years old, made him wholly independent. According to his own confession his education had been so neglected that he was unable to read or write; but travelling had increased his experience, and solitary meditation formed his views. A predisposition to epilepsy moreover was probably not without effect upon his mind.

§ 9.

MAHOMET-  
ANISM.

Birth and  
parentage  
of the pro-  
phet.

Illiterate  
education.

Epileptic.

It was the miserable state of religion amongst Jews and Christians, he frequently says, that occasioned his mission. He was called to be a prophet, as he avers, in his fortieth year, A.D. 609, when the Koran was revealed to him by no less a person than the archangel Gabriel. The religion there inculcated, which it took twenty-three years to unfold completely to the prophet himself, was a compilation borrowed partly from the writings of the Old Testament and Jewish traditions on the one hand, and from the New Testament and Gnostic errors on the other hand, and partly from the indigenous system which he had imbibed himself from the Saracens. The principal heads of the new doctrine were: 1. That God was One, not only to the destruction of polytheism, but to the negation of a Trinity in the Christian sense. 2. That

His mis-  
sion, how  
caused.

<sup>9</sup> Vid. Bede, E. H. iv. 1.

C E N T. Mahomet was the apostle, messenger, or prophet of God,  
 VII. superior to Moses and Christ, and even foretold by the latter.

Practical  
 duties.

3. That the Koran was a divine and infallible production, of greater authority than the writings of Moses, the Prophets, and Apostles: and to be studied incessantly by all, except the unclean. 4. That God was to be worshipped and adored with the highest reverence. 5. That prayer was to be made to Him at set times: not less than five times daily; likewise that ablution should always precede prayer. 6. That the whole of the month Ramedan, which is the ninth month, should be observed as a fast: that is to say, between sun-rise and sun-set. 7. That alms should be given to the poor, to which subject appertain the precepts concerning tenths, abstinence from usury, works of mercy, and so forth. 8. That everybody should make a pilgrimage to Mecca, once in his life.—Touching rites and ceremonies, those most insisted upon were perpetual ablutions after the most ordinary acts, as well as before prayer, entrance into a mosque, and the like; the circumcision of boys after the example of Ishmael in the thirteenth year, when they were able to give full utterance to the watchword of the sect: “La Illah, illallah, Muhammed resoul Allah,” “There is no God but one God: and Mahomet is the apostle of God;” abstinence from pork, from things strangled, from blood, unclean meats, after the custom of the Jews, and even from wine.

Dogmatic  
 teaching of  
 the Koran.

It would be superfluous to detail every dogma constructive or destructive in the Mahometan creed concerning the Divine nature, the creation of the universe, providence, predestination, guardian angels, the intermediate state, the resurrection of the body, the joys of paradise, for the most part sensual, or the torments of hell: it may suffice to observe that Christ is acknowledged in the Koran to have been a prophet, to have come in the flesh, preached the gospel, and worked miracles: also that He will return at the judgment-day, destroy antichrist, and convert the Jews: at the same time that He is denied to be the Son of God, or very and eternal God. As regards morals, many regulations have a praiseworthy semblance, for instance, besides wine, gambling, usury, luxury, and rash oaths, are prohibited: perjurers, adulterers, murderers, slanderers, misers, spend-

thrifts, are discountenanced: patience, charity, mercy, gratitude, dutiful conduct, are extolled: on the other hand polygamy, divorce, concubinage, and many savage deeds of war are sanctioned. The Koran, which contains these precepts, was in spite of its attribution to the archangel Gabriel, probably composed by the prophet himself: part at Medina after his flight, and part at Mecca upon his return; whence some chapters are inscribed Meccan, and some Medinan. For a large proportion of these institutions his votaries were already prepared, as has been before observed, by the system actually existing among the Saracens, especially his own tribe, the Koreishites.

CENT.  
VII.

Innumerable are the fables which have been handed down by the Arabians about Mahomet before and after his assumption of the prophetic office. That he was descended in a continuous line from Adam: that his mother experienced no pangs when she brought him forth: that he broke out into the praises of his Maker as soon as born. Again, that he was born circumcised: known as a prophet before his marriage: transported in a trance to heaven: admitted to the Divine presence: honoured with the friendship of the archangel Gabriel: with many more marvels of a like nature. As far as facts are concerned however, he commenced his career fifteen years after his marriage, in his fortieth year, whence the saying of his countrymen that no person can be a prophet till he is turned forty. During the three first years of his mission he numbered only fourteen proselytes, among whom were his wife, his cousin Ali, his slave Zeid, Abu-beker, and Othman. Ten more years produced a somewhat more abundant harvest: but, that period expired, he was expelled Mecca, July 16th, on the sixth day of the week, A.D. 622: which date is memorable, as commencing the era afterwards instituted by Omar the second caliph, and called *Hegira*, the *Hegira*.

Fables connected with the call of Mahomet to the prophetic office.

The prophet had scarce left Mecca before he was received by the inhabitants of Medina with open arms. There he remained eight years enjoying his honours, and at length returned at the head of a numerous army and captured Mecca. Before his death, which happened June 7, A.D. 632, by a not unparalleled coincidence, the anniversary of

Mahomet captures Mecca.

**C E N T.** his natal day, Arabia was united under his dominion, and  
**VII.** the victorious legions of Heraclius had found a match in the Moslems under Caled. Within a hundred years from the commencement of the Hegira, the caliphs, his successors, had ravaged Asia as far as Persia, and Africa from Egypt to the coast of the Atlantic ocean; they had even crossed over into Spain and expelled the Goths. This is the more marvellous, as a serious schism ensued upon the death of the prophet.

**Ali sup-** Ali his son-in-law, and male issue failing, his legitimate suc-  
**planted by** cessor, was thrice supplanted in his inheritance by Abubeker,  
**Abubeker,** father-in-law of his father-in-law, Omar, and Othman. A  
**Omar, and** deadly feud arose thereupon between the followers of Ali  
**Othman,** and those who supported his rivals, which was by no means  
**success-**  
**sively.**

**Shiites and** extinguished in his ultimate succession. The Shiites or sec-  
**Sunnites.** taries, as they have been termed, regard Ali as the vicar of God, and execrate those who stepped between him and his inheritance: the Sunnites respect the memories of Abubeker, Omar, and Othman. To the former class belong the Persians and Mogores; to the latter, the Turks, Tartars, Africans, and Indians. Differences moreover ensued as regards doctrine and practice, or, as the Arabians style them, about root and branch; so much so that the followers of Mahomet have been divided into as many as seventy-two sects.

**§ 10.** To briefly touch upon events of a secondary importance.  
**MISCEL-** Constantine Pogonatus, we are told<sup>r</sup>, formally relinquished  
**LANEOUS** the privilege hitherto exercised by the emperors, of confirm-  
**EVENTS.** ing the Roman bishop in his see: the election was henceforth to be exclusively vested in the Roman clergy and laity.

**Grado a pa-** About the commencement of the century, the see of Grado  
**triarchate.** in the island so called, was erected into a patriarchate, through the influence of the exarch under Phocas. The new patriarch however received his pall from Rome. Thus a counterpoise was established to the Churches of Milan and Aquileia more particularly, who had hitherto maintained their independence; while Ravenna, after considerable struggles, eventually placed herself under the dominion of the Roman see in the person of her prelate Theodore, A.D. 679.

<sup>r</sup> Anast. De Vit. Pontif. s. v. Bened. ii.

The case of Ina the Saxon king, who made his dominions tributary to the Roman see by a spontaneous act, properly belongs to the next age. Of other events affecting Britain, the principal were the confirmation of metropolitan rights to the Church of Canterbury by the Roman bishops, Boniface V. and Honorius I. Honorius moreover bestowed the same rights upon York, about A.D. 627, upon the baptism of King Edwin, when he presented Paulinus with a pall<sup>a</sup>. In A.D. 637 Cambridge exhibited the first germ of her future renowned university. Bede is understood to mention<sup>t</sup> a single school established there under Sigebert, king of the East Saxons. Oxford indeed, though never once mentioned by the above historian, seems to have been a flourishing seminary as far back as the mission of S. Germanus in the fifth century. Gildas the Wise is said to have studied there during the following, and Nennius, who afterwards presided over Banchor, in the present age.

CENT.  
VII.

Metropolitan rights confirmed to Canterbury: and to York. Was Cambridge in existence? and Oxford?

With regard to the Jews, Eutychius<sup>u</sup> records tumults made by them against the Christians throughout Palestine, where they abounded, together with the oath of Heraclius to protect them, which he was persuaded however to break by the monks. In Spain, the kingdom as well as the Church was menaced by a formidable conspiracy between the Spanish and African Jews. Hence perpetual slavery was imposed upon them as a penalty by King Egican and the seventeenth synod of Toledo<sup>x</sup>: and their children male and female, above seven years old, were obliged to be placed under Christian instructors away from home. Moreover, contrary to the injunctions of S. Gregory before mentioned and the express language of the Theodosian code, many Jews were now forced to become Christians. Heraclius the emperor not only compelled them to receive baptism throughout his dominions, but in his letters to Dagobert<sup>v</sup> exhorted him to do the same. Chilperic and other kings of the Franks had already adopted the like course: and Sisemuth, king of the Goths, to whom the fifty-seventh canon of the

§ 11.  
JEWISH  
AFFAIRS.

Penalties imposed upon the Jews.

<sup>a</sup> Bede, E. H. ii. 17.

<sup>t</sup> E. H. iii. 18. Vid. Smith, ad l. in append. n. xiv.

<sup>x</sup> Annal., tom. ii. pp. 212 et 240—48. ed. Pocock.

<sup>u</sup> A.D. 694. Vid. Præf. et can. 8.

<sup>v</sup> Vid. Fredegarii Schol. Chronicon, (vulgo Greg. Turon. Hist. Franc., lib. xi.) c. 65.

**CENT. VII.** fourth synod of Toledo refers, inflicted punishments upon those Jews who delayed baptism. However it is clear that voluntary conversions of Jews as well as Gentiles were still not unfrequent.

## CHAPTER VIII.

**§ 1. STATE OF THE CHURCH.** THE commencement of the eighth century falls into A.D. 701, Tiberius Apsimarus having, after Leontius, usurped the purple in the East: and Justinian II., the rightful occupant, being excluded from his inheritance from A.D. 695 to A.D. 705. Sergius, who was succeeded after a brief interval by John VI. and John VII. respectively, presided over the Roman see. Abdelmelek was caliph of the Saracens, and after him his son Waled: Cunibert reigned over the Lombards: and Childebert the Just over the Franks.

**Conquests of the Saracens.** The state of the Church was far from auspicious. In the first place the Saracen conquests oppressed Christianity every where throughout the East: nor was the West unscathed. Persia, Syria, Palestine, Egypt, Africa, Spain, Cyprus, Rhodes, had successively been subdued by them: and they were meditating fresh aggressions. They had constituted Damascus the seat of their empire, and to do so the more effectually had expelled Christianity from it.

**Lombards.** Secondly, Italy endured much at the hands of the Lombards in the present age. Stephen II. twice implored the aid of the son of Charles Martel, against the Lombard king Astolphus: and twice did Pepin save Rome from the dominion of a foreign foe. Eventually the power of the Lombards was annihilated by Charlemagne, into whose hands Desiderius their last king resigned his sceptre.

**Barbarians.** Thirdly, barbarian hordes still occupied both sides the Danube: for instance the Bulgarians, who soon spread themselves over Greece: the Sclavonians, who penetrated the regions between the Save and the Drave: the Avars, who

overran Moldavia and Wallachia: and the Huns and Ugri successively, who occupied the country called after them. CENT.  
VIII.

Fourthly, the miserable condition of the Eastern empire was a further cause. Italy ceased to be under the emperors about A.D. 728, and as for the exarch of Ravenna he oscillated between them and the Lombards, till he was eventually subjected by Pepin to the Roman see. Other defalcations arising from Saracen conquests have been already mentioned. Italy no  
longer  
under the  
emperors.

Fifthly, and more particularly as regards the Church herself, so completely had the patriarchates of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, been overborne by the Saracens, that it is utterly impossible to say who the patriarchs were. The same desolation pervaded Africa, with the provinces subject to the barbarians, and hung over Spain. Heresies moreover were still rife in the remnants of the Arians, Nestorians, and Eutychians, and especially the Monothelites: while the schismatic tendency that had already exhibited itself in the Trullan canons of the last century was destined to receive a further impetus in the contest about images. Finally, superstition was spread far and wide amid the gloom of the times: a sad corruption of religion and morals ensued. Eastern pa-  
triarchates  
almost  
annihilated.

Still, while Christianity lost ground in the East, it was making a steady progress in the West: and among those to whom the gospel was now preached are to be mentioned the Thuringians, Franks, Westphalians, Saxons, Hessians, Batavians, Hungarians, Solavonians, and Frieslanders. Of these some had been already evangelized by Willebrord and his companions. Viewed as a whole however the conversion of the Germans has been ever assigned to their great apostle Winifred, a Benedictine monk and Englishman. S. Winifred was born at Kirton, in Devonshire, A.D. 680. About A.D. 715 he started upon his first missionary tour with two companions, and laboured among the Frieslanders. A.D. 718 he visited Rome with commendatory letters from Daniel, bishop of Winchester, and obtained full powers from Gregory II. to prosecute his mission. Radbod, king of the Frieslanders, who had thwarted his attempts previously, was now dead; S. Winifred therefore returned to the scene of his former exertions, and made himself useful to Willebrord, bishop of Utrecht, who was still alive. From thence he betook him- § 2.  
SPREAD  
OF THE  
CHURCH.  
Various  
conver-  
sions,  
especially  
of the Ger-  
mans under  
S. Winifred.



**C E N T.** self to the Hessians, of whom he baptized many thousands :  
**VIII.** and a second time visited Rome, A.D. 723. Here he was consecrated bishop by the Roman prelate, to whom he swore eternal obedience. He was not however restricted to a particular diocese. At his consecration his name was changed from Winifred to Boniface. He returned under the protection of Charles Martel to resume his labours among the Hessians; and with his own hands cut down a large oak-tree dedicated to Thor, the god of the Saxons, and with the wood of it erected a chapel in honour of S. Peter. A.D. 738 he once more visited Rome, now under Gregory III., who had already sent him a pall, and returning through Bavaria erected four sees there; Salzburg, Ratisbon, Freising, and Erfurt. To these were added, A.D. 741, Wurzburg, Eichstadt, and Buraburg. A.D. 745, Gewilieb, bishop of Mentz, having been deposed for various misdemeanors in a provincial synod, Boniface was unanimously named as his successor: and Mentz was erected into a metropolitan see. Its rights were confirmed A.D. 748 by Zachary I., and Utrecht, Cologne, Tongres, Worms, and Spire, made subject to it. As legate of the Roman see, Boniface presided over many Gallican as well as German synods, and enforced the claims of his superior with a high hand, A.D. 754. He obtained the crown of martyrdom at an advanced age in a mission undertaken by him among the still not wholly converted Friesland-ers: and was buried in his own celebrated monastery, Fulda. Aventinus<sup>2</sup> is obliged to own that Boniface was regarded as a busy-body by those bishops and priests that already existed in the countries into which he came; doubtless, upon the same grounds that S. Augustine was by the British bishops and clergy: because he insisted so much upon the supremacy of the Roman see; and many are the imputations which have been levelled against Rome, from the manner in which she combined the spread of the gospel with her own personal aggrandizement. On the other hand when it is considered that hardly a single conversion of the past or present century, was, or indeed could have been, affected without the co-operation of the Roman prelate—a co-operation which, be it spoken to his praise, he was ever

Boniface,  
archbishop  
of Mentz.

Martyred  
by the  
Fries-  
landers.

<sup>2</sup> Annal. Boior., lib. iii. c. 9. § 17.

ready to impart—it is neither surprising that he should have increased his influence, nor that he should have retained what he acquired; especially when, humanly speaking, his was the only power that could make effectual stand against the dangers with which the Church was menaced. In those days Rome was undoubtedly a great instrument in the hands of the Almighty, and a benefit to His Jerusalem. While Christianity was prostrate in the East, and the rest of the West paralyzed or dormant, she alone converted nations, brow-beat the adversaries of the Church, and guarded religion within secure retreats at a time when it could never have survived the storms abroad.

CENT.  
VIII.

Part taken  
by Rome  
under Providence in  
the dark  
ages.

Another instrument of Divine Providence in the present age, though linked to a considerable extent with the preceding, was Charlemagne, the son and successor of Pepin, and upon the death of his brother, A.D. 770, sole monarch of the Franks. His conquest of the Lombards, A.D. 774, has been already noticed: afterwards he routed the Saracens from the Pyrenees to the Ebro: next he subdued the Slavonians, Saxons, Bohemians, Huns, and other nations, to the shores of the Baltic sea: and finally was crowned emperor of the West upon Christmas Day, A.D. 800. What the Church owed to him may be learnt from his life, written by Eginbard his chancellor. In the first place the entire conversion of the Saxons followed their subjugation by him, after thirty years' war or more, A.D. 804. Wittekind and Alboin, their leaders, had been baptized as early as A.D. 785. Peace was granted to the Slavonians, Huns, and others, upon the same terms, namely that they should renounce idolatry and embrace Christianity. Hence the principle upon which these conversions were effected is highly questionable. Many sees were founded by him throughout his newly-acquired territory, and the more effectually to check revolts, the bishops were armed by him with temporal power: whence the origin of the prince-bishops throughout Germany. Here was a further principle involved that may well be deemed objectionable, but a precedent had already been afforded in the person of Burchard, bishop of Wurzburg, under Pepin. The principal of the new sees were Osnaburg, of which the first bishop was Wiho: Seligenstadt, after-

Charle-  
magne an-  
other in-  
strument  
under Pro-  
vidence.

Conver-  
sions of the  
Saxons,  
Slavoni-  
ans, and  
Huns, for  
the sake  
of obtain-  
ing peace.

**CENT. VIII.** wards transferred to Halberstadt, under Hildegryn: Paderborn, under Hathumar: Munster, under Lugder: Verden, under Swibert: Bremen, under Willihad: Minden, where was the fort of Wittekind, part of which was converted by him into a church: Hildesheim, to the east of the Weser, and Hamburg on the Elbe, whose first bishop, Ansgarius, introduced Christianity amongst the Danes. Moreover the cathedral churches or seats of the bishop were designed to be collegiate institutions: where the clergy might live together, and where youth might be trained. The former were called "regulars" in the first instance, because they were bound by the rule of the monastery of Corvey: afterwards "canons," to distinguish them from monks. And because they were maintained out of the revenues afforded by the Church, the words "prebend" and "prebendary" came into use connected with them. Music was made a principal study within these institutions, especially after the introduction of the Gregorian tones by Charlemagne on his return from Rome, A.D. 786.

Collegiate  
institutions.

**Seminaries.** Other schools and seminaries were founded by the same monarch throughout his dominions, where the "Trivium" and "Quadrivium," as they were called, were taught: the former including grammar, rhetoric, and logic: the latter arithmetic, geometry, music, and astronomy. It is a question whether, or how far, the university of Paris rose into existence under his auspices. Of the German schools Osnaburg, and of the Italian Pavia, were the most conspicuous. Education also seems to have been his principal inducement to found monasteries: as is evidenced in a general constitution<sup>a</sup> published by him after his fourth visit to Rome. Mention is there made of the study of the Scriptures, which had been sadly neglected, and provisions are made for its restoration. Hirschfield, Corvey, Prüm, Weissenburg, S. Gall, Reichenau, but most especially Fulda, became in a short time distinguished seminaries. The promoters of these praiseworthy endeavours of the emperor were for the most part Alcuin and Clement. Other zealous men of the present age were Corbinian, bishop of Freysing, who preached to the Bava-

Trivium  
and Quad-  
rivium.

<sup>a</sup> A.D. 786.

rians; Pirman, the founder of Reichenau and other monasteries; Othman, founder of S. Gall; Willibald, bishop of Eichstadt; Sturmius, the first abbot of Fulda, with others, whom it would be tedious to enumerate.

As regards doctrine, whatever was taught or believed over and above the old formularies of the Christian faith, it is certain these were never abandoned or disowned. They are maintained by S. John Damascene, in his treatise *De orthodoxa Fide*: by Tarasius of Constantinople, in his letters to the Antiochians and Alexandrians: by Theodore of Jerusalem and other Easterns: and reference is made to them continually in the works of Bede, Alcuin, and Charlemagne in the West. Lastly they are recognised and confirmed in the two general councils of the age, the fifth Constantinopolitan, and the second Nicene: and in the many provincial or national synods of the East and West.

Touching what may be called the superstructure, the points which had been gradually rising into prominence were still more fully developed. Purgatory for instance gained ground considerably from the visions daily reported concerning it, of which Venerable Bede mentions not a few. It was the idea of a dire place in which were flames and a fiery flood crossed by a wooden bridge: some souls there were that passed over without stumbling, but the majority fell from the plank into the flood, from which after more or less immersion they escaped to the opposite bank, brighter and purer than they were before. Thus a new notion widely different from the Greek and primitive view of the intermediate state insensibly obtained: and hence masses, oblations, and suffrages for the dead increased in a tenfold proportion. Solitary and private masses originated in the same spirit, though Bona would refer them to a more primitive age<sup>b</sup>. Again, relics being regarded in the light of a complete panacea, their value was enhanced more and more. Hence in the discussion about images in the first action of the second Nicene council, Theodosius says, "In like manner also the relics of the saints I adore, honour, and embrace<sup>c</sup>," which profession was greatly applauded; and further, it is decreed

CENT.  
VIII.§ 3.  
DOCTRINE.

Innovationa.

Purgatory  
under a  
new aspect.Theodosius  
upon relics.<sup>b</sup> Liturg. i. 14. § 5. et 18. § 4.<sup>c</sup> Vid. Mansi Concil., tom. xii. p. 1014.

**C E N T. VIII.** in the seventh canon of the same council, that a bishop consecrating a church without relics, shall be deposed.

Translations of relics.

Hence a general search for relics began to be made throughout Christendom, and they were often said to have been discovered through Divine revelation: occasionally indeed they were obtained in a very questionable manner, literally stolen: more frequently purchased at a high price, and translated with immense pomp. For instance, relics of S. Augustine were translated from Sardinia to Genoa, and ultimately to Ticinum, by Liutprand, king of the Lombards, under Gregory II., A.D. 725; of S. Dionysius the Areopagite, as was supposed, from Paris to Rome, by Stephen III., A.D. 754; relics of S. Stephen, Marcellinus, Laurentius, and Gregory the Great, were elsewhere translated. Nor was it long before discovery was made of the relics of SS. Matthew, Mark, James, Simon, Jude, Mary Magdalen, and other apostolical or primitive saints. Even things which belonged to them came strangely to light and were equally prized. For instance, the napkin with which the head of our Lord was bound in the sepulchre: the sponge which held the vinegar at His crucifixion: His crown of thorns, and the like. Without disparaging a pious care for the departed, without questioning occasionally well-authenticated miraculous interpositions, it is impossible not to enter a hearty protest against the superstitions and frauds that now abounded.

Addresses to the saints.

Again, addresses to the saints began to assume stronger and more direct language than heretofore; prayers and hymns were composed to their honour, and pilgrimages made to their shrines and images. Charlemagne, in the work ascribed to him upon images, fully admits intercession of the departed saints, but will have God alone to be adored and invoked. The synods of Frankfort and elsewhere declare that images are not to be adored. Generally speaking, the Eastern Church dissented from the Western doctrine about relics, images, adoration of the departed saints, and purgatory. Again, Charlemagne laid great stress upon a study of the Scriptures themselves, and in his Capitularies insisted that the clergy should preach them, and would have nothing taught that was not to be found there. Hence he entrusted Alcuin with the care of a new edition of them, and is even

said to have translated the Old Testament himself into the German tongue. Further, he made great efforts to restore the old exomologesis and public penance.

CENT.  
VIII.

As regards discipline, celibacy was more and more stringently enforced in the West, though in the East not so: and the eighteenth synod of Toledo, by the way, would seem to have decided otherwise. Marriage began to be a bar even to the subdiaconate; that is to say, those who were married, and to be ordained, were obliged to consign their wives previously to a convent. Spiritual ties were moreover amplified and enforced amongst the laity: and affinity and consanguinity precluded matrimony to the seventh generation. These restrictions undoubtedly were a great stumbling block: and are chargeable with a good deal of profligacy too notorious to be denied. While marriage and holy orders were deemed wholly incompatible, fornication and worse crimes were expiable by a brief penance, and afterwards formed no bar to the highest ecclesiastical office. Some there were, like S. Boniface and Charlemagne, who laboured to restore discipline: but the luxury, depravity, slothfulness, and ignorance of these days, was like the overflow of a river. Others there were as Venerable Bede, Alcuin, and Paulinus, who breathed high primitive doctrine. What the popular vices were may be gathered from the canons of the different synods that stigmatize them. A more general outline of the times is furnished by Mezeræus in his Abridgement<sup>d</sup>.

As regards government, the bishops of Rome now claimed absolute power in all things spiritual over the whole Church; not a mere honourable primacy, which had ever been accorded them, but a practical supremacy. Moreover they had now *begun* to ground their title upon Divine right: upon the prerogatives, that is, which they claimed to have inherited from S. Peter. This theory we find continually inculcated in the decrees of the various Roman synods: and in the letters of Constantine, Gregory II. and III., Zachariah, Stephen III., Paul I., Stephen IV., Adrian I., and Leo III. In them is asserted the power of the Roman prelate to loose and bind,

§ 4.  
GOVERN-  
MENT.

Roman  
supremacy  
beginning  
to be based  
upon Di-  
vine right.

<sup>c</sup> Gratian, Dec. i. dist. xxxi. c. ult.

Cf. Baluz. not. ad Reginon., lib. i.

<sup>d</sup> Abregé Chronologique, A.D. 814. Inquia. c. 83.

Charlemagne. Eglise du viii. Siecle.

**C E N T. VIII.** to annul and confirm, to adjudicate causes of all kinds without appeal from his jurisdiction. The see over which they presided is styled the head of all Churches, or the head of the whole world: and the whole world is required to pay obedience to it, as to Christ, or to S. Peter. Even a claim to temporal authority began to be advanced in the present age. But to trace these developments somewhat more fully. Many new sees, it has been already observed, were founded by S. Boniface and others under the direction of the Roman prelate throughout Britain, France, and Germany. The bishops who were appointed to them took a regular oath of obedience to the pontiff, and metropolitans over and above received a pall from him. Some of them he constituted his vicars, or legates, as S. Boniface; the prelates of Rouen, Rheims, and Sens, were subject to him and none else. Zachariah invested Mentz with archiepiscopal rights. The title archbishop, it may be observed, had originally been restricted to the four great patriarchs: and even under Justinian, none but those who were patriarchs were styled so; now it was granted somewhat more freely. Cardinals in the strict sense were still unknown.

**Monasteries placed immediately under Rome.** Again, monasteries very frequently requested to be allowed to put themselves under immediate subjection to the apostolic see, and to be released from episcopal jurisdiction. Thus in Germany Fulda, and in France that of S. Dionysius, were exempted under Zachariah and Stephen III. respectively.

**Constantine I.** Constantine I., who succeeded Sisinnius, A.D. 708, is said to have been the first who prefixed to his epistles the formal apostolic salutation and benediction. He persecuted Felix, archbishop of Ravenna, for not adhering to the oath of obedience to the Roman see taken by him at his consecration; and Justinian interfering, Felix was banished into Pontus with the loss of his eyes. It is recorded that when Constantine visited Constantinople at the request of the emperor, Justinian fell at his feet and kissed them: an honour unknown to the emperors themselves before Caligula. Further, when Philippicus had destroyed or removed from the porch, in which it had been placed by Justinian II., a picture of the Fathers who composed the sixth general council, Constantine

not only got a similar one painted, which he placed in the porch of S. Peter's church, but refused to allow his name to be mentioned in the mass, or his effigy brought into church, nor would he admit any despatches from him. His boldness was only surpassed in the conduct of Gregory II. towards Leo the Isaurian. Leo, some years after his succession to the purple, had A.D. 726, promulgated an edict against images, on the score that they had occasioned idolatry. This edict encountered considerable opposition throughout Italy: and finally, Gregory anathematizing the emperor, A.D. 730, in a Roman synod, plans were made for a general revolt. The result was that Ravenna, Venice, and Italy generally, separated from the East: and a way was opened to the future temporal dominion of the pontiff. Gregory III. followed in the footsteps of his predecessor. "He," says Platina, "the first moment he had entered upon the pontificate, with the consent of the Roman clergy, deprived Leo the Constantinopolitan of the communion of the faithful, and his empire at the same time\*." "Italy, Rome, and the whole Western empire that was not under barbarian rule," says Onuphrius, "excepting Sicily, revolted from Leo the Iconoclast and heretic, at the instigation of the same pontiff." Leo made a vain attempt to regain his own, but his armament was partially destroyed by a tempest in the Adriatic, and the remainder encountered a severe defeat before Ravenna. All that he could effect was the withdrawal and transfer of the Sicilian, Calabrian, and Illyrian provinces from the Roman to the Constantinopolitan patriarchate.

Another bold deed of Gregory III. was the protection which he afforded Transamond, duke of Spoleto, who had rebelled against his liege lord Luitprand, king of the Lombards. The latter had already threatened Rome under Gregory II., and now the aid of Charles Martel was sought against him; Luitprand however maintained his ground, and Charles Martel dying the same year with Gregory III., A.D. 741, Zachariah, by timely concessions, propitiated the Lombard; insomuch that Rachis who succeeded Luitprand, A.D. 744, after a brief interval, made a pilgrimage to Rome, with his wife and daughter, and actually prostrated himself at the

\* De Vit. Pont. s. v. Greg. III.



C E N T. feet of the pontiff<sup>f</sup>. Zachariah moreover, with the help of S.  
 VIII.

Boniface his legate, enlisted a great many illustrious personages in the service of the Church, thereby enhancing his own lustre. A.D. 745, Unald, duke of Aquitaine, embraced the monastic life. Two years after his example was followed by Carloman, eldest brother of Pepin, who received his religious habit from Zachariah. A.D. 750, Rachis, the Lombard king already mentioned, with his wife and daughter, took the same step: and A.D. 751, though perhaps not quite so voluntarily, Childeric, the last of the Merovingians. Ina, king of Wessex, had turned monk among the Anglo-Saxons as early as A.D. 728, after, it is said, making his dominions tributary to the Roman see, whence the origin of the tax called Peter's pence. Richard, another Saxon king, visited Rome A.D. 750 for the same purpose, and about twenty-five years after, Offa, king of the Mercians, ratified in his own dominions the impost of his Western predecessor.

Adjudica-  
 tion of the  
 French  
 crown.

But the most important act of Zachariah for the aggrandizement of his see was his adjudication of the Frank crown; Pepin had long enjoyed the power but without the name, Zachariah decided that both might be lawfully united in the individual who possessed the former; Pepin was therefore crowned by S. Boniface A.D. 752, and Childeric was consigned to a monastery for the rest of his days, as was before observed. This decision of the pontiff however, it should be remembered, was only confirmatory of the choice of the people, and the succour which he expected from Pepin against the Lombards certainly was not the only argument upon which he rested his judgment.

Stephen  
 II.  
 Stephen  
 III.

But Zachariah did not live to witness the full consummation of his designs. He died the same year that he confirmed Pepin in his new title, and was succeeded first by Stephen II., who survived his elevation only for a day or two, and next by Stephen III. The new pontiff made it his first business to carry out what his predecessor had begun so auspiciously. A.D. 753 he made a journey into France, and in the abbey of S. Dionysius or S. Denis crowned Pepin a second time with his two sons Charles and Carloman: while, as head of the Roman republic, he invested them

<sup>f</sup> Sigon. De Reg. Ital., lib. iii. sub v.

with a new title, that of Roman patricians. Pepin on the other hand was equally profuse in his concessions. He had alighted from his horse to receive Stephen, and after prostrating himself with his wife and sons before him, had ushered him on foot into the palace. He likewise at his coronation swore to obey his admonitions and commands to the best of his ability. Nor were his deeds inadequate to his promises, A.D. 754. He marched his army over the Alps and forced Aistulphus, the Lombard king, to engage to relinquish the exarchate, the Pentapolis, and other cities which he had taken from the Greeks: and finally, the following year, when Aistulphus violated his faith and threatened Rome, Pepin once more interfered, and by a solemn act transferred the disputed territory to the apostolic see for ever. Thus the Roman pontiff became temporal sovereign of the country that lay along the shores of the Adriatic, from the Po southwards as far as Fermo, and inland as far back as the foot of the Apennines. Moreover being invested with the patriciate, he bore supreme civil authority in his own city. Greek envoys vainly endeavoured to induce Pepin to restore the exarchate to the emperor.

CENT.  
VIII.

Aistulphus deprived of the exarchate by Pepin.

Paul I. and Stephen IV. were not wanting to the interests of the holy see, the latter was opposed by a rival named Constantine, who by the help of Duke Toto had assumed the tiara during the illness of the former: Stephen however triumphed, and Constantine was miserably slain A.D. 768. Stephen was further conspicuous for the boldness with which he refused to sanction a marriage between Charlemagne and Bertha, daughter of Desiderius, the last Lombard king. He likewise withheld his consent to a match between the daughter of Pepin and either a son of Desiderius or the emperor Constantine. Both unions he averred would prejudice the treaty made with the apostolic see: and certainly things might have gone very differently had they taken place.

Paul I.  
and Stephen IV.

Adrian I. succeeded Stephen A.D. 772 and the next year pronounced a solemn excommunication against Desiderius who had seized his territory. This sentence had the effect of damping the courage of the Lombard: and not many months afterwards his kingdom was completely overthrown by Charlemagne and he carried away captive into France.

Adrian I.

**CENT. VIII.** The conqueror proceeded to Rome, and confirmed or rather enlarged the grant made by his father Pepin: at the same time assuming the titles of king of the Franks and Lombards, as well as of Roman patrician. It is said that Corsica, Sardinia, Sicily, with the duchy of Spoleto, were among the territories ceded to the Roman see by Charlemagne upon the above occasion, but it is a question which is still under dispute. A.D. 781 Adrian crowned the sons of Charlemagne, Pepin and Lewis respectively, kings of the Lombards and of Aquitaine. Leo III. succeeded Adrian A.D. 795, but the culminating event of his pontificate will be properly reserved to the next century.

Opposition  
to Rome  
by Felix  
and Leo,  
arch-  
bishops of  
Ravenna.

Freedom  
of the  
Spanish  
Church.

Patriarch  
of Con-  
stantinople  
styled uni-  
versal.  
"Pope"  
not yet re-  
stricted to  
the Ro-  
man pre-  
late.

Thus far therefore with regard to the aggrandizement of the pontificate; on the other hand it is not to be supposed that these advances were made entirely without a ruffle. We have already seen how Felix, archbishop of Ravenna, strove to regain his independence: and so holy a character was he, that he is even allowed by Baronius to have worked miracles. Leo, another archbishop, was scarcely less jealous of his privileges under Adrian I. The Spanish Church in the eighteenth synod of Toledo, the only Spanish synod of the present age, seems to have considered herself entirely free to regulate her own discipline, though the canons are lost. King Witiza at all events, in whose reign it was held, by a law expressly inhibited obedience to the Roman see, and sanctioned the marriage of the clergy. Adrian I. moreover, in his epistle to Tarasius, as well as the acts of the second Nicene council, style the Constantinopolitan prelate general or universal patriarch. Nor again was the term "pope" yet restricted to the bishop of Rome: but it was equally shared by the archbishops of Ravenna, Milan, Canterbury, and other important sees: and in the East by the patriarchs generally. Nor likewise when applied to the Roman prelate was it applied absolutely: but he was styled pope of the Roman city, or Roman pope, just as the others were styled respectively, Constantinopolitan, Jerusalem, or Alexandrine pope. About the next century to be sure it began to be restricted to the vicars of the apostolic see, and under Gregory VII. it was decreed to belong exclusively to the Roman pontiff. Archbishops were further

styled occasionally "your apostleships, your reverences, your holinesses;" S. Boniface even inscribed himself in his letters "servant of the servants of God," a title adopted by the Roman prelates from S. Gregory the Great; and not only in the present, but in the next century, does Hieronymus Rubens attribute to the archbishops of Ravenna the same style.

Again, the Roman prelate was not wholly exempted from the necessity of obeying the commands of the emperor. Thus Constantine, A.D. 709, being summoned to Constantinople by Justinian II., did not hesitate to comply with the imperial mandate. Leo the Isaurian ordered his successor Gregory to the same. Gregory II. himself in his epistle to the emperor admits that he has not the least power over the palace or the dignities appertaining to it. The letters of Stephen III. to Pepin, and of Adrian I. to Charlemagne, are couched in the most obsequious language: and when Leo III. was charged before the latter with grave misdemeanors, he did not scruple to take the formal oath of purgation in his presence, A.D. 800. It is also to be observed that the territory conceded by Pepin and his son Charlemagne to the pontiff was held by him as it were under a feudal tenure. His spiritual supremacy was clearly not understood to be the ground of his temporal power: on the contrary temporal supremacy was vested in the emperor of the West, even over his newly acquired dominions. Sigebert indeed, and there are other authorities who tell a similar<sup>b</sup> story, relates that upon Charlemagne returning from his campaign against Desiderius, he had confirmed to him in a Roman synod held under Adrian I., A.D. 774, the right of electing the Roman pontiff, and of investing bishops and archbishops elsewhere throughout the provinces. This latter privilege however is not to be confounded with the investitures of a later day. As for the first, it has been called a mere party fiction, but it certainly seems corroborated by the facts, that Gregory IV., as Platina says<sup>i</sup>, refused entering upon his office till he had been confirmed by Louis, son of the above emperor: that Louis II. confirmed Benedict III., Nicholas I., and Adrian II.: and still more that Adrian III. made the following decree: "That in the crea-

C E N T.  
VIII.

Roman  
bishops  
subject to  
the em-  
perors.

Alleged  
Roman  
synod un-  
der A-  
drian I.

<sup>b</sup> Vid. Grat. Decret. i. dist. lxiii. c. 22.

<sup>i</sup> In vit. Greg. IV.

CENT. VIII. tion of a pontiff it should not be necessary to wait for the imperial authority<sup>k</sup>." Finally, Leo VIII., though Baronius would impugn his legitimacy, is said to have accorded to Otho I. the same privileges that Adrian granted to the first emperor<sup>l</sup>.

It is moreover unquestionable that in their own dominions both Pepin and Charlemagne convened synods, confirmed ecclesiastical canons, and admitted appeals that were made to them. Again the capitularies of Charlemagne and his successors touched upon doctrine and discipline with as much freedom, and were regarded with as much obsequiousness, as the Theodosian code before them; so that even Gratian has not hesitated to insert copious extracts from them in his collection.

§ 5.  
IMAGE  
CONTRO-  
VERSY.

We now come to the celebrated controversy respecting images, in which the Roman see took what may be called the popular side, and the emperors the unpopular. For the first three centuries it is universally admitted that images had not obtained in the Christian Church. Even in the fourth and fifth centuries there is direct evidence that Spain, Cyprus, and Africa, had not received them; the sixth and seventh centuries, however, saw innumerable churches adorned with them, but they were only regarded in the light of a decoration or remembrance. So long as the pagan superstitions remained, it was not deemed expedient to use them even for so innocent a purpose. Pictures had gained admittance upon the same principle: though even their introduction had been opposed by no less a person than Epiphanius. S. Austin in the sixth century had made his entrance into Canterbury with the cross, and a picture of Christ carried before him: and in the eighty-second of the Trullan canons it is enjoined that our Lord should be represented as a Man and not as a Lamb in the scene that occurred between Him and S. John the Baptist.

It is to be observed further, that effigies of the living as well as the departed were used, and likenesses of the emperors as well as of the saints. A favourite subject was to be found in the Fathers who had attended the different general councils. The quarrel which occurred between Philippi-

<sup>k</sup> In vit. Adrian. III.

<sup>l</sup> Gratian, Dec. i. dist. lxiii. c. 23.

cus, the Monothelite emperor, and Constantine, bishop of Rome, A.D. 712 or 13, about a picture of the last kind, has been already mentioned: and this it was which would seem to have precipitated the present controversy: Constantine having decreed, in his opposition to the former, a condemnation against those who defrauded these sacred emblems of the reverence that had been ever paid them in the Church. Such a testimony naturally called attention to them: and when Leo the Isaurian had reigned ten years he thought it necessary to discountenance, by a peremptory edict, A.D. 726, the excessive veneration with which they were beginning to be regarded. It is possible that it may have been turned to a reproach to the Christians by the Saracens. Leo therefore not only required that they should not be adored for the future, but that they should be removed from the churches in which they stood.

CENT.  
VIII.  
Edict of  
Leo the  
Isaurian.

This edict excited a considerable storm, especially throughout Italy: and Gregory II., in a Roman synod, did not hesitate to encourage devotion towards religious images. A revolt ensued, which only drove Leo to still greater extremities. A.D. 730 he deposed Germanus, patriarch of Constantinople, who had opposed his views, and in a synod held there substituted Anastasius, the imperial secretary, in his place, and commanded images to be destroyed. Gregory III., in a synod of ninety-three bishops, anathematized the emperor and those who adhered to his side. Thus the controversy proceeded with equal acrimony. Constantine Copronymus succeeded his father, A.D. 741, and inherited his principles. A.D. 754 the seventh general council, as it is called by the Greeks, met under his auspices, condemned images, and anathematized Germanus, George of Cyprus, and the renowned S. John Damascene, who had espoused the opposite side. Leo IV. succeeded Constantine, A.D. 755, but after a short reign he was poisoned by his own wife Irene, who made herself conspicuous at a later period by the equally unnatural murder of her son Constantine. Like Phocas, however, she has been excused: and it would appear upon the same grounds, *piety towards Rome*. Her first step was to displace Paul, who belonged to the Iconoclastics, and substitute her secretary Tarasius in the Constantinopolitan see.

CENT. Tarasius was a layman at the time of his elevation. A cor-  
VIII. respondence immediately ensued between him and Adrian I.,

*λειτουργία.*

Caroline  
books.

A.D. 785, and the following year a council was summoned to the imperial city, which, however, owing to the interruptions it encountered through the violence of the soldiers, was transferred to the scene of the first general council, Nicæa, A.D. 787. Here it was decreed that images were to be honoured, kissed, and venerated: incense might be burned to them, and prostration observed before them; only worship was not to be paid to them: it was a service that belonged exclusively to the supreme God. Further, the council would not allow images of the Holy Trinity to be made or worshipped, and even carved or graven images were not approved. The decision of the second Nicene council was immediately ratified by Adrian I. in the West: but on the other hand it was vehemently assailed and impugned in a work expressly written against it, and published by Charlemagne, with the sanction of his own name. Whether the Caroline books were produced by a single hand, or not, has been made a question, but they have been, not without reason, attributed to Alcuin; they were composed at all events a short time before the synod of Frankfort, where they were read and adopted by the emperor, as the preface attests. Adrian, on the contrary, wrote a reply to them. However, the emperor did not stop here; and in the synod of Frankfort already mentioned, at which legates of the Roman prelate were present, and in which Charlemagne presided, A.D. 794, so that it has been often, and not unfitly, called a general council, the Nicene decrees were formally condemned: and while images were allowed in, as well as out of, the churches as memorials or ornaments, it was expressly stipulated that they were not to be adored; in which decision, says Döllinger<sup>m</sup>, the synod "followed the principles of the pope, S. Gregory the Great." Moreover the Nicene decrees were repudiated by a large section of the East. When we turn, therefore, to the heresies of the age, it would be highly unfair to reckon under them, as some have done, the Iconoclasts, or image destroyers: for although they went a step further than the Frankfort synod, it is

<sup>m</sup> Eccl. Hist., Per. iii. c. 2. § 3. p. 56. Eng. Tr.

probable that the contrary extreme had assumed a far more objectionable form in the East than in the West. Superstition again contaminated the ranks of those who defended images, but it would be equally unfair to style them in the mass image-worshippers. Again Leo, and after him Constantine, may have persecuted those who differed from them unjustifiably: but the patronage of the empress Irene would have disparaged a far better cause than that of the second Nicene council. A further controversy would seem to have grown out of the dispute about images. It was asserted by the Fathers who composed the seventh general council, as it is called, that the holy Eucharist was the only true image of our Lord: and representing as it did the Body of the God-Man, that it alone was worthy to be adored and venerated. The Nicene fathers, on the other hand, objected to call the holy Eucharist by the name of a type or figure. Neither Holy Scripture nor the early Church ever so called it, said they; in the words of S. John Damascene it was alleged that: "the bread and wine are not a type or figure: but by the descent of the Holy Ghost they are severally changed in a wonderful manner into the Body and Blood of Christ: and are not Two, but One and the Same Thing." But the subject was more warmly debated in the next century. So likewise with regard to the procession of the Holy Ghost. It was one of the questions brought before the synod of Gentilly, near Paris, held under Pepin, A.D. 767, by the ambassadors of the emperor Constantine. In the synod of Friuli under Paulinus, A.D. 791, it was expressly asserted that the Holy Spirit proceeded from the Son as well as the Father. The words, however, "and the Son" are omitted in the version of the Constantinopolitan Creed put forward by the second Nicene council, though some copies supply them.

CENT.  
VIII.Controversy  
about the  
Eucharist.Of the procession  
of the Holy  
Ghost.

To proceed to the more decided heresies. Adalbert a Frank, and Clement a Scot, were charged by S. Boniface with various errors before Zachariah, and both were condemned in a Roman synod, A.D. 748. As for the old heresies, they had greatly revived in the East in consequence of the favour with which their adherents were treated by the Mahometans. For instance, Benjamin, a Monophysite, was,

§ 6.  
HERESIES.Those of  
the East.



**CENT.** A.D. 644, placed by Amru, conqueror of Egypt, over the  
V III. Alexandrine see, to the disparagement of the Melchites, or orthodox, who remained almost a whole century without a patriarch. "The Jacobites," (who are still called Copts,) says Eutychius, "then occupied every church, not only of Alexandria, but throughout Egypt." From thence they spread themselves into Nubia and Abyssinia.

Similarly the Monothelites increased under the auspices of the emperor Philippicus and of John, who by his means displaced Cyrus in the Constantinopolitan see. Between them the rejection of the sixth general council was procured in a synod, and the Monothelite errors were re-asserted, A.D. 712. Philippicus however did not long retain his crown: on the other hand the heresy sustained a mortal blow from the pen of S. John Damascene; not to mention the seventh general council, A.D. 754, in which the sixth was confirmed.

The Adop-  
tionists.

The only new heresy, if it can be called so, that engaged attention in the present age, was that of the Adoptionists. It would seem to have been however only Nestorianism in a new guise. The authors of it were two Spanish bishops, Felix and Elipandus of Toledo, the metropolitan see. Their opponents were Beatus, Ætherius, and others, but more particularly Paul, archbishop of Aquileia, and Alcuin or Albinus, the English monk. The substance of what they taught was that Christ, according to His Divine Nature, was really and truly the Son of God and very God with the Father and Holy Spirit. On the other hand, according to His Human Nature, He was not the Son of God in the same sense, but by adoption. They were answered by the same arguments that had formerly silenced the Nestorians, into whose errors it was shewn these opinions eventually led, by dividing the Person of our Blessed Lord. Sonship, it was alleged, did not consist in the nature, but the person. Nevertheless, these speculations of Felix and Elipandus were disseminated rapidly through Spain and France: and many synods were held for the purpose of repressing them. Felix was condemned and required to abjure his errors at the synod of Narbonne, A.D. 791: at the synod of Friuli under Paulinus the same year: at the synod of Ratisbon, A.D. 792: and at

Felix and  
Elipan-  
dus.

Rome whither he had been sent by Charlemagne from Ratisbon, by Adrian I. Felix however lapsed as often as he recanted: and Elipandus on the contrary retorted a charge of heresy upon the abbot Beatus. The subject therefore was brought before the synod of Frankfort, A.D. 794, by the emperor: in which, after a dispassionate consideration, they were once more condemned. Afterwards, A.D. 799, a conference took place at the synod of Aix-la-Chapelle between Felix and Alcuin, which lasted seven days: when the former a second time made a full recantation. He was not however allowed to return to his diocese, but ended his days at Lyons, whither he had been banished by the emperor. Elipandus escaped the fate of his companion as he was living under Saracen rule.

CENT.  
VIII.

The two general or œcumenical councils held in the present age did not so much concern heresies as the foregoing controversies: and what is greatly to be deplored one opposed the other. The first or seventh general, and fourth Constantinopolitan, met under Constantine Copronymus, A.D. 754. Leo the Isaurian had made great efforts to have the summons issued in his reign, but the opposition of Gregory II. prevented him. It was intended to settle the dispute about images which had been enhanced by the usurper Artabasduş who favoured them. Previously to the council provincial synods had been held by order of Constantine for the discussion of the question: the bishops assembled February 10th, and sat to the 7th of August following; the place in which they deliberated was the palace called Hieræon, on the Asiatic shore, over against the city, where was a church dedicated to the Blessed Virgin. The last session was held in the imperial city at the church of S. Mary ad Blachernas. The bishops present were three hundred and thirty-eight, a larger number than had ever attended a general council before, Chalcedon excepted: and a very large number absolutely when it is considered how much of the East was under the Saracens, and that the Italians and Lombards had detached themselves from the Eastern empire. This circumstance should explain likewise the absence of the oriental patriarchs, Anastasius excepted, who died before the council commenced: and Constantine

§ 7.  
COUNCILS.

Seventh  
general  
council.

Number  
of the bi-  
shops.

**C E N T. VIII.** his successor was only appointed in time to be confirmed by it before it separated. The absence of the pontiff and his legates is still more explicable upon the same grounds. The presidents of the council therefore were the prelates of Ephesus and Perga: the one dignified with the title of exarch of Asia, the other metropolitan of Pamphilia. As for the decrees, they have been divided into six tomes, of which we shall merely give the substance. In the first place all idolatry whatsoever is prescribed as a work of the devil, through whose artifice it is now speciously sought to be introduced into the Christian Church. Pictures and images were unworthy representations of our Lord, especially contrasted with the memorials of His most precious Body and Blood. Passages were cited from Scripture and from the Fathers against image-worship; and to avoid temptation it was decreed that images should be removed from the churches; finally it was declared unlawful for a person, layman or ecclesiastic, to make, possess, erect, or venerate images either in a church or in a private house. For the rest the council confirmed the faith of the six councils that had preceded it: anathematized heretics and image-worshippers: and even went so far as to condemn Germanus the late patriarch, George, and S. John Damascene, who favoured the latter. Tumults followed the execution of these decrees throughout the East: Phœnicia and Cyprus indeed never admitted them: and the monks almost to a man resisted them. Andrew the Calybite, Stephen the younger, and Peter the Stylite paid dearly for their opposition: and many more with them. On the other hand the name of Constantine was loaded with every possible reproach and obloquy.

Decrees  
divided  
into six  
tomes.

Tumults  
ensue.

Second  
Nicene  
council.

Number  
of the bi-  
shops.

The other, or second Nicene council, was the result of a communication between Tarasius and Adrian I., the former of whom stipulated, before he accepted his see, for a settlement of the disputed points in a general council: while the latter insisted that the acts of the council of A.D. 754 should be rescinded. The empress Irene convened it: Tarasius presided in it, though the most honourable place was assigned to the legates of the pontiff: and as many as three hundred and fifty bishops are said to have attended it. The other

three patriarchs of the East appear to have been unrepresented there, though two Jerusalem monks, John and Thomas, affected to personify them: and there were no more bishops from the West besides the Roman legates. The council had been summoned originally to meet at the metropolis, A.D. 786, in the church of the holy Apostles: but the army siding with the Iconoclasts, a tumult ensued, and proceedings were for a time suspended. A.D. 787 it was removed to Nicæa, and the sittings, which lasted from September 24 only to October 23, were held in the church of S. Sophia.

The decrees of the council were based for the most part either upon apocryphal authorities, as Pagi says<sup>n</sup>, or upon passages of the Scripture and of the Fathers unduly strained or mis-interpreted. Upon these grounds the acts of the seventh general council were repudiated: and honour, veneration, oblations of incense, with genuflexions, were asserted to be due to the images of our Lord and His mother, of angels and saints. Worship was excepted for a reason already mentioned. Synodical epistles containing these resolutions were addressed to the emperors and bishops throughout the world: on the other hand, Iconoclasts were condemned and anathematized. Thus images were restored every where throughout the East, and many of those who had composed the seventh general council or afterwards accepted it, recanted. Adrian in the West put his seal to the Nicene decrees.

The Britons, Germans, and French, on the other hand, adopted a middle course, as is evidenced by the synod of Frankfort, which, while it retorted upon the Nicene fathers the same conduct that they had observed towards the Constantinopolitan decrees, had scarcely less claim to be considered a general or œcumenical council. Indeed it may be said that the title of the other, as it has been impugned from the first, so it has never been wholly conceded. Hincmar of Rheims, on the contrary, calls the synod of Frankfort a general or universal one. It was held under Charlemagne, A.D. 794, about Easter, partly to investigate the errors of the Adoptionists, and partly to consider the Nicene resolutions about images; three hundred bishops from Italy,

CENT.  
VIII.

Decrees  
based up-  
on apocry-  
phal writ-  
ings and  
the like.

Λατρεία.

Synod of  
Frankfort.

Number  
of the bi-  
shops.

<sup>n</sup> Ap. Cave, Hist. Lit. Sæc. viii. a. v. Nicæn. ii. Concil. ad f.

C E N T. France, Germany, Spain, and Britain, attended it : and among  
 VIII those present were Alcuin, Paulinus of Aquileia, and the legates of the pontiff. A treatise of Paulinus entitled *Sacro-syllabus* was produced against Felix and Elipandus, while the Caroline books were contrasted with the Nicene decrees. Both alike shared the same fate : the Adoptionists were condemned in the first of the fifty-six canons : and in the second the council of Nicæa, or Constantinople, for so they styled it, as to what it had decreed respecting images. Moreover they confirmed the Caroline books, in which the Nicene council is designated a pseudo-synod. It would be endless to enumerate the ways in which these decisions of the synod of Frankfort have been attempted to be evaded.

Other synods are too numerous, even though they were sufficiently important, to be gone through. There were Roman synods A.D. 731, A.D. 732, and A.D. 769, about images : A.D. 745 about Adalbert and Clement : and A.D. 799 about Felix. Others were held about discipline, episcopal elections, and the like.

That of Friuli under Paulinus, A.D. 791, condemned Felix and restored discipline. In Britain, that of Cloveshoo, A.D. 747, published thirty canons upon the latter subject. As for the Franks, the first synod that occurred, it is said, for sixty years, was that of Estines, A.D. 744, in which Adalbert and Clement were condemned, and four canons passed about discipline. That of Soissons succeeded it, A.D. 745, and A.D. 767 that of Gentilly was held about images and the procession of the Holy Ghost. Of Bavarian synods there were many respecting discipline under S. Boniface. A.D. 792 Felix abjured his errors at the synod of Ratisbon, and a second time at the synod of Aix-la-Chapelle, A.D. 799. Spain, oppressed by the Saracens, only witnessed one synod, the eighteenth of Toledo, before mentioned, in the present age. Nor was the East less barren, with the exception of what was done in or about the metropolis.

§ 8.  
 WRITERS.

To the calamitous state of the times also must be attributed the great dearth of writers in the East and West. Nor was the character of the works actually composed, with a few exceptions, of so high a stamp as it had been.

In the East, Germanus, first bishop of Cyzicum, and after-

wards, A.D. 715, patriarch of Constantinople, left three letters, still extant, in the fourth action of the second Nicene council, a tract on the six general councils, and other works. He was removed from his see by Leo, A.D. 730, for his adherence to the image-makers, and exiled, but not slain, as it has been often said.

[illegible]

Among Western writers Venerable Bede was mentioned in the preceding century. Scarce his inferior was his disciple Flaccus Albinus, or Alcuin, often confounded with Alcuin. another Albinus who flourished about the same time. Alcuin was born according to some near London, though others

° Hist. Lit., cent. viii. s. v.

**CENT. VIII.** say York: he was at all events educated in the episcopal school at the latter place: where he was ordained deacon. A.D. 793 he went over to France, at the invitation of Charlemagne, where he seems to have remained stationary; he withdrew the year after his patron had been crowned emperor of the West to the monastery of S. Martin of Tours, and there died A.D. 804. The controversies in which he was engaged have been already mentioned. He left several treatises against Felix, with many more upon various subjects, secular and religious, prose and verse.

**Paulinus.** Paulinus, patriarch of Aquileia, was the author of the *Sacrosyllabus*, a treatise upon the holy Trinity, before noticed; he died A.D. 804. Paul, the son of Warnefrid, whence his surname, and deacon of the church of Aquileia was originally secretary to the Lombard king Desiderius. Paul upon his overthrow was sent prisoner to France, and eventually retired to the monastery of Cassino, where he ended his days. He wrote the history of the Lombards, a valuable work, in six books: but his *Historia Miscella* in twenty-four books is of a lower standard. Other writers, as John of Beverley, Fredgarus, Ambrose Authpert, and the like, may be dismissed with a bare mention.

**§ 10. HEATHENISM.** As regards heathenism it will scarce be necessary to go deeply into the old religion of those German tribes, Saxons, Thuringians, and Bavarians, whose conversion has been already mentioned. Jupiter, or the god of thunder, was worshipped by them under the kindred name of Taran, Thoran, Doran, Tonar or Donar. Mercury was called Wodan, Wotan, Godan or Gotan, whence the words got, or god, and good. Mars had votaries, as Thies, Ties, Tiis or Diis; and Venus was known as Frea, or Fria. To the last deity Magdeburg is said to have been sacred: at all events there was a celebrated temple there to her honour. The profound veneration in which the priests were held among these nations paved the way for the reception of the ecclesiastical hierarchy that was now inculcated in the same breath with the gospel.

**§ 11. JEWISH AFFAIRS.** Little need be said about the Jews in the present age, whose schools near Babylon still flourished, and whose doctors were styled Geonim. They were continually conspiring with the Saracens against Christians: whence the

edict of Leo the Isaurian respecting them in the sixth year of his reign. CENT.  
VIII.

As for the Mahometans they advanced with rapid strides. They had occupied Africa and they now passed over into Spain, A.D. 710, which was betrayed to them by the count Julian. Thus the kingdom of the Goths, which had existed there full three hundred years, was overthrown, and within the short space of fourteen months Tarik had established Saracen ascendancy throughout Spain, from the columns of Hercules to the Pyrenees. On the other hand a formidable domestic schism to a great extent counterbalanced these advantages in the factions of the Ommiades and the Abbassides. It ended in the fall of the former, A.D. 750, and upon the death of Mervan, the last caliph of the house of Ommyyah, divisions ensued between the Syrians, Arabians, Persians, Egyptians, and Spaniards, which eventually produced five different caliphs; Bagdad, Cairo, Fey, Cairvan, and Cordova, were their respective residences: of these, Bagdad and Cairo soon eclipsed the rest, and most rivalled each other, like the families of the Abbassides and Fatimites, the latter of whom were overthrown by Saladin in the twelfth century. At Bagdad the name of caliph continued to be used, while his prime minister was styled vizir; in Egypt they began to be called sultans or vicars. Mahometanism had not as yet been adopted by the Turks, who occupied the fastnesses east of the Caspian sea, and were destined to number many victories over the Persians and Saracens before they were converted by them.

§ 12.  
MAHOMET-  
ANISM.

Factions  
of the  
Ommiades  
and Ab-  
bassides.

As for the innumerable visions and miracles of the present age, it is observable that a large class of them depend upon evidence apparently self-contradictory, while others are recorded by writers who unquestionably wrote under a false name. Again, they for the most part concerned doctrines that were daily growing more and more popular, but certainly had not obtained from the first, and were rather clear innovations upon primitive faith and practice, that is to say purgatory, the cultus of saints, relics, and images. They were also sometimes designed to induce people to found monasteries. Lastly, many of them were what we are accustomed to call mere instances of a special providence. Nevertheless

§ 13.  
MISCEL-  
LANEOUS  
EVENTS.



**C E N T.** the moral and religious effect which they had upon the mass,  
**VIII.** inert and unlettered as it was, cannot be denied. The number of kings who resigned their crowns for a cloister has been already noticed : as well as the number of abbeys and monasteries that began to be built. Besides Fulda, the monasteries of S. Denis and of Casino were exempted from episcopal jurisdiction by the pontiffs Zachariah and Stephen III. : Glastonbury had enormous privileges assigned to it under Ina : and S. Albans was founded by King Offa. What discipline was enforced within these calm retreats may be learned from the rules of S. Benedict and S. Columbanus and from the canons of the different provincial synods. It would certainly seem to have been of a very high order ; on the other hand the fanatic zeal of the eastern monks in the contests about images induced the emperor Constantine to issue some harsh edicts against monasteries. Of the principal civil events incidental mention has been already made. These were the elevation of the Carlovingian family to the depression of the Merovingian : the transfer of the exarchate of Ravenna to the Roman see by Pepin and afterwards by his son Charlemagne. The overthrow of the Lombard kingdom under Desiderius, the last monarch : the surrender and conversion of the Saxons ; and finally the invasion of Great Britain by the Danes, which was carried on to a far greater extent in the next century.

## CHAPTER IX.

THE first year of the ninth century was the first of the empire of the West under Charlemagne, and the ninth indication : thirty-three years from the death of Pepin, and twenty-eight years from the overthrow of the Lombards. Irene had been five years sole governor of the East from the death of her son : and it was the sixth year of the pontificate of Leo III.

§ 1.  
 STATE  
 OF THE  
 CHURCH.

The state of Christendom was of a mixed character. In the West learning and literature made considerable progress under Charlemagne : schools were erected, and universities founded, while discipline to some extent was restored amongst

the clergy. Moreover Christianity was introduced by him CENT. IX. among the Frieslanders, Saxons, and Huns, and even Sclavonians. His arms were respected by the Saracens, whose caliph Haroun al Rashid sent presents and a splendid embassy to court his friendship; on the other hand the Danes or Norsemen had commenced their piratical expeditions: and they assailed Christianity wherever they went. The East still groaned under the weight of the Saracens; as for controversies, that about images was perpetuated under Leo the Armenian, Theophilus Augustus, and Michael III., the two former of whom condemned, while the last restored them. The synod of Paris, A.D. 824<sup>1</sup>, was held about the same subject. Again in the West, Paschasius Radbertus originated a grave discussion about the holy Eucharist: and in the East, Photius very materially widened the breach already commenced between oriental and occidental communions.

To treat of the conversions from heathenism a little more § 2. SPREAD OF THE CHURCH. Danes evangelized. fully. That of the Saxons under Charlemagne has been already described. The Danes who bordered upon them were evangelized by Ansgarius, a monk of Corvey on the Weser, A.D. 856. Louis the Pious rewarded his good intentions and assisted his efforts by making him archbishop of Hamburg, A.D. 831. Ebbo, archbishop of Rheims, had co-operated with him in the earlier part of his labours. Ansgarius encountered vehement opposition at the hands of Eric, king of Jutland, in the first instance, but A.D. 850 he had so disarmed his persecutors that he was allowed to erect a church at Schleswig. Under Eric II. he experienced more favour, and built a second church. He died A.D. 865.

Methodius and Cyril, two Greek monks, preached the Methodius and Cyril preach to the Mæssians and others. gospel among the Mæssians, Bulgarians, Bohemians, and Moravians. They translated the liturgy into the ancient Sclavonic tongue: and permission was gained from John VIII. that it might be so used, A.D. 880. The dependence of the Bulgarian churches upon the Constantinopolitan see was afterwards a question that was warmly canvassed. It is said that under Basil the Macedonian, A.D. 867, the Russians were likewise converted: but it is probable that they did not receive the faith much before the reign of Basil II.,

CENT. in the following age, when Vladimir was baptized, A.D. 988,  
 IX. as a preliminary to his marriage with Anna, sister to the  
 emperor.

The good deeds of Charlemagne to the Church have been already mentioned; the apparent reason for his non-canonization, and it certainly ought to have weighed in the matter, was his incontinence, though his eight concubines have sometimes been styled wives.

By the Gallican Church indeed he was honoured as a saint. His son Louis the Pious imitated him to so great a degree, as far as the interests of the Church were concerned, that Platina says of him, "Would that you had lived in our days, O Louis! The Church is now in need of your most holy ordinances, and of your censure! such is the luxury and lasciviousness into which ecclesiastics have fallen!" And yet the same excellent monarch was allowed to be dethroned by his three sons in a most unnatural rebellion, in which Ebbo, archbishop of Rheims, and Agobard, bishop of Lyons, bore suspicious parts, with the connivance, though perhaps not the sanction, of Gregory IV. The synod of Compeigne it was, A.D. 883, that most unwarrantably pronounced his deposition. These calamities however, did not hinder Charles the Bald from treading in the steps of his father. What was done by these princes for the good of the Church will appear from their capitularies, which Baluzius has digested into two folio volumes. There the study of the inspired word is highly commended and enjoined: doubtful legends or traditions are proscribed: excessive veneration of images, saints, and relics, discouraged: divine service in a foreign tongue reprehended. On the other hand the holy Eucharist is ordered to be celebrated every Sunday: vices of all kinds in the monks and clergy are stigmatized: usury, simony, and luxury forbidden: suitable behaviour at all times and seasons, and under all circumstances, inculcated, with many more sage provisions. These and the like regulations were the care of our own Alfred the Great also: and his is a case certainly less explicable than that of Charlemagne, why so deserving a prince was never inserted in the catalogue of the Saints. It has been surmised as a reason by some, that both acted a little too independently of the see of

Capitularies of  
 Louis the Pious and  
 Charles the Bald.

S. Peter; and certain it is that they did not always ask CENT.  
IX.  
counsel there with regard to what was most expedient for the Churches within their rule, but issued what laws and regulations appeared to them most salutary. What is still more remarkable, the pontiffs themselves submitted to be bound to observe them<sup>p</sup>.

It has been already observed that it is disputed how far the university of Paris is to be accounted a work of Charlemagne: at all events under Louis the Pious it is certain that there was a good seminary there. Besides other schools before mentioned, the cathedrals of Mentz, Cologne, Treves, and Saltzburg, had collegiate foundations attached to them: and most of the large monasteries educated freely. Tradition assigns the foundation of Oxford by King Alfred to the present age: that is, soon after the arrival of Grimbold in England at the invitation of the same monarch, A.D. 885. Unless Cambridge was founded by Sigebert in the seventh century, it had not yet risen into existence. Winchester, Wells, and other sees, were erected under Alfred about the same time.

As regards doctrine the same observations apply that were made upon the subject in the preceding age. § 3.  
DOCTRINE. Essentials were retained under a huge superstructure that received accessions day by day. Among the numerous relics said to have been discovered and subsequently translated were those of SS. Cyprian, Pantaleon, Sebastian, Marcellinus, and Peter: more particularly of SS. Mark, James the Great, and Bartholomew.

It is needless to dwell upon antecedent improbabilities or historical inconsistencies against the truth of these legends; as it seems to be confessed on all hands that every discovery of the kind *now* necessarily presupposed a miracle. This century saw many new festivals added to the calendar. That of the Assumption, for instance, was confirmed in a synod of Mentz, A.D. 813, and by Nicholas I. and Leo IV. Under Gregory IV. that of All Saints was instituted: and in the thirty-sixth canon of the above synod of Mentz reference is made to the dedication of S. Michael, or feast of the angel Michael. Further relics of a particular saint being found,

<sup>p</sup> Grat., Dec. i. dist. x. c. 9.

**CENT. IX.** or translated, generally gave rise to a new festival in his honour. Meanwhile manners and discipline had sunk to a very low ebb, and so great was the ignorance of the times, that "he who merely knew grammar," says Baronius, "was accounted learned<sup>1</sup>." Not but that there were some bright exceptions to the general rule, both as regards moral excellence, and as regards knowledge.

**§ 4.  
GOVERN-  
MENT.**

Rome on  
the in-  
crease  
under  
Leo III.

Leo con-  
ferred no-  
thing upon  
Charle-  
magne that  
did not  
belong to  
him before.

However, the more debased the mass was, the more attention was directed to those quarters in which vitality was most apparent, and of these the Roman see, being first beyond comparison, naturally attracted admirers, and increased her ascendancy. When Charlemagne, therefore, aspired to the empireship of the West, policy represented the already sovereign pontiff his best ally: on the other hand, it was obvious that the aid of so powerful and so well-disposed a monarch was invaluable to the interests of the see of S. Peter at the present juncture. Hence Leo III. and Charlemagne embraced each other with open arms, and while they made mutual concessions, each gained something at the expense of the other, as is usually the case. On the day of the Nativity of our Blessed Lord, A.D. 800, the latter was anointed by the former, and crowned emperor of the West with the consent of the whole Roman people. A new title indeed, though it conferred nothing that was not his before by right of conquest or inheritance. He was even crowned in a dress of a patrician, a dignity which we have seen had been assumed by him in the last century, and while in his coronation-oath he pledged himself to maintain the rights and privileges of the Church, he was adored by the prostrate pontiff<sup>2</sup>. In the same spirit he conceded temporal power to the Roman see, still it was of a subordinate nature: supreme dominion he retained over Rome herself, and handed down to his successors, till it was relinquished by Charles the Bald. Finally, Charlemagne, before his death, associated his son Louis in the empire with only the consent of the principal Franks. "The royal youth," says Gibbon<sup>3</sup>, "was commanded to take the crown from the altar with his own hands, and to place it on his head as a

<sup>1</sup> A.D. 802. n. 12.

<sup>2</sup> Struvii, Per. iv. German. Carol. sect. i. § 33; Gibbon, Decline and

Fall, c. xlix. p. 136. 4to. ed.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 146.

gift which he held from God, his father, and the nation." CENT.  
IX.  
It is a gross exaggeration, therefore, by which Baronius and others attempt to construe the former ceremony into a transfer of the western part of the empire from Greeks to Franks by the sole authority of the pontiff.

Stephen IV. succeeded Leo A.D. 816, but only survived Stephen  
IV. his elevation seven months: he was consecrated without reference to his confirmation by the emperor, but afterwards caused his subjects to swear allegiance to him, and even made a decree that no future pontiff should be consecrated as he had been, without imperial cognizance. He likewise made a journey into France to see Louis, when, however, he allowed the emperor to prostrate himself thrice before him.

"Paschal I.," says Döllinger<sup>1</sup>, "was consecrated immedi- Paschal I. ately after his election, and, contrary to the synodal decree of his predecessor, before the arrival and co-operation of the imperial ambassadors." He, however, wrote an humble excuse, pleading that the act had been forced upon him. As for the diploma, which he is said to have received from Louis, confirming the gifts of Charlemagne to the Roman see, it is now generally admitted to be a forgery. Paschal afterwards, like Leo III., took the oath of purgation before the ambassadors of Louis to clear himself from participation in a revolt.

Eugenius II. caused a schism by his election, A.D. 824, Eugenius  
II. and at his instance Lothaire, son of the emperor, was sent to Rome to compose matters. "Wherefore Lotharius went thither," says Aventinus, "composed the state of the republic, which the immoderate ambition, insatiable avarice, and wicked cunning of the former pontiffs, had thrown into confusion, and restored to their rightful owners and ancient possessors those things which had been fraudulently usurped by the hierarchy". Henceforth not only were the people obliged to swear fidelity to the emperor, but every successive pontiff was bound, before his consecration, to take a similar oath, in the presence of the imperial ambassadors, and of the people. Eugenius is said to have instituted the trial by cold water. Valentinus, who succeeded him only for about a single Valenti-  
nus.

<sup>1</sup> E. H., Period iii. c. 3. § 2.

<sup>2</sup> Annal. Boior., lib. iv. c. x. § 10.

CENT. IX. month, A.D. 827, first allowed his feet to be kissed by all who came to him, and by the Roman senate\*.

Gregory IV. Gregory IV., not to mention the more strictly spiritual traits in his character, waited for the consent of the emperor before he would enter upon his office. The part however which he certainly more or less appears to have taken against Louis in the unnatural war between father and sons: his tacit consent to the deposition and humiliation of the aged monarch: and non-expression of censure against Agobard and Ebbo—these are facts which can be far better attested than explained away consistently with the character of a ruler of the Church.

Sergius II. Sergius II. entered upon his pontificate A.D. 844, without acquainting Lothaire, who thereupon sent his son Louis with an army to confirm his election. Sergius admitted Louis to kiss his feet; but only opened the gates of the city to him when he said that he meant peace and not war.

Leo IV. Leo IV. was another instance of a consecration without the imperial mandate, though he too subsequently made his apology. Upon his elevation he allowed his feet to be kissed, as Eugenius had done before him. In his time Ethelwulf, king of Wessex, is said to have taken a journey to Rome, and made his kingdom tributary to the Roman see. A poll-tax in silver was to be levied upon every house. Leo distinguished himself principally by the splendid edifices erected under his auspices: by the vessels of silver and gold, vestments, crosses, images, and the like, dedicated by him to the service of God: by litanies, processions, and translations of the bodies of the saints within the city. The octave of the feast of the Assumption was directed to be kept by him: and he is said moreover to have worked miracles.

Papess Joanna. ? Between Leo IV. and Benedict III. the notorious pope Joan, or rather papess Joanna, is placed by Marianus Scotus, a writer of the eleventh century, and the host more that follow him from the twelfth century to the fifteenth century. The passage of Anastasius that mentions the circumstance is allowed to be spurious: and contemporary writers, especially Photius and the Greeks, who would have been sure to have noticed it, are silent. Hincmar and other authorities account

\* Anastas. in Vit. Pontif. s. v.

Benedict III. to have immediately succeeded Leo. On the other hand it is a fact that the story was generally believed, it may be said, three full centuries, Æneas Silvius, afterwards Pius II., who flourished about the middle of the fifteenth century, being the first who raised a doubt about it. And again, those who have since denied it have never agreed how it is to be explained. However, at the present day, it is fair to add, the story has been abandoned amongst enlightened critics.

Nicholas I. succeeded Benedict A.D. 858, and did much for the aggrandizement of his see. He allowed Louis II. to alight from horseback and walk by his stirrup a considerable way. He threatened the emperor Michael and the patriarch Photius with excommunication. He claimed Sicily and Calabria as the heritage of S. Peter. He arrogated the decision of the cause of the Constantinopolitan patriarch: he deposed John, archbishop of Ravenna, and forced him into acquiescence: he threatened Hincmar with excommunication for his proceedings against Rothad: and King Lothaire for his refusal to be re-united to his wife Thietberga. He restored Rothad, who had been deposed by his metropolitan Hincmar, while he deposed by his own authority the archbishops of Treves and Cologne. He rescinded many provincial synods, as Mentz and Soissons. According to him the apostolic see could judge all, and be judged by none. It had a plenary power over archbishops as well as bishops. Finally, whatever was decreed by it instantly passed into law.

However, some of the answers of Nicholas himself to those who consulted him have not since been received with the veneration which his deeds pre-supposed.

Adrian II. succeeded Nicholas A.D. 867; his election was made without the least reference to the imperial ambassadors, who happened to be actually in the city. They complained however, and the case was explained to them in a satisfactory light. Adrian is said to have twice declined the pontificate, and his biographer relates other examples of his humility. Nevertheless, in his public character he shewed himself, to say the least, as spirited as his predecessors. A quarrel having arisen between Hincmar, archbishop of Rheims, and his nephew and namesake, bishop of Laon, and the latter having



**CENT.** been deposed in the synod of Douay, A.D. 871, **Adrian IX.** ordered the accusers and accused to repair to Rome and there be judged. Charles the Bald, not consenting to these proceedings, was severely reprimanded by the pontiff. A few years before, Adrian had ventured into still more direct collision with the same prince. Louis, son of Lothaire, was absent on a campaign against the Saracens, when his father died, and he ought to have succeeded to his crown. Adrian supported his claims ardently, but Charles was crowned at Mentz by Hincmar A.D. 869. "While thus the pontiff fought boldly in the cause of justice," says Döllinger, "he tarnished his fame by receiving under his protection . . . Carloman, the unworthy son of the king, who, as an apostate monk, had been threatened with excommunication in punishment of his shameful vices." It was no less a blot in his character that he overlooked murder and usurpation in the Macedonian Basil, because Photius had been expelled by him : and that for his devotion to Michael the late emperor.

**John VIII.**  
**or IX.**

**John IX.**, according to Platina and others, who do not reject the story of the female pope, otherwise **VIII.**, entered upon his office A.D. 872. He took upon himself to absolve Louis of the oath made by him to Adalgisus, duke of Beneventum : and upon his death adjudged the empire to Charles the Bald, though his elder brother was alive. Charles in return is said to have made many concessions respecting the temporal power of elections to the pontificate, to which allusion has already been made, but whether he ever really did so is a disputed point. Henceforth, however, it became a principle that nobody should be called emperor whom the pope had not crowned. John excommunicated more great men than his predecessors had done before him : and how he behaved in the Photian affair will be noticed under a future head.

**Marinus I.**

**Marinus I.** had been employed by John on a mission about the same subject to Constantinople : some say that he was a deacon, others a bishop, when he was elected, A.D. 882. He, with his successor **Adrian III.**, A.D. 884, condemned Photius : and the latter decreed that pontifical elections should no longer be dependent upon imperial assent or coun-

**Adrian**  
**III.**

tenance. —Stephen V. succeeded A.D. 885, and his election CENT. IX. was conducted according to the decree of his predecessor: Stephen V. when the emperor remonstrated, however, he was duly informed of the manner of the election. Stephen tells the oriental bishops, in a letter addressed to them, that “whatever the Roman Church had defined should be preserved inviolate<sup>a</sup>;” to the emperor Basil, he says<sup>a</sup>, “You ought only to administer civil and mundane affairs: we, through the blessed prince Peter, are set over spiritual things by God;” and lastly to the Spanish bishops, whom he would have subject to the see of Narbonne, his language is, “The whole Church of Christ throughout the world is ruled by the decree of the Roman pontiffs<sup>b</sup>.”

Formosus, who had opposed the elevation of Charles the Formosus. Bald to the empire, and had in consequence been excommunicated by John VIII., and deprived of his see of Porto, to which even Marinus, while he absolved, would not restore him, followed Stephen, A.D. 891, and was succeeded, A.D. 896, by Boniface VI. Baronius indeed will not hear of his Boniface VI. being numbered among the pontiffs, but Dollinger owns VI. him. After a few days interval, however, Stephen VI. took Stephen VI. his place, and forthwith proceeded to vent his long-cherished wrath against his predecessor Formosus. Not content to have him merely condemned in a synod, he had his dead body exhumed and insulted: and suspended all those who had been ordained by him. On the other hand these acts against Formosus were rescinded by John IX. in a Roman John IX. synod, who succeeded Stephen A.D. 898. Well may Baronius deplore the scandalous characters who now filled the holy see<sup>c</sup>!

Nevertheless Rome did not even in the present age ex- Rome opposed in the East.ercise unbounded supremacy. In the East for instance, the emperors Nicephorus, Leo the Armenian, Michael the Stammerer, and Theophilus, opposed images. In the West, Independence of Charlemagne and his successors. Charlemagne, Louis, and others of his descendants, only supported them in the least objectionable sense. Charlemagne and his successors unquestionably exercised sway in the

<sup>a</sup> Ep. ad Orient. Episcop. Vid. Gratian, Dec. i. dist. xix. c. 4.

tom. xviii. p. 11.

<sup>b</sup> Ibid., p. 19.

<sup>c</sup> Ep. i. ad Basil. Imp. ap. Mansi,

<sup>c</sup> A.D. 897. n. 4.

**CENT. IX.** Western Church: and hence probably the independent tone manifested by the synod of Paris, A.D. 824. In the same

Of Hincmar and others.

way Hincmar, archbishop of Rheims, would not surrender his metropolitan rights tamely to Nicholas I. John of Ravenna resisted the same pontiff: and Angilbert, archbishop of Milan, re-asserted the independence of his see, thereby producing a schism between it and Rome, which lasted two hundred years. In the same way strong protests were made continually against the popular corruptions of the age. For instance, the capitularies of Charlemagne and his son Louis proscribe doubtful traditions, and enjoin study of the Scriptures in the strongest terms; the right use of images was maintained in the synod of Paris, A.D. 824, against the letters of Adrian I. and decrees of the second Nicene council; the royal capitularies before mentioned and the canons of the different provincial synods inveigh loudly against the vices of the monks and clergy, as well as laity; and even the superstition with which pilgrimages were embraced is stigmatized by the forty-fifth canon of the synod of Chalon on the Soane.

§ 5.  
IMAGE-  
CONTR-  
VERSITY RE-  
NEWED.

With regard to the controversies of the age, that about images was renewed in the East with vehemence under Leo the Armenian, A.D. 813, who ventured to rescind the decrees of the second Nicene council, and afterwards expelled Nicephorus, the Constantinopolitan patriarch, from his office for his support of them. The emperors Michael and Theophilus followed in the same course, but here the tide turned. A.D. 842 a synod was held at Constantinople under the empress Theodora: in it the Iconoclasts were condemned, and images commended to the veneration of the faithful. Finally, the council of A.D. 879 at the same place under Photius, and by the Greeks esteemed a general one, was celebrated as the restoration of orthodoxy for the full manner in which it confirmed the Nicene decrees. The synod of Paris, A.D. 824, which was a mere echo of the synod of Frankfort, exhibits the view taken of the subject in the extreme West.

§ 6.  
CONTR-  
VERSITY RE-  
SPECTING  
THE EU-  
CHARIST.

It has been already remarked that the controversy respecting the holy Eucharist would seem to have arisen from the apparently contradictory statements of the Constantinopolitan

and Nicene councils of the preceding age. S. John Damas-  
cene, and even earlier writers among the Greeks, had laid  
stress upon the supernatural change in the elements after  
consecration: but it was Paschasius Radbertus, monk, and  
afterwards abbot of Corbey, whose work, published A.D. 844,  
originated so much dispute. A question, indeed, has been  
raised about the genuineness of the work itself. The doctrine  
contained there, however, is, that after consecration only the  
sensible forms of the bread and wine remain: under which  
is veiled really and truly the Body and Blood of our Blessed  
Lord: that is to say, the same Flesh that was born in the  
womb of the Virgin: was crucified, rose, and ascended. As  
for the change, or rather creation, it was effected by the  
operation of the Holy Ghost. All consequently partook of  
the adorable Body and Blood: but only to those who did so  
worthily had it a saving efficacy. Moreover, he supposed a  
daily immolation, as there was a daily oblation, of Christ to  
the Father. These were perhaps the first dogmatic assertions  
that had been heard in the Church of Christ respecting the  
holy Eucharist: and it was not remarkable, therefore, that  
many were surprised and startled by them. By the early  
Fathers the holy Eucharist had been called a figure, type, or  
sign, as well as the thing signified; and when attention was  
first called to them, it seemed a perplexing consideration,  
how these expressions were to be reconciled and severally  
maintained. One of the most interesting traits in the con-  
troversy was a distinction gathered from S. Augustine be-  
tween the threefold Body of our Blessed Lord: the natural,  
the mystical, and the sacramental; on the other hand ster-  
coranism was a revolting extreme, which either party forced  
upon the other, as the ultimate result of their respective con-  
clusions. Among those who expressed themselves differently  
from Paschasius, more or less, were Rabanus Maurus, arch-  
bishop of Mentz, Bertram or Ratramnus, monk of Corbey,  
John Scotus Erigena, whose book, it is generally believed,  
was condemned and burnt at the synod of Vercelli, A.D.  
1050, Heribald, abbot of Lobes, and others. Paschasius  
had a further dispute with Ratramnus respecting the par-  
ticipation of the Blessed Virgin: in which his assertion was,  
that she brought forth her First-born without the usual

CENT.  
IX.Doctrine  
ascribed to  
Paschasius;  
Radbertus.A further  
dispute be-  
tween Pas-  
chasius  
and Ra-  
tramus.

CENT. pangs or throes: while Ratramnus denied her exemption  
 IX. from the general law, except indeed that she remained a  
 virgin.

§ 7. Another celebrated controversy turned upon predestina-  
 RESPECT- ing PRE- tion, and it was first moved by Gotteschalcus, a monk of  
 DESTINA- Fulda, A.D. 847. His doctrine was that there was a two-  
 TION. fold predestination, of which eternal life or eternal death was  
 Opinions the immediate issue. It was not the will of the Almighty  
 of Gottes- that all men should be saved: but those who are saved only,  
 chalcus. were by Him designed to be saved, and consequently those  
 who are not saved, were not designed to be saved. Christ  
 did not die for the redemption of the whole world: but only  
 for those who are saved. As regards free-will it was un-  
 questionable that man had it: but, since the fall, in a much  
 impaired state. Grace was therefore needed to precede as  
 well as assist every good act; which grace did not depend  
 upon merit, but was entirely gratuitous.

These tenets were said to have been drawn from S. August-  
 tine, but with what looseness the bare perusal of them will  
 shew. The first opposition they encountered was from Ra-  
 banus Maurus, archbishop of Mentz, who accused Gottes-  
 chalcus before a synod of the same place, A.D. 848, and  
 transmitted him condemned and censured to Hincmar, arch-  
 bishop of Rheims, his metropolitan. At a synod of Quiercy,  
 A.D. 849, his condemnation was repeated: he was suspended  
 from his priestly office, and sentenced to be confined within  
 the monastery of Hautvilliers, where he remained to the day  
 of his death, A.D. 869. Meanwhile his cause was variously  
 supported and assailed. On the one side were Remigius,  
 archbishop of Lyons, Prudentius, bishop of Troyes, Ebbo,  
 bishop of Grenoble, Lupus, abbot of Ferriers, Ratramnus,  
 monk of Corbey, and Florus, a deacon of Lyons. And these  
 either exculpated the man or upheld his system. On the  
 other side were Hincmar, Amalarius, and John Scotus  
 Erigena: the first of whom once more procured his con-  
 demnation at a second synod of Quiercy, A.D. 853. But as  
 the decrees of the first synod of Quiercy were opposed by  
 the collective voice of the Church of Lyons in a former day:  
 so the four articles of the present one were impugned by the  
 synod of Valence under Remigius, A.D. 855: by the synod

of Langres, A.D. 859: and by the synod of Toul, A.D. 860. CENT.  
IX.  
 With the death of Gotteschalcus, however, the controversy subsided, and similarly nothing more was heard about Tritheism, a charge which Hincmar, justly or unjustly, had alleged against him.

But the controversy of controversies in the ninth century was that between the East and West, of which however only a brief sketch can be attempted. It has been already observed that the line of demarcation had for a long time been growing more and more visible between the two communions; the publication of the Trullan canons expressly pointed to it: while the contest about images and the procession of the Holy Ghost widened the breach. Indeed so much fatality was there about the whole thing, that the adjustment of the former of these differences only served to develop increased heat and bitterness in the latter. What precipitated matters however, in the present age, was the contention between Ignatius and Photius. Ignatius, a monk and eunuch, son of the emperor Michael Rangabe, had been chosen to succeed Methodius, A.D. 847, in the Constantinopolitan see: and his election had been confirmed by Theodora, though not without a protest from Gregory, archbishop of Syracuse. A quarrel ensued between Ignatius and Bardes, uncle to the emperor, in which the former seems clearly to have had the right, but the result of which was that the patriarch was expelled, and Photius, a layman and state secretary, though, it cannot be denied, a singularly accomplished man, thrust into his place, A.D. 858. Photius was consecrated by the enemy of his rival, Gregory: and Ignatius was exiled to the island of Terebinthus, in the hope that he would resign his see. This, however, he entirely refused to do: whereupon he was deposed, first absent, and afterwards present, at a Constantinopolitan synod of three hundred and eighteen bishops, A.D. 861: and Photius was confirmed in the patriarchate. § 8.  
BETWEEN  
THE EAST  
AND WEST.  
 Nicholas I. had indeed already declared against Photius, but his legates Rodvald, bishop of Porto, and Zachariah, bishop of Anagni, who were present, were induced to assent to these resolutions, and so for a time the matter ended. Nicholas, however, corresponded with the emperor and with Photius on the subject: Photius confirmed in the patriarchate.

CENT.  
IX.

His ency-  
clie.

Photius  
deposed.

Recalled.

and five years after a Roman synod was held, in which he deposed his own legates as well as Photius: and rescinded the decrees of the above-mentioned assembly. Photius retorted upon these acts by his encyclic epistle to the Oriental patriarchs, in which the tyranny of the pontiff and errors and innovations of the Latin Church are severely censured. The Bulgarian affair added to the bitterness of the dispute, the Greeks having, under Leo the Isaurian, acquired possession of Illyricum, Macedonia, Achaia, Thessaly, and Sicily: and the pontiffs from Adrian I. to Nicholas continually reasserting jurisdiction over them. However, the scene changed upon the deaths of Nicholas and Michael the emperor, his opponent, A.D. 867: for Photius excommunicated Basil, who murdered the latter: and Basil, to revenge himself, deposed Photius and recalled Ignatius. That his acts might carry more weight with them, the emperor opened a communication with Nicholas I., which resulted in the synod of Constantinople, A.D. 869, by the Latin and part of the Greek Church, considered the eighth general council.

Here the legates of Adrian II., who had succeeded Nicholas, presided; and here the condemnation of Photius was reiterated. Yet Ignatius, who was restored by the same decree, refused to cede Bulgaria to the pontiff; and had not death taken him out of the way, he had been already threatened with the fate of his rival for his obstinacy. Upon his death, A.D. 878, Photius procured his own recall; and resumed his see with the good will of John VIII. as well as the emperor. A Roman synod was held the following year to confirm his restoration, to cancel the synod that had decreed his exile, to reconcile those who had been estranged from the Church, and lastly, to settle the matter of the Bulgarians. Paul, Eugenius, and Peter, cardinal and presbyter, carried the decrees of the synod to the East: whereupon another Constantinopolitan synod of three hundred and eighty bishops, and by the Greeks for the most part esteemed the eighth general one, assembled A.D. 879. Here Photius was not only restored, but the synods of Rome under Adrian II., and of Constantinople under Ignatius, were condemned; all that Photius had ever said or done against the Roman see was equally cancelled; either pa-

triarch was confirmed in his privileges and mutually bound to respect the other. Finally, the addition of the word *Filioque* to the Creed was proscribed. These decrees were signed by the three legates above mentioned, but John eventually would not own them: and Marinus his successor rejected them and condemned Photius once more. Adrian III. indeed cancelled the last sentence; but Photius was deposed for a supposed civil offence by Leo the Wise, and never again recovered his see, A.D. 886. On the other hand, the schism to which he so greatly contributed, as it certainly did not originate with him, so neither did it die with him.

This age may be said to have produced one, two, or three general councils, or else none. Of these the first would seem to have the least, and the last the greatest claim, to be considered œcumenical. A.D. 861 as many bishops as composed the first Nicene council met at the summons of the emperor Michael in the imperial city. Rodvald, bishop of Porto, and Zachariah, bishop of Anagni, represented Nicholas I. The meeting was held in the church of the holy Apostles. Here Ignatius was accused, convicted, and deposed, as has been already stated, and Photius confirmed in the patriarchate. According to Balsamon and Zonaras, the council was interrupted during the seventh action by the violence of the Iconoclasts, and forced to sit a second time to conclude matters; hence it has been styled by the Greeks the first and second council: while Balsamon, Zonaras, Alexius, Nilus of Rhodes, Nilus of Thessalonica, George Gemistus, and other authorities, esteem it a general one.

A.D. 869 another Constantinopolitan council met in the church of S. Sophia at the summons of the emperor Basil. Though it was only attended by a hundred and two bishops, it has been styled the eighth general council by the Latin Church. Adrian II. presided in it through his legates, a rare occurrence, the place considered in which it was held. Ignatius was content to occupy the second place. Photius was not summoned before the fifth action; he then demurred to his judges, and would answer nothing. In the seventh action he was condemned and anathematized. Canon 21 in the tenth action decreed the utmost reverence to the Roman pontiff.

CENT.  
IX.Finally  
deposed  
for a civil  
offence.§ 9.  
COUNCILS.  
Three  
councils  
assuming  
to be gene-  
ral.

The first.

The  
second.



CENT.

IX.

The third.

The third and last of the disputed councils, and by the Greeks, for the most part, invested with the title of a general one, met A.D. 879. It too was held in the church of S. Sophia, and was attended by three papal legates, and by three hundred and eighty bishops. Ignatius had died the preceding year, and Basil, from interest or from a more worthy motive, now desired nothing so much as that Photius should be restored. Photius himself therefore presided at the council; the Roman legates were introduced by him. The principal transactions of the assembly were, the condemnation of the synods of Rome under Adrian, and of Constantinople, under Ignatius, against Photius; Photius on his part retracting all that he had said or done against Rome. The Bulgarian question was directed to be referred to the emperor. The bounds of the two rival patriarchates were expressed; and they were laid under mutual restrictions. Finally, the addition to the Creed of the words *Filioque* was condemned; while the decrees of the second Nicene council were received, and it was called the seventh general council. It has been already observed that Paul, Eugenius, and Peter, the papal legates, did not raise a dissentient voice; nevertheless, John VIII. hesitated, and eventually sent Marinus to Constantinople to invalidate what his legates had done. Marinus, when he succeeded John, not only disowned the council, but condemned Photius.

Provincial  
synods.

Of particular synods there was a large number throughout France, Italy, Britain, and Germany. Spain and Africa may be considered under the yoke of the Saracens. Of those that were held about doctrine, the principal were that of Paris about images, A.D. 824; that of Mentz, A.D. 848; of Quiercy, A.D. 849; and again, A.D. 853, about Gotteschalculus. Others that were held under Charlemagne, Louis the Pious, Lothaire, Charles the Bald, and our own King Alfred, more immediately concerned discipline: and these passed canons against simony, concubinage, incest, usury, drunkenness, luxury, strife, rapine, oppressions of the poor, of the fatherless, and of the widow: against the avarice and secular employments of the clergy: and against various superstitions incident to the age. They treated moreover of the fasts and festivals of the Church: of celibacy, litanies, pilgrimages, and other

religious ceremonies: especially those relating to the monastic life. CENT.  
IX.

Other synods again were held in consequence of the disputes which from time to time arose between patriarchs, metropolitans, bishops, and abbots; for instance that of Soissons, A.D. 851, in the matter between Hincmar and Rothad: that of Douay, A.D. 871, in the matter between Hincmar and his nephew and namesake: and that of Constantinople, A.D. 854, in which Ignatius got Gregory, archbishop of Syracuse, deposed. Lastly, there were synods held to settle matters of dispute between Church and state. For instance that of Compeigne, which deposed Louis; that of Aix-la-Chapelle, A.D. 862, of Mentz, A.D. 863, and of Rome, on the subject of the breach between Lothaire and Thietberga.

Among the principal ecclesiastical writers in the West may be named Theodulphus, bishop of Orleans, and the friend of Charlemagne. He rose to the episcopate A.D. 794 from being abbot of Fleury: and continued in his see four and twenty years, when he was deposed by Louis the Pious for his real or apparent disloyalty. § 10.  
WRITERS.  
Theodulphus.

Sedulius Scotus the younger, as he is called, to distinguish between him and two predecessors of the same name, was illustrious for his poems. Claudius, a Spaniard, and the disciple of Felix, bishop of Urgel, was made bishop of Turin by Louis the Pious A.D. 821. He exerted himself greatly against images, and even ordered them to be overthrown and destroyed. Many of his commentaries upon the Scriptures are still extant. Sedulius  
Scotus.  
Claudius.

Amalarius, surnamed Fortunatus, archbishop of Treves, wrote a work upon baptism at the request of Charlemagne: of which Alcuin has sometimes had the credit. Another of the same name was deacon of Mentz, and wrote a book upon ecclesiastical offices. Amalarius.

Agobard, archbishop of Lyons, A.D. 818, upon the retirement of Leidrad, whose coadjutor he had been appointed three years before, A.D. 818. He wrote a work against Felix, and it was the last that appeared on the subject. A.D. 833 he took part in the disgraceful synod of Compeigne against Louis, and even published an apology for his sons. Agobard.

**C E N T.** When father and sons were reconciled Agobard was deposed:  
**IX.** but he was restored A.D. 837, and his death occurred A.D. 840. He was a man of considerable ability, skilled in the canons, as well as a great disciplinarian.

**Paschasius.** Paschasius Radbert, abbot of Corbey, a dignity which he obtained A.D. 844, is generally supposed to have written the work on the sacrament of the Body and Blood of the Lord Jesus, addressed to Placidus, though others have ascribed it to Rabanus Maurus. He was present at the synod of Quiercy, A.D. 948, against Gotteschalculus.

**Haymo.** Haymo, a disciple of Alcuin, and Anglo-Saxon, was successively monk of Fulda and abbot of Halberstadt. He was at the synod of Mentz, A.D. 848. Of his works his commentaries upon certain parts of the Old and New Testament are compiled from the Fathers.

**Rabanus Maurus.** Rabanus, surnamed Maurus, and from his birth-place, or from the see over which he presided, Magnentius and Moguntinus, was master of the school of Fulda A.D. 810, which acquired under his auspices considerable celebrity. A.D. 822 he became abbot of the same monastery, and A.D. 847 succeeded Otgarius in the archiepiscopal see of Mentz. Rabanus opposed Paschasius in the controversy respecting the holy Eucharist, and has even been classed with those who favoured Stercoranism. A.D. 848 he refuted Gotteschalculus at the synod of Mentz already mentioned. He is allowed to have been the greatest genius of the present age.

**Lupus.** Lupus, surnamed Servatus, was a presbyter of the Church of Mentz, and afterwards abbot of the Benedictine cloister of Ferriers, A.D. 842. In the earlier part of his life he had studied eight years at Fulda, under Rabanus Maurus. He wrote a work upon predestination, in which he seems to a certain extent to have supported Gotteschalculus.

**Florus.** Florus, a deacon of the Church of Lyons, and contemporary with Agobard, Amalarius, and Remigius, who successively presided over it, attended the synod of Quiercy A.D. 837, in which he opposed Amalarius on the doctrine of the holy Eucharist. He was afterwards deputed by his Church to refute the work of John Scotus Erigena upon predestination.

**Walafrid Strabo.** Walafrid Strabo studied under Rabanus Maurus, and was

elected abbot of Reichenau A.D. 842. He left a book upon CENT. IX.  
Divine offices, besides poems and other works.

John Scotus Erigena, a native of Wales, Scotland, or Ire- John Scotus Erigena.  
land, flourished about A.D. 858. He was much patronized by Charles the Bald, and afterwards by King Alfred the Great, at whose request he returned to England A.D. 877, and, it is said, for three years occupied a professorial chair at Oxford, though others have imagined that it was a different John. He wrote a learned work against Gotteschalculus, but appears to have sided with Bertram or Ratram, on the Eucharistic controversy. Hence rightly or wrongly he has had the credit of a book which was burnt at the synod of Vercelli A.D. 1050. He was esteemed one of the greatest lights of his age.

Prudentius, a Spaniard by birth, rose to be bishop of Prudentius.  
Troyes, and as such attended a synod at Paris A.D. 847. He wrote against John Scotus upon predestination, and against Paschasius upon the blessed Eucharist.

Anastasius the librarian flourished at Rome under Nicho- Anastasius the librarian.  
las I., Adrian II., and John IX., that is to say, about A.D. 870. He compiled an Ecclesiastical History from the Greek of Nicephorus, George Syncellus, and Theophanes : and wrote the lives of the Roman pontiffs from S. Peter to Nicholas I. It is disputed, however, whether the first part was not written before his time, and only revised and enlarged by him. Another of his works is a history of the council of Constantinople, sometimes called the eighth general council, A.D. 869, against Photius, at which he was present.

Hincmar, archbishop of Rheims, A.D. 845, was educated Hincmar.  
under Hilduin, author of the life of S. Dionysius the Areopagite, at the monastery of S. Denys, near Paris. His exertions against Gotteschalculus at the synods of Quiercy, A.D. 848, and in the matter of Thietberga and Lothaire at the synod of Aix-la-Chapelle, have been already mentioned. Nor was his maintenance of his metropolitan rights in the cases of Rothad and his own nephew and namesake less remarkable. He was one of the most stirring characters of his day beyond doubt, and his knowledge of theology and of the canon law was very profound. He left numerous works behind him. Other authors, as Eginhard, the biographer, if not also the son-in- Eginhard and others.  
law, of Charlemagne : Ado, archbishop of Vienne, and com-

C E N T. piler of a martyrology: Freculphus, bishop of Lisieux, who  
IX. composed a Chronicon: Ansegisus, who collected the capitularies of Charlemagne, Christianus Druthmarus, Aimoin, Usuardus, and many more may be dismissed without specific notice.

Theodorus Studites. Of the Greek writers the chief were Theodorus, surnamed Studites from the monastery Studium, over which he presided. He was among the warmest of the image-worshippers, as they were called, and his adulation of Irene was scarce palliable. He was banished for his intemperate conduct by the emperor Nicephorus A.D. 809: imprisoned by Michael Rangabe two years after: exiled a second time by Leo the Armenian: and obliged to leave Constantinople by Michael the Stammerer. A proof of his temper is, that he did not even hesitate to attack the Roman Leo III., who had expostulated with him on his behaviour. He has left sermons and letters behind him. His life was written by a monk named Michael, but is not esteemed trustworthy.

Nicephorus. Nicephorus, patriarch of Constantinople, flourished under his namesake the emperor. He attended the second Nicene council, A.D. 787, and warmly supported what was decreed there. A.D. 806 he succeeded Tarasius in the patriarchate. Leo the Armenian banished him, A.D. 814, for his resistance to the Iconoclasts, and he died an exile, A.D. 828. Among other works he left a compendious history from the emperor Maurice, A.D. 600 to A.D. 769.

Metrophanes. Metrophanes, metropolitan of Smyrna, and the great opposer of Photius, which eventually caused him the loss of his see, A.D. 880, left a letter addressed to Manuel the patrician, in which affairs connected with Photius are detailed from A.D. 858 to A.D. 870.

Photius. Photius, of whom so much has already been said, great-nephew of Tarasius, and upon the deposition of Ignatius patriarch of Constantinople, was consecrated to his high office A.D. 858, upon Christmas-day. Enough has been reported of the councils held concerning him, and of the emperors and pontiffs who either supported or opposed him. Leo the Wise finally banished him, and he ended his days about A.D. 890, in a convent. Of his numerous works his *Bibliotheca*, which contains accounts of nearly three hundred au-

thors which he had read, and his *Nomo-canon*, or collection of canons, are most esteemed. His talents and erudition were so notorious that even his enemies speak of them with respect: and whether he was ambitious or not, he certainly would seem to have approved himself virtuous in his private relations.

CENT.  
IX.

Leo VI., the emperor, and surnamed the Wise, had been a pupil of the last-mentioned, though he afterwards expelled him. He left several orations, besides a digest of the imperial laws. Other less important authors, as Ignatius, Constantinopolitan patriarch, Michael Syncellus, George Harmatolus, Methodius, and Nicetas David, do not require more notice in a work like the present.

Leo the  
Wise and  
others.

In the same way it would be impossible to enter into a detail of the alleged miracles and visions recorded by Anastasius in his lives of the pontiffs, or by the various authors of the lives of the saints; or, again, to enumerate the translations of relics into Europe that were from time to time made. These last, indeed, were encouraged by the gravest bishops. For instance, Leidrad, archbishop of Lyons, and predecessor of Agobard, in the present age transported the remains of S. Cyprian from Africa, with the limbs of S. Speratus, and head of S. Pantaleon.

§ 11.  
MISCELLANEOUS  
EVENTS.

The ravages of the Saracens and Normans continued respectively with unabated force: of these the former depopulated Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica, besides many parts of the mainland, A.D. 846. Rome itself was attacked by them; the suburbs were invested, and the church of S. Peter and S. Paul spoiled and desecrated. Nothing but intestine divisions in the hostile camp saved the city. Under Leo IV. a second attempt was made, but through his activity it was defeated, and the Saracens were signally repulsed in a naval engagement, A.D. 849. They returned however during the pontificate of John VIII., and A.D. 884 the rich monastery of Cassino was robbed and burnt by them.

Saracen  
and Nor-  
man ra-  
vages.

Nor were the Norman invaders less truculent towards the north. Issuing like a swarm from the shores of the Baltic, from Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, they carried fire and sword into Germany, Britain, and France, and even extended themselves as far as Spain. Hence the origin of the solemn

**CENT. IX.** petition in the litanies, "From the fury of the Normans, good Lord deliver us." Britain in the end was wholly conquered by them, and that part of France which was originally called Neustria attested into whose hands it had fallen in the tenth century, by a new name, Normandy.

**§ 12.  
JEWISH  
AFFAIRS.**

The Jewish schools still flourished in the East under the professors styled Geonim. In Spain and Africa they attached themselves to the Saracens, and fomented every design that was antichristian. How they behaved themselves in France may be learned from a piece of Agobard, archbishop of Lyons, addressed to the emperor Louis, on the insolence of the Jews.

**§ 13.  
MONAS-  
TERIES.**

Cluny re-  
formed.

Renowned  
seminaries.

The monasteries suffered greatly from the Saracen and Norman invasions; discipline was abandoned, and lay abbots married, and lived without rule. Cluny, in the diocese of Macon, alone withstood the corruptions of the age, and exercised a regenerating influence upon the rest. It was founded by William, duke of Aquitaine, and was presided over within a short time by three great disciplinarians, Berno, Odo, and Odilo. Other monasteries maintained excellent schools, which flourished under celebrated professors; Alcuin, Rabanus, Walafrid Strabo, Haymo, Lupus of Ferriers, Paschasius of Corbey, are well-known names among the latter; while the schools of Tours, Corbey, Auxerre, Rheims, S. Denys and Ferriers in France; of Fulda, Mentz, S. Gall, and Seligenstadt in Germany; of Cassino, Ticino, and other Italian towns, added considerable lustre to the establishments to which they were attached. Nor was Britain without similar admirable institutions, of which the most celebrated were those of S. Peter and S. Paul, near Wearmouth, in which Venerable Bede was educated; Malmsbury, where John Scotus Erigena flourished; S. Albans, Worcester, Glastonbury, Westminster, Canterbury, Banchor, S. Davids. Monasteries were moreover used for a very different purpose; we find Louis and others condemned to be confined in them, as was the case too with Ebbo and numerous ecclesiastics. Gotteschalchus ended his days in a monastery, so did Photius and many more.

**§ 14.  
NEW  
CUSTOMS.**

About this time a change is said to have been made in the manner of reading the Holy Scriptures. Hitherto lessons

from the Old and New Testament used to be read before the celebration of the holy Communion, and were followed by homilies or addresses to the people. Passages from the Epistles and Gospels now began to be selected and appointed to be read upon particular days throughout the year. To read the Epistle in the modern sense was assigned to the sub-deacon, the Gospel to the deacon, who occupied a higher place. Moreover, instead of the accustomed sermons upon Sundays and Festivals, lections were culled in a similar course from the homilies of the Fathers: and the book containing them was called a lectionary. Otherwise it was styled a postillary, because it was used after those portions of the New Testament above mentioned. Lives of the saints were subsequently introduced upon the appropriate festivals. Hence the origin of the word "legends." We find Alcuin giving the following salutary caution with respect to these and the like innovations: "In fine, follow the footsteps of the holy Fathers, and be yourselves united by the most sacred unanimity of the universal Church. It is written, 'Remove not the ancient landmark which thy fathers have set,' and be not desirous of inserting novelties into the Creed of the Catholic faith: and in ecclesiastical offices do not love traditions unknown to primitive times."

Another change to be noticed was the assumption of a new name by the pontiffs upon election to so high a trust. New name assumed by the pontiffs. Sergius II. is said to have commenced the practice, though Anastasius never mentions his having had another name. John XII. therefore in the next age, whose former name was Octavianus, and who was only eighteen years old when he became pontiff, is with more probability thought to have been the first instance of a new name.

The concessions made by Charles the Bald, after the preference shewn him, to the Roman see, have been already noticed. John VIII. crowned him at Rome A.D. 876. Charles, in return, not only remitted his imperial jurisdiction, it is said, over Rome and the territory appertaining to it, but yielded to the pontiffs the right of choosing the emperor, and ordained that none should be reputed emperors who had not been crowned by them. Charles likewise solemnly bound

\* Ep. 69. ad Frat. Lugdun.



C E N T. himself to protect the interests of the Church, and never more  
IX. to interfere by his ambassadors in the elections to the holy see. This is the common account, but it is a question whether Charles really did all that he is said to have done.

It does not add to the trustworthiness of the age, that the donation of Constantine the Great is with some probability conjectured to have been invented about the middle of it. There is likewise a constitution attributed to Louis the Pious by Baronius<sup>d</sup>, of which the greater part seems equally supposititious, inasmuch as in it are to be found almost the same concessions to the holy see that, it is said, were afterwards made by Charles the Bald. On the other hand it is notorious that neither Louis the Pious, nor his successors Lothaire and Louis II., were without imperial jurisdiction over the Roman territory. Another story that has been questioned is that of Ethelwolf, king of the West Saxons, who is reported to have made his dominions tributary to the Roman see, like Ina and Offa, and to have instituted the poll-tax called Peter's pence, A.D. 847. Another, and one that is still more improbable, is that Alfred the Great his son received, when at Rome, his crown from Leo IV. or Adrian II., for accounts vary. But Alfred being only five, or at most seven years old when sent thither by his father, and his three elder brothers being alive: if he ever was anointed by the pontiff, which is extremely questionable, it was not the chrism of coronation, but of confirmation, which he received.

<sup>d</sup> A.D. 817. n. 2. Spond. Ep.

## CHAPTER X.

THE first year of the tenth century, namely A.D. 901, falls into the second year of Louis III., emperor of the West, and last of the Caroline family, and was the fourth indiction. Leo the Wise was reigning over the East, and in his fifteenth year: Charles the Simple over France. Theodore II. only enjoyed his pontificate twenty days, when he was succeeded by John IX.

The state of the Roman church even Baronius allows to have been now truly deplorable. "Several of her pontiffs," he says, "he would not have ventured to call such, had they not been so styled by his predecessors." Others, like Boniface, who for a time occupied the chair between Formosus and his enemy Stephen VI., he has expunged from the catalogue. John XII. was a mere boy when he entered upon his office. However, these disorders are not wholly chargeable upon the Church, which has been ever affected by the political world, as the soul by the body.

Now as regards secular affairs, society presented a rueful aspect. Spain was groaning under Arabian tyranny. The Normans devastated France, and the Danes Britain. Germany was overrun by the Huns or Ugrians; while Calabria, Apulia, and other parts of Italy, were laid waste by the Saracens. Nor did the East experience a diversion on the part of these last oppressors during their ravages in the West. The patriarchates of Jerusalem, Antioch, and Alexandria, were still desolate; the last moreover actually in the hands of the Jacobites, a hostile sect. Heresies every where abounded. A grave schism distracted the Constantinopolitan Church, in consequence of the marriage of Leo VI., or the Wise, with Zoe, A.D. 901. Leo had in a previous edict condemned third marriages: his own union with Zoe was his fourth marriage. Nicholas the patriarch, therefore, refused his blessing; and Leo to avenge himself, drove him into exile, and substituted Euthemius in his room. The greater part of the faithful however would not abandon

§ 1.  
STATE  
OF THE  
CHURCH.

**CENT.** Nicholas, and so the Church was split into two factions.  
**X.** The supposed reference to the pontiff in the above dispute is without foundation, as we shall see.

**§ 2.** These confusions, however, did not wholly neutralize the  
**SPREAD** spread of the gospel in the West. A.D. 912 the celebrated  
**OF THE** Rollo, after a treaty made between him and Charles the  
**CHURCH.** Simple, by which the former received part of the extensive  
**Normans** territory called Neustria for a dukedom, together with the  
**converted** hand of the princess Giesla, embraced Christianity with his  
**under** whole army. Not but that the country then occupied by  
**Rollo.** them had been long since evangelized: the archbishops of  
 Rouen it is said, though upon questionable authority, deriving their succession from the Roman S. Clement. It was from one of them at all events that Rollo received baptism. From the following epitaph it would appear that Rollo was honoured by his descendants as a saint.

*"Rollo ferus, fortis, quem gens Normannica mortis  
 Invocat articulo, conditur hoc tumulo."*

The Bohemians and Moravians had been prepared for the reception of the gospel in the preceding century. By the  
**Poles and** marriage of Miecislaus, duke of Poland, with Dambrowka, a  
**Russians.** Bohemian princess, and a Christian, the Poles were converted A.D. 965, and the Russians A.D. 988, after a like union between Vladimir and Anna, sister of the emperor Basil II. It is beyond dispute that the origin of the Russian Church is entirely due to the Greeks: and that for a long time the Russian metropolitans received consecration at the hands of the Constantinopolitan patriarch. It was not till after the overthrow of the Greek empire by the Turks that they became independent.

**Danes.** The Danes under Gorman alternated between heathenism and Christianity: his son Harold however, being vanquished by Otho I., was baptized, with his wife and son Sweyn, A.D. 949. Sweyn, when he came to the throne, was disposed to abjure the faith he had professed: but England being now united with Denmark, it suffered comparatively little from his opposition: and eventually the monarch made every endeavour to atone for his apostacy. Under Canute the Great, his successor, English missionaries completed the conversion of the rest of his people.

Among the Norwegians Christianity seems to have advanced in the same ratio as among the Danes. Hacon, the first king who may be said to have fairly embraced it, was a contemporary of Harold, and mainly influenced by his example. Olaf, surnamed the holy, about the beginning of the next century, not only christianized his own country, but carried the gospel to Iceland and the Orkneys.

The conversion of the Magyars, or Hungarians, is scarcely less obscure than is their origin: but it would seem to have emanated from Constantinople. Two Hungarian chieftains were there baptized: and one of them afterwards married his daughter Sarolta to Geisa, the reigning duke, whose conversion speedily followed. But to his son Stephen, who has since been canonized, belongs the honour of having made Christianity the religion of the whole nation. S. Stephen was moreover the first Hungarian king, and he is said to have received his title from Silvester II., with whom he was a great favourite: but the story depends upon a writer of the thirteenth century.

Baronius says of the tenth century that it has been styled the "leaden," "iron," or "obscure" age: Bellarmine calls it "unlearned:" Genebrard "unfortunate." "It could boast of few learned writers," says Cave, "and of hardly a single council worth remembering." The canons were violated with impunity: and the most revolting depravity disgraced the highest ecclesiastical dignitaries. John XII. we read was a mere boy when he first occupied the chair of S. Peter: his former namesake, John X., who, Baronius avers<sup>1</sup>, was the greatest wretch that ever lived, confirmed a child scarce five years old archbishop of Rheims: while in the East one Theophylact became Constantinopolitan patriarch in his sixteenth year, of whom it is recorded that he slipped away in the midst of the celebration of the blessed Eucharist upon one occasion to visit his stud<sup>2</sup>. As to the monasteries, what was said of one of them will apply to the rest generally, that there were few traces to be found in them of the religious object for which they were instituted; and that the desire to acquire property

\* Vid. Gieseler, E. H., Per. iii. div. nullus."

ii § 40. Eng. Tr.

<sup>1</sup> A.D. 925. n. 11. "Quo turpior Hist., P. ii. p. 638. ap. Byz. Script.

<sup>2</sup> Georgius Cedren. in Compend.

CENT. had become their besetting sin<sup>b</sup>. Not but that there were  
X. still some piously-minded men, who laboured to restore discipline : witness Abbo, abbot of Fleury, who was assassinated by his own monks in the attempt<sup>1</sup>. General depravity on the other hand added lustre to the sanctity that was occasionally to be found contrasted with it, in the eyes of the multitude : and the same enthusiasm that represented holy men necessarily invested with the power of working miracles and of foretelling events while alive, was equally solicitous to award them proportionable distinctions when dead. This proneness of the human heart had long since been attested in the gentile world : and in the old deifications of the Roman senate we recognise almost the very words of the formula which henceforward began to be used in the canonization of a Christian saint. General consent had indeed often awarded the title before to the most eminent of the Fathers and Doctors of the Church : but now the same thing began to be done with more ceremony, though far more indiscriminately, throughout Christendom. In the West, miracles were the prime test that procured canonization, as we find exhibited in the case of Ulric, bishop of Augsburg, before John XV. and a Roman synod A.D. 993. In the opinion of the East it was necessary that the dead body should not have corrupted. Bishops at the head of a diocesan synod possessed sufficient authority to establish a local saint. Alexander III. in the twelfth century was the first who claimed canonization as a prerogative of the Roman see, and decreed that all so canonized should be esteemed saints by the whole Church.

Canoniza-  
tions.

Claimed as  
a preroga-  
tive of the  
Roman  
see.

It may be well imagined from what has been already observed with what increased and increasing reverence relics were now regarded, and how progressively the honours paid to departed saints were growing into a complete system. And it so happened that external circumstances were not wanting to feed the flame. In the first place the ravages of the Normans and Saracens occasioned many new churches to be erected in the place of those which had been destroyed ; and as it was now the current opinion that a church could not be consecrated without relics, it became a perfect business to procure them, and lest they should be deemed counterfeit,

<sup>b</sup> Vid. Baron., A.D. 942, n. 9.

<sup>1</sup> Baron., A.D. 970, n. 5.

seldom without the reported aid of a miracle. Thus we read C E N T.  
of the discovery of the bodies of S. Stephen the protomartyr, X.  
S. Matthew the Apostle, S. Paulinus, S. Gregory, S. Sebas-  
tian, S. Servatius, S. Pancratius, S. Vincentius, S. Maximus,  
S. Fortunatus, S. Bruno, S. Patroclus, S. Elpidius, S. Leon-  
tius, S. Maurice and his companions, S. Alban, S. Mauritius,  
S. Renatus, and others: for it has been satisfactorily proved  
that the legends of these latter saints were composed in the  
present age<sup>t</sup>. Solemn translations followed these discoveries. Transla-  
Relics of S. Stephen, S. Benedict, S. Sebastian, and a host tions.  
more, were translated during the century with great pomp  
and ceremony. They were regarded as the palladium of the  
place that had them. Moreover they became royal presents.  
Charles the Simple for instance sent the arm of S. Dionysius  
as a peace-offering to Henry I., which the latter received  
adoringly. Otho I. with difficulty obtained for his favourite  
bishop from John XIII. a ring of the chain that bound  
S. Peter.

Images almost equalled relics in the reverence that was Images  
now paid to them: and alleged miracles were not wanting said to have  
to establish it. At Winchester a statue of our Lord is spoken.  
reported to have spoken in a quarrel between the seculars and  
regulars, to the confusion of the former. The same statue  
is also said to have decided orally for S. Dunstan against  
the king. As for the marvels related of the sacred image of  
Edessa, by no less a writer it would appear than Constantine  
Porphyrogenitus, it will be sufficient to have referred to the  
narrative which contains them<sup>1</sup>.

In the same spirit the saints were invoked with deeper Blessings  
and still deeper fervency, not only from the numerous appa- ascribed to  
ritions of them that were reported, but from the numerous the inter-  
 blessings likewise that were currently ascribed to their cession of  
intercessions. In the battles with the Saracens who ravaged the saints.  
Italy, for instance, the Apostles SS. Peter and Paul are re-  
ported to have been seen, and to their merits is attributed,  
by a contemporary historian, the overthrow of the enemy<sup>m</sup>.

<sup>t</sup> Vid. Launoy, Dissert. ad Ægid. xiv. p. 120.  
Menag.

<sup>m</sup> Luitprand, ap. Baron. Annal.,

<sup>1</sup> Ap. Galland. Bibl. Vet. Patr., tom. A.D. 915. n. 2.

CENT. Otho the Great, says another, was healed of his sickness  
X. through the merits of the saints, especially S. Vitus<sup>a</sup>.

By the Greek historians Zonaras, Cedrenus, and others, scarce a victory is related that is not immediately connected with the prayers, images, or relics of the saints.

Gratitude naturally suggested proportionable returns. Invocations and vows, shrines and altars, were multiplied.

Festival of  
All Souls.

New festivals were added daily to the Calendar. That of All-Saints, instituted in the last century, was succeeded by that of All Souls in the present. It is said to have been suggested to Odilo, abbot of Cluny, during a vision. The

The As-  
sumption.

feast of the Assumption already mentioned was more and more fondly celebrated, though the event so commemorated is still only "a traditionary pious belief<sup>o</sup>." It is certainly made to depend a good deal upon equivocal expressions<sup>p</sup>, and Gregory of Tours is the first writer who mentions the tradition explicitly. It is fair indeed to observe that it was generally believed in the Eastern as well as the West-

Preroga-  
tives as-  
cribed to  
S. Mary.

ern Church: but the same may be said of the veneration in which S. Mary was now held. In the Menologies, and Byzantine historians, we find attributed to her and her different relics: "sanctification," "strength," "aid," "propitiation," "salvation." She is said to be "one" that does not require another mediator before God: "and except through whom salvation is unattainable." In the Latin Church,

Ἀγιασμόν.  
Ῥῶσιν.  
Βοήθειαν.  
Ἰλασμόν.  
Σωτηρίαν.

Office of  
the B. V.  
M.

however, the use of the office of the Blessed Virgin, which Peter Damian commenced among the monks, was only enjoined to the clergy by Urban II., at the celebrated Clermontan synod, A.D. 1095<sup>q</sup>. The Rosary, by Peter the Hermit, about the same time, was a more complex invention. Fifty-five beads were ranged upon a string, every tenth of which was of a larger size. As the smaller beads were counted respectively, the angelic salutation, or Ave Maria, was repeated: at the touch of the larger, a Pater Noster. Thus the Ave was said fifty times, and the Pater Noster five

The Ro-  
sary.

<sup>a</sup> Ib., A.D. 956. n. 1.

<sup>o</sup> Alban Butler, Lives of the Saints, Aug. 15.

<sup>p</sup> E.g. ἀνάληψις, μετέθεσις, often = κοίμησις. Vid. Gieseler, Eccl. Hist.,

Per. iii. Div. i. c. 2. § 18. not. Eng. Trans.

<sup>q</sup> Vid. Mansi Concil., vol. xx. p. 827.

times, in the course of the process. Afterwards the Rosary CENT. was augmented by S. Dominic, as may be seen from a bull X. of Pius V., A.D. 1596, in which it was confirmed\*. The Crown of S. Mary was a repetition of the same kind: according to the age, which has been variously assigned, of Crown of S. Mary. the Blessed Virgin.

But to return. Pilgrimages were vastly on the increase: Pilgrimages and these not merely to the Holy Land, but to the shrine of images. a particular saint. We read of Otho III., for instance, making a journey into Poland, to visit the relics of S. Adalbert†. Brotherhoods arose under John XIV. of priests and bishops, who bound themselves to say mass forty days for the soul of a departed brother. By the constitutions of the society he who fulfilled his promise was blessed: and he that omitted it was accursed. The baptism, as it was called, of Baptism of bells. bells, was another custom dating from the present age. It had been interdicted by Charlemagne, but A.D. 968 John XIII., christened, as we should say, the great bell of the Lateran church "John." In the same way ordeals of hot or Ordeals. cold water, and of hot iron, which Stephen V. had condemned, were gradually legitimatized. Contests were allowed between accuser and accused, and the judgment of Heaven averred in the issue. Oaths were admitted as purgations of a charge, or proofs of a fact: and it was a privilege of the clergy that the oath of a single presbyter, negative or positive, should be considered sufficient evidence.

Celibacy meanwhile began to be more than ever regarded S. Dunstan and celibacy. indispensable to holy orders, and the married state more than ever a bar. The hostility which S. Dunstan exercised against the married clergy throughout England is well known. On the other hand concubinage, against which his zeal and energies should have been rather concentrated, was carried to a Immorality. frightful extent, and even crimes of a still more revolting Fasts relaxed. nature were not unfrequent. The relaxations that were made respecting fasting about the same time are very significant. Nothing used to be eaten or drunk on a strict fast-day before vespers, or six o'clock. Now refectations were generally allowed after nones, and here and there after sexts. Wine, eggs, butter, and cheese, with other delicacies still unknown

\* Vid. Hoffmanni, *Lex.* s. v.† Baron. *Annal.* A.D. 1000. n. 5.



C E N T. in the East, were gradually permitted : while flesh-meat upon  
X. ordinary days began to be palliated upon various grounds in the monasteries.

Miracles  
alleged to  
decide con-  
troverted  
points.

Doctrinal controversies, as well as disciplinarian, such was the spirit of the age, were reported to have evoked miraculous agencies. Thus Odo, archbishop of Canterbury, confuted the opponents of Paschasius and disciples of Erigena on the subject of the holy Eucharist, when he exhibited real blood trickling down his fingers after consecration of the Bread<sup>1</sup>. One argument by which Paschasius himself maintained his theory, was, that our Lord had been seen upon the altar in the form of a boy by one Plecgils, a presbyter<sup>2</sup>.

Purgatory  
confirmed  
by reported  
apparitions.

Purgatory was confirmed daily by visions, dreams, and supernatural apparitions. It was confidently stated, for instance, that the soul of King Edwin had appeared to S. Dunstan, and had been liberated from fiery torments by his intercession.

It would be a hard requirement, indeed, to be obliged to believe these and the like miserable legends with the same faith that they were once received, though we are not to be driven by them into the opposite extreme, and to disbelieve, generally, that any signs were vouchsafed for the re-assurance of the faithful few during a period of so much gloom and iniquity. But by far the greatest and most unquestionable miracle was, that the Church ever survived the cankers and corruptions that may be said to have well-nigh penetrated to her very vitals. Even those to whom the principles of the age pointed as the Divinely appointed guardians and expositors of the mind of the Church, the bishops of Rome, were such as the Apostles and primitive Fathers would have degraded from the ministry altogether, exemplars of ignorance and vice combined ! “At that time,” says a most partial historian, “how deformed, how frightful, was the face of the Church of Rome ! The holy see was fallen under the tyranny of two loose and disorderly women, who placed and displaced bishops as their humour led them : and, what I tremble to think and speak of, they placed their gallants upon S. Peter’s chair, who did not so much as deserve the

<sup>1</sup> Osbern. in Vit. Odon. ap. Whartoni. Ang. Sac., vol. ii, p. 83. ed. 1691.

<sup>2</sup> Lib. De Corp. et Sang. Dom., c. 14.

very name of popes. For who dare say that these infamous persons, who intruded without any form of justice, were lawful popes? We do not find that they were chosen by the clergy: or that they consented the least to their election. All the canons of councils were infringed, the decrees of popes trampled under foot, the ancient traditions despised, the customs and ceremonies usually observed in the election of popes neglected, and the holy see became a prey to avarice and ambition\*. But to enter somewhat into the details of the picture. "John IX., with whom the century commenced, left nothing behind him," says Platina<sup>7</sup>, "worth remembering, save that he renewed certain seditions well-nigh extinguished," that is to say, he reprobated the acts of Stephen VI. against Formosus, as his predecessors Romanus I. and Theodore III. had done before him; he died in the second year of his pontificate.

Benedict IV. did nothing remarkable, says his biographer, but preserve his integrity in a most corrupt age. Leo V., who succeeded him, A.D. 907, was expelled forty days after by one of his servants named Christophorus: who was in his turn ejected the following year, and imprisoned by Sergius III., "a monster," says Baronius, "to whom the title of apostate would be far more applicable than that of apostolic<sup>8</sup>." So loose were his morals, that he had a natural son by Merozia, daughter of the infamous Theodora, who afterwards, by the intrigues of his mother, became John XI. So little did he regard the memory of his predecessor, that he not only condemned Formosus, but had his dead body exhumed and cast into the Tiber. Anastasius III. and Laudo I. occupied the interval between Sergius and the equally abandoned John X., who, while archdeacon of Ravenna, had been guilty of a liaison with Theodora, and by her means raised to the archiepiscopate of the same place. He became pontiff through the same meretricious influence, which, indeed, governed Rome; and for fourteen years the holy see was in the hands of a base profligate, whose genius was, moreover, much more martial than ecclesiastical. Ultimately Merozia, now wife of Guido, marquis of Tuscany, deposed her maternal para-

\* Baron., quoted by Du Pin, Eccl. Hist., cent. x. c. 2. Eng. Trans.

<sup>7</sup> Vit. Pontif. s. v.

<sup>8</sup> Annal., A.D. 908. n. 4.

CENT. X. mour, A.D. 928, and after a short interval, during which  
 Leo VI. Leo VI. and Stephen VII. respectively acted the part of a  
 Stephen VII. *locum tenens*, invested her own natural son, John XI., with  
 John XI. the tiara, A.D. 931. John was expelled A.D. 936, by his  
 Leo VII. uterine brother Alberic: and ended his days in a dungeon.  
 Leo VII. Leo VII., who succeeded him, is said to have been a good  
 man, and elected in a more lawful way. The same may be  
 Stephen VIII. asserted of the three next who followed him, or Stephen  
 Marinus II. VIII., Marinus II., and Agapetus II. On the death of the  
 Agapetus II. last, however, Octavian, son of Alberic, and a mere youth,  
 John XII. acquired possession of the see, and assumed a name already  
 notorious to brand it with additional infamy. John XII.,  
 A.D. 956, for so he styled himself, it may be to obliterate  
 the recollection of the boy Octavian, was a confirmed profligate  
 from his earliest years: and "what time he could spare from his  
 lusts he bestowed upon hunting," says Platina, "rather than upon  
 prayer." Otho procured his deposition in a Roman synod, A.D. 963,  
 for his political, and other still more grave misdemeanors, and got  
 Leo VIII. Leo VIII. elected in his stead: but John, who had already  
 John XIII. menaced his adversaries with excommunication, as soon as  
 the emperor had retired convened another assembly, deposed Leo and  
 all others ordained by him, and finally anathematized his abettors.  
 Otho was in the act of returning to exact vengeance, when this monster  
 of a man, as he is called, perished "by a wound received in a nightly  
 debauch<sup>a</sup>." Upon his decease Benedict V. was elected by the Romans,  
 but Otho forced both Leo VIII. him and them to acknowledge Leo VIII., and  
 John XIII. Benedict V. ended his days in a monastery. John XIII. succeeded  
 Leo with the consent of the emperor, whose ambassadors were present  
 at his election: but the accounts which mention temporalities granted,  
 confirmed, or restored by Otho to the Roman see, now and under John  
 XII., are very questionable and self-contradictory. At a synod of  
 Ravenna, for instance, he is said to have restored the exarchate,  
 A.D. 967, which, if the diploma be genuine, he had confirmed six years  
 before to the Roman see<sup>b</sup>. Moreover Regino, or rather his continuator,  
 as Mansi remarks, is the first who records the story.

<sup>a</sup> Döllinger, Per. iii. c. 3. § 2.

<sup>b</sup> Mansi, Concil., tom. xviii. pp. 451 et 499.

After John came Benedict VI., A.D. 970, who at the end of a year was sent prisoner to the castle of S. Angelo and strangled, Platina fears, not undeservedly. His death is charged upon Boniface VII., then a cardinal deacon, who would have obtained the see, but was ejected very shortly by the populace. Domnus II. only survived his elevation a few months. Then Benedict VII. enjoyed a comparatively quiet pontificate of between eight and nine years; and after him Peter, bishop of Pavia, was elected A.D. 983, through the imperial interest, and became John XIV. Upon the death of Otho II., meanwhile, Boniface returned from exile, cast his rival into prison, and there starved him. Nevertheless the victor was considered such a monster even by his own party, that after his own death, which followed in a few months, his corpse was treated with every possible indignity. John XV., who succeeded him, was, according to Platina, a sad nepotist, and the un auspicious events which occurred during his pontificate were ascribed to his evil deeds. Between him and Gregory V., Platina inserts another John, contrary to the ordinary accounts. Upon his death, A.D. 996, Otho III. ordered the Romans to elect Bruno, his cousin-german, but Crescentius, son of the notorious Theodora, and who had long played a conspicuous part in the affairs of the city, supported John, bishop of Piacenza. A war followed in which the emperor proved victorious, and Bruno became Gregory V., though he survived his elevation only two years and a half. Silvester II. belongs more properly to the next century.

Thus for a whole century by far the greater proportion of those who presided over the first see in the world were very monsters, as Arnulph calls them; a circumstance which occasionally made the interference of Otho the Great and his successors absolutely necessary. Thus in the pontificate of John XII. two cardinals implored aid of the former, adding that unless it were granted not only the empire but the faith itself would be imperilled. Moderns have indeed objected to the synod that deposed John and elected Leo VIII. the words of a former synod under Leo III., "We dare not judge the Apostolical seat, which is the head of all the Churches of

CENT.  
X.Benedict  
VI.Domnus  
II.  
Benedict  
VII.

John XIV.

Boniface  
VII.

John XV.

Gregory V.

Modern  
objections  
to the syn-  
nod that  
deposed  
John XII.

\* Vid. Concil. Rem., c. 28. ap. Mansi, Concil., tom. xix. p. 132.

CENT. God. For by it and by its vicar all we are judged: but  
X. itself is judged by none, as was the custom from ancient

Answered  
by facts.

times<sup>d</sup>." On the other hand it is a notorious fact that the writers of these days, who can scarcely be supposed to have been less deferential, have with one consent reckoned Leo VIII. among the lawful popes. Again, still more plausible was the revival of those privileges which had descended to the emperors from the days of Adrian I., or the eighth century, in the pontifical elections. It is true that they had continually slept or been unheeded. Before entering upon the above cause, however, Otho made the Roman clergy and people swear that they would never elect any person to the holy see without his approval, and that of his son Otho II. The synod that deposed John bound themselves equally to his more remote successors<sup>e</sup>. Otho III. accordingly vindicated the election of his cousin Bruno against Crescentius, and forced even the antipope John to beg pardon for his intrusion. It is on all hands acknowledged what good service was done by the Othos to the Church. Even Döllinger says "The Othos saved and exalted the Italian episcopacy, by placing in the different sees Germans, or men devoted to them, but always worthy of their charge<sup>f</sup>."

§ 4.  
OPPOSITIONS.

On the other hand there were not wanting eminent individuals who from time to time entered a strong protest against the wickedness of the age, and maintained the primitive doctrine and discipline. For instance, Glaber Radulphus expressed a general feeling against undue papal interference, when he wrote thus: "All (Gallican bishops) being equally indignant, inasmuch as it appeared highly disgraceful that he who governed the Apostolical seat should transgress Apostolical rule. Since it was moreover confirmed by manifold authority from ancient time, that no bishop should presume to do such a thing in the diocese of another, unless with the request or sanction of the prelate whose diocese it was. For although the Roman pontiff be on account of the dignity of the Apostolical seat esteemed more worthy than the other bishops in the world, yet it is not lawful for him in any re-

<sup>d</sup> Anast. De Vit. Pontif., sub. v. Leo III. A.D. 800.

<sup>e</sup> Vid. Grat. Decret. Dist. lxiii. c. 23.

<sup>f</sup> Hist. of the Church, Per. iii. c. v. § 3. Eng. Trans.

spect to transgress the tenor of the regimen prescribed in the canons. For as every pontiff of a Church that is orthodox, and spouse of his own see, uniformly represents the Saviour, so generally is it lawful for nobody wantonly to invade a diocese that is under another bishop's." Gerbert and those with him in the synod of Rheims not only asserted of the Roman pontiff generally that he was subject to the canons, but even ventured to designate the then pontiff, John XV., antichrist<sup>b</sup>. Even Dunstan had the hardiness once to resist the papal mandate. A nobleman who had been excommunicated by him for an illegal marriage appealed to Rome, and procured a reversal of the sentence; Dunstan nevertheless refused to absolve the criminal till he had given satisfaction, and made full proof of his penitence. It is equally to his credit that King Edgar was by him subjected to a seven years' penance for a still more immoral act. In his measures against the married clergy Dunstan perhaps rather acted conformably with the principles of the day than with strict propriety. It was a clear innovation upon primitive practice for marriage to be considered a bar to the ministry; and it was certainly no less so that a man should be required to separate from his wife as a necessary condition to his ordination. Instances indeed of marriage after holy orders are extremely rare; the first well authenticated one occurring in the diocese of Chalons, A.D. 894, where it was regarded so novel that bishop Mancio confessed himself at a loss how to punish the offender<sup>c</sup>. At the same time it appears from Gratian that those in the minor orders might marry without violating the canons, and as for Scripture it is indisputable that none are there prohibited either before or after ordination. It was an error of judgment therefore that made S. Dunstan and his coadjutors Oswald and Ethelwald so hot against the married clergy, though the sloth, dissoluteness, and nepotism, that was so rife among them, should be alleged towards vindicating the act though not the motive. Whatever life and energy there was in the Church, unquestionably was with the celibate party, and regarded as a re-

CENT.  
X.

Gerbert and the synod of Rheims call John XV. antichrist.

Dunstan in spite of his errors a great reformer.

<sup>c</sup> Hist., lib. ii. c. 4.<sup>b</sup> Mansi, tom. xix. p. 106—170.<sup>i</sup> Vid. Mabillon Analecta, p. 429. ed. Nov.

CENT. former, had his principles been still more exceptionable,  
 X. Dunstan would still have been a clear gain to the Church.

Equally earnest and praiseworthy were the endeavours of  
 Odo and Gerhard. Odo, abbot of Cluny, and Gerhard of Brogne to reform the  
 cloister. The rule of S. Benedict had almost fallen into desuetude till revived by the former; and the model restored by him in his own monastery was speedily adopted throughout Italy, Spain, Britain, France, and Germany. The labours of Gerhard were bestowed upon Flanders and Lorraine. Morals henceforth assumed a healthier tone in the monasteries, and through them recovered influence with the mass. On the other hand the corruptions which had found their way into religion had not absolutely affected the system yet; at all events they did not form part and parcel of the dogmatic teaching of the Church. Two remarkable documents shall be adduced in the way of a specimen; the first is a profession of the synod of Troli near Soissons, A.D. 909<sup>h</sup>, signed by Hervey, archbishop of Rheims, and eleven suffragans. It exhibits the appearance of a prolix sermon against the vices of the day, and sets forth copiously what the faith and practice of a Christian ought to be. Yet there is not a word about purgatory, masses for the dead, indulgences, invocation of the saints or of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Again in a body of canons published under King Edgar, we meet with injunctions respecting the blessed Eucharist wholly inconsistent with transubstantiation as Collier remarks; and in a short appendix about confession the penitent is directed to confess his sins to God and his confessor, but without the least appeal to the saints. Indeed the custom of the times still was rather to pray for the departed than to pray to them<sup>1</sup>. It was at a subsequent period that the old liturgies were altered to suit the latter idea. Other Anglo-Saxon testimonies might have been adduced against transubstantiation: e. g., Alfred or Alfric, bishop of Crediton (Exeter), and Wulffin, bishop of Sherborne (Salisbury<sup>m</sup>); but it may be fairly doubted whether a single writer of the ninth or

Profession  
 of the  
 synod of  
 Troli.

Canons  
 under King  
 Edgar.

<sup>h</sup> Vid. Mansi, tom. xviii. p. 263—308.

<sup>1</sup> "Olim orabatur pro ipso: hodie ipse orat pro nobis." Cap. "eum Martine." Extra. de celebr. Missar. in

Glossa.—Abp. Usser's Answer to a Challenge, &c., c. vii. p. 198.

<sup>m</sup> Usser, De Successione et statu Christ. Eccl., c. ii. § 20, 21.

tenth centuries is to be found, whose teaching can be called identical with the modern dogma. In the present century CENT.  
X.  
 Heringer, abbot of Lobes, and Ratherius, bishop of Verona, directly contradicted Paschasius.

Meanwhile, it may be observed, over and above, that communion in one kind had not obtained: the use of unleavened bread was not imperative: and lastly, that the Divine offices were performed to a considerable extent in the vernacular tongue.

As for the Eastern Church, though a change was unquestionably acknowledged after consecration, it was held to be of a mystical or sacramental nature, conformably with the teaching of her great doctors SS. Basil, Chrysostom, and Theodoret: and not inconsistently with the "impanation" of S. John Damascene and others of the eighth century. Leavened bread continued to be used in the East: equivalents to the term transubstantiation were unknown: nor did the adoration of the blessed Sacrament ever obtain in the Greek Church.

But there was practically little intercourse between the two communions in the present age. The fourth nuptials of Leo the Wise have indeed been instanced as a case in which appeal was made to the Roman see as well by the patriarch as the emperor. The two letters from Nicholas Mysticus however, which form the sole authority for the assertion, have been pronounced spurious; and even from these it is clear and express that whatever appeal was made, was made to the four patriarchs, and not to the Roman exclusively". On the other hand, not a word about the appeal occurs in the Byzantine writers who mention the dispute: and certainly not the least reference is made to it in the synod of Constantinople, held after the death of Leo and the restoration of Nicholas, by Constantine Porphyrogenitus, A.D. 920, where fourth marriages are condemned prospectively with a salvo to the particular case of the deceased emperor\*.

That the feud between Rome and Constantinople had not grown obsolete is evidenced towards the end of the century in the deeds of Sisinnius and his successor Sergius, patriarchs of the latter city: Sisinnius republishing the celebrated en-

\* Mansi, tom. xviii. p. 242—247.

\* Ibid., p. 331—342.

Doctrine  
of the  
Easterus  
respecting  
the Eucha-  
rist.

Case of  
Leo the  
Wise not  
referred to  
Rome.



**CENT.** cyclical letter of Photius against the Latins: and Sergius, it is said, erasing the names of the pontiffs who maintained a double Procession from the sacred diptychs<sup>p</sup>.

**X.**

Besides the doctrinal charge as regards the Procession, the letter of Photius inveighs against the Saturday fasts, confirmation administered by the bishop and made a distinct rite from baptism, the separation of the married clergy from their wives, and other disciplinary points. Again, we find Polyeuctus, patriarch of Constantinople, canonically stigmatizing even second marriages in the union of Nicephorus Phocas with Theophane, A.D. 963<sup>q</sup>; while the Western Church on the other hand had appeared to countenance fourth marriages in the person of Leo the Wise.

**§ 5.**  
**COUNCILS.**

This proverbially obscure age did not produce a single general council. Indeed under the circumstances it would have been scarce possible. The East and West were no longer united under a common head: and of these the latter had undergone a progressive dismemberment, and had become many kingdoms, while the former groaned under the yoke of the Turks and Saracens. Again the corruption and ignorance of the times afforded a still more formidable ob-

**Provincial  
synoda.**

stacle. National or provincial synods however were not unfrequent, especially in the West: and of these three, perhaps the most remarkable, have been already noticed. The first was the Roman synod that deposed John XII. under Otho I., A.D. 963. Forty German and Italian bishops, and sixteen cardinals, composed the assembly. Many and most atrocious were the crimes alleged against John, who was twice summoned, and only deposed upon his persisted non-appearance. All that Otho was asked to do was to give effect to the sentence: nor was Leo VIII. elected otherwise than by the synod, though with the consent of the emperor. Contemporary writers have with one consent reckoned him among the lawful pontiffs; and it is not a little remarkable that the cause of a monster like John should have ever been upheld, unless for a controversial purpose. Those who impugn the acts of the synod should remember that there is unquestionably such a thing as a moral heresy, and that,

**Roman.**

<sup>p</sup> Leo Allat., *De Eccl. Occ. et Or.*  
*Perp. Consens.*, lib. ii. c. viii. § 1—3.

<sup>q</sup> Spondani, *Epit. Baron. Annal.*,  
A.D. 963. n. 4.

even according to the ultramontane theory, a pope that should maintain heresy would cease to be pope. CENT.  
X.

The next synod has found still less favour amongst moderns, from the free manner in which the vices of the pontiffs are exposed, and yet we are indebted to a pontiff for our account of it, the synod of Rheims, A.D. 991. Arnulph, a natural son of King Lothaire, had been preferred by Hugh Capet to the archiepiscopate, but his treasonable practices soon proved him unworthy of so high a trust. Representations having been made to the pontiff without effect, the synod of Rheims deposed him, and elected Gerbert, afterwards Silvester II., in his room. The acts of the synod are worth a careful perusal, and, notwithstanding the efforts that have been made to disparage them, Mansi owns that they cannot be slurred over: and that the pontiffs of those days were not as holy as those who preceded, or those who succeeded them<sup>1</sup>. Arnulph, bishop of Orleans, was the principal opposer of his namesake, and Seguinus, archbishop of Sens, the only dissentient from the sentence which condemned him. Possibly the conduct of the last was not entirely disinterested. Nevertheless Robert, having succeeded his father Hugh, Arnulph was restored by Gregory V., A.D. 998\*, and Gerbert, through Otho III., obtained Ravenna. The third synod, that of Troli, A.D. 909, is only remarkable for the primitive standard of faith and practice which was there enjoined. No less than fifteen long chapters are devoted to the subject. In the first of these the provinces of the temporal and spiritual power are accurately laid down; and their mutual dependence shewn from Scripture and the Fathers. In the ninth the law of celibacy is duly recognised: but on the other hand, the evils to which it had led are not concealed, and it is frankly allowed that the Apostolical age sanctioned married clergy. In the fourteenth the Greek doctrine of the Procession is called monstrous blasphemy: and lastly in the fifteenth canon the rock upon which our Lord built His Church is said to be not S. Peter, but his confession.

Besides the above-mentioned, the synod of Erfurt, under Erfurt. Henry the Fowler, A.D. 932, which by the way calls itself universal, the synods of Ingelheim and Augs-  
Ingelheim, Augs-  
burgh, under  
others.

<sup>1</sup> Tom. xix. p. 105. not.

<sup>\*</sup> Vid. Pagi ad Baron. Annal., A.D. 995. n. 1.

**CENT. X.** Otho I., with other German, British, and Gallican synods, might have been noticed. Rome numbered twelve, and Constantinople four, in the present century, but none that were important. It may be remarked meanwhile, that kings had not ceased to convene them in the West nor emperors in the East. Mabillon has preserved<sup>†</sup> a curious old formula, containing directions for the celebration of a provincial synod in the church of Rouen, which he says probably obtained throughout France: but it rather belongs to the next century. It may very profitably be compared with a much more primitive formula attributed to the fourth or fifth council of Toledo, A.D. 668<sup>u</sup>. The laity are altogether ignored in the first, but find a place in the second.

**§ 6. WRITERS.** Writers were not so few, nor of so low a stamp, as might be supposed at a time when ignorance prevailed so generally, and the legendary style was so popular.

Among the Easterns, Constantine Porphyrogenitus stands first. This prince was son of the emperor Leo by his fourth wife Zoe Carbonopsine, and ascended to the empire in his seventh year, under the guidance first of his uncle Alexander, and afterwards of his mother. He devoted his life to literature, even to the neglect of his graver duties: and left works upon politics and military tactics which are still extant. But his great work was his historical and political pandects ranged under fifty-three heads, of which two only, the twenty-seventh and fiftieth remain. He died A.D. 959, in the forty-ninth year of his reign, having done much to raise the literature of his times. Ecumenius abridged the commentaries of S. Chrysostom upon the New Testament, but his age is disputed. The same may be said of Simeon Metaphrastes, a Constantinopolitan, surnamed from the character of his writings, and of Suidas the lexicographer. There are a hundred and twenty-two lives of the saints extant, which have been attributed to the former, and five hundred and thirty-nine which bear his name, but have been pronounced spurious. Nikon, a monk, wrote a tract upon or rather against the religion of the Armenians. John Came-niata, with Hippolytus of Thebes, Moses Barceph, bishop of Bethraman, and Sisinnius, patriarch of Constantinople, may

Constantine Porphyrogenitus.

Ecumenius.

Simeon Metaphrastes.  
Suidas.

Nikon and others.

<sup>†</sup> Annal., tom. ii. (ed. Nov., p. 226.)

<sup>u</sup> Mansi, tom. i. p. 10; Concil. Hisp. et Gars.: ad c. 4. Tolet. iv.

be dismissed with a bare mention; and lastly Eutychius, CENT. X. patronymically called Batracides, and orthodox patriarch of Alexandria, from A.D. 933 to A.D. 950, left most interesting annals behind him from the creation to A.D. 938. Eutychius, patriarch of Alexandria. These were first edited by Selden and Pocock, A.D. 1658, and they contain much that is curious about the patriarchs from Adam; about the affairs of the Sabians, Arabians, and Egyptians; about the succession of the patriarchs of Jerusalem, Antioch, and Alexandria; about the Manicheans and Nestorians; about the Maronites and Jacobites; about the affairs of the Mahometans, Saracens, and Turks; not however that his narrative is free from the marvellous.

Among the Western writers may be mentioned Regino, Regino. monk and afterwards abbot of Prüm in the diocese of Treves, who wrote a chronicon from the Christian era to A.D. 908, and a work entitled *De disciplinis Ecclesiasticis et Religione Christiand*, which is useful in a comparison between the opinions and practices of his day, and those which have since obtained. Radulphus Niger has been adjudged to the twelfth Radulphus Niger. century by those who contend that the story of the female pope cannot be traced higher than the eleventh century. Otherwise he had been with a single exception unanimously ranked among the writers of the present age. Ratherius, Ratherius. a monk of Lobes, afterwards bishop of Verona, and eventually of Lieges, his former diocese, was a rigid disciplinarian, which brought him into odium with his lax clergy and equally lax king. He wrote, among other works, a letter to Patricius on the Body and Blood of our Lord, in which he dissents from Paschasius, and died in his monastery A.D. 973. Flodoard, Flodoard. a canon of Rheims, of which Church he wrote a history, besides a chronicon of the affairs of the Franks from A.D. 919 to 966, died the same year in which he concluded the latter work. Wittikind or Winduchind, a monk of Corbey, wrote Wittikind. a history of the Saxons, or the reigns of Henry the Fowler and Otho I., which he dedicated to the daughter of Otho, queen Matilda. "He had not ceased writing," says Cave, "A.D. 793." Luitprand, bishop of Cremona, from which Luitprand. see he was ejected however by the same king Berengarius, who had originally placed him there, wrote a history of Europe during his own times, the sixth and last book of

**CENT. X.** which Baronius would disparage from the fidelity with which the history of the Roman synod, A.D. 963, that deposed John XII., is told. Luitprand himself played the part of an interpreter between Otho and the bishops assembled there. A.D. 968, he went a second time to Constantinople. He had been sent before by King Berengarius, on a mission from Otho to Nicephorus Phocas. He was alive A.D. 970. His claims to learning and refinement are very considerable; and he stands high as a writer in so dark an age. Aimoin, a monk of Fleury, and not to be confounded with his namesake of the last century, wrote a history of the Franks from the taking of Troy to the year A.D. 752, of which three books and part of the fourth are considered genuine, and the rest assigned to his continuator. His style has been greatly commended, and he outlived the present century. Atto, bishop of Vercelli, Heriger, abbot of Lobes, Roswida, a nun of Gaudersheim, and others, need not be named more fully: and legendary writers may be passed over unnoticed. A fuller account of the writers which have been mentioned will be found in the collections of Voss\* and Oudin†.

Aimoin  
and others.

§ 8.  
MISCELLANEOUS  
EVENTS.

It would be impossible to furnish a list of the marvels with which the history of these times abounds. Earthquakes, inundations, signs from heaven, apparitions, visions, revelations, and the like. Those who have a taste for the marvellous may examine them, and where they can find sufficient evidence, may believe them. So innumerable have been the forgeries however, that even the best authenticated with difficulty find credit with the most candid. Alas for those by whom the offence has come!

Sovereignty transferred.

To revert to the more temporal side. Sovereignty was transferred from one race to another in the present age. That of Germany for instance passed from the Franks to the Saxons upon the death of Lewis IV., the last of the Caroline succession. Otho I., however, was the first of a new line who resumed the Cæsarship, and was styled emperor. That he received the imperial diadem from John XII. is not more certain, than that he acquired the rights implied in it partly by inheritance from his father Henry: and partly by his own conquests, and the will of his subjects.

\* De Historicis Latinis Libri iii.

† Supplem. de Scriptore. Eccl.

The idea that John conferred, or had a right to confer, the empire is a pure fiction. Equally supposititious is the celebrated diploma by which Otho I. is said to have confirmed all former donations, with the dukedoms of Beneventum, and Spoleto, Tuscany, and contingently Sicily, to the Roman see, though even here the imperial rights are reserved by a special provision.

C E N T.  
X.

Diploma of  
Otho I.

Probably the restitutions which, Regino says\*, Otho made on a future occasion to John XIII., A.D. 967, may have given rise to the fiction.

Indeed that Otho should have acted fairly and liberally towards the pontiffs, is only consistent with his other good deeds to the Church. He founded the sees of Havelburg, of Brandenburg, of Meissen, and Naumburg; and invested Magdeburg with metropolitan rights over them. He was the first who endowed bishoprics with territorial jurisdiction; he conferred dukedoms upon the archbishops of Magdeburg and Cologne: and constituted the archbishop of Mentz his arch-chancellor.

Another transaction which has been alleged upon the most questionable evidence was the transfer said to have been made under Otho III. A.D. 996: by which the imperial election was placed for ever in the hands of the seven electors by a decree of Gregory V. and a Roman synod. This extraordinary proceeding forms the colophon of the alleged papal transfer of the empire from the Greeks to the Germans\*: but Pagi shews it to have been a fiction of the thirteenth century<sup>b</sup>. The donation of Otho III. is acknowledged to be spurious even by those who defend the former.

Transfer  
said to have  
been under  
Otho III.

It has never been pretended that the pontiff had the least share in a more remote transfer: that of the crown of France, which passed from the Carlovingian line to Hugh Capet, A.D. 987. The latter either derived his title from the testament of Lewis V., or from the free choice of the Frank nobles. It has indeed been made a question whether he was not descended from Charlemagne through his mother: but

Crown of  
France in-  
dependent-  
ly trans-  
ferred.

\* Chron., lib. ii. ad A.D. 967.

<sup>b</sup> Ad Baron. Annal., A.D. 996. n.

\* Bellarm. De Transl. Imp. Rom., 10.  
lib. iii. 1—4.

CENT. such a claim, however indisputable, would not have benefited him in a country where the Salique law prevailed.

X.  
Arragon a kingdom.

The kingdom of Arragon commenced towards the close of the century, through the conquests of Sancho the Great, who upon his death, A.D. 1033, divided his newly-acquired territory amongst his sons.

Conquests of the Turks.

In the East dreadful ravages were made by the Turks, who had embraced Islamism, at the solicitation of the Saracens, a short time before: and were now invited by Mahmud, king of Persia, to aid him against the Babylonians and Indians. From allies however they became foes, and from foes conquerors. Not only Persia, but Arabia, Palestine, Syria, and Babylonia, gradually succumbed to them under the Seljukian Togrul Beg or Tangrolipix, as Zonaras calls him, and his successors. Nor were they long extending themselves over Cappadocia, Pontus, and Bithynia. Discord between the caliphs had accelerated the fall of the Saracens in the East: and Africa only witnessed the feud between the Fatimites and Abbassides extinguished in the overthrow of the latter. Egypt indeed remained a caliphate to the twelfth century, when the caliphs were displaced by the mighty Saladin and his successors, who were styled Sultans. These, before two centuries had elapsed, gave place to the Mamelukes: who themselves, towards the commencement of the sixteenth century, fell before Selimus, emperor of the Turks.

§ 9.  
JEWISH AFFAIRS.  
Αἰχμαλω-  
τάρχης.

The plight of the Jews was wretched in the extreme. Their chief magistrate, significantly styled "head of the exiles," lived at Sora near Babylon. However the Babylonian schools were swept away in the next age, and with them the Geonim, or "sublime doctors." Among the Geonim of the tenth century, R. Saadin is the most conspicuous name.

## CHAPTER XI.

THE first year of the eleventh century, or the fourteenth <sup>§ 1.</sup> indiction, was the last year but one of the emperor Otho <sup>STATE</sup> III. Robert, son of Hugh Capet, ruled over the Franks: <sup>OF THE</sup> and Ethelred, father of Edmund Ironside, whose partner <sup>CHURCH.</sup> and successor Canute the Great was, over the Anglo-Saxons. Silvester II. had on the death of Gregory V., A.D. 999, ascended the papal chair, which he held four years: and Basil II., slayer of the Bulgarians as he is called, administered the Eastern empire from the death of John Zimisces, A.D. 976, to A.D. 1025. <sup>Βουλγαρο-κτόνος.</sup>

So deplorable was the aspect of the times that it seemed to offer a spontaneous solution to the prophecy of the Apocalypse which represents Satan bound a thousand years, and afterwards loosed for a little season<sup>c</sup>. A thousand years had elapsed from the birth of our Blessed Lord: and those who looked upon the state of religion and morals, and society generally throughout the world, saw much to convince them that "the falling away" foretold by the Apostle had actually commenced. Accordingly we find that it was beginning to be a general opinion, especially throughout France, that the times of Antichrist had arrived. "Most of the good and just, candid and simple," says Aventinus, "have testified in their writings that the reign of Antichrist commenced in those days, because they saw events accomplished in them which Christ our Saviour had predicted so many years before. The whole world unhinged as it were by the storms of war: the whole human race encircled by the whirlwind of arms: Easterns and Westerns hurrying to the fight one with another: all men assailing and wounding each other. Normans, Gauls, Germans, Saxons, Hungarians, Italians, Britons, Christians, mutually worn out with domestic quarrels, and intestine feuds: Greeks and Armenians, Turks and Arabians, Spaniards and Saracens, Asiatics and Africans in battle-array against each other: Jerusalem twice taken, twice stormed<sup>d</sup>!"

<sup>c</sup> c. xx. 2, 3.

<sup>d</sup> Annal. Boiorum, lib. v. c. 17.



CENT. . . . A long list of prodigies and extraordinary calamities follow, which Zonaras, Sigebert, and others, describe more minutely: while from Glaber Radulphus, we get what may be called a still more esoteric view of the age. "For who," he asks, "had ever heard of so many incestuous unions, adulteries, marriages within the prohibited degrees of consanguinity, mockings of concubines, and rivalries of wicked men? Over and above so great a mass of evils, inasmuch as there was scarce one to be found among the people who would correct these excesses and reprove others, the prediction of the prophet was accomplished, which says, 'And it shall be like people like priest,' and the more so because in those days those charged with temporal or ecclesiastical power were mere boys; for owing to the sins of the people the saying of Solomon had been fulfilled, which says, 'Woe to thee, O land, when thy ruler is a child.' For even the universal pope of Rome, that is to say, the grandson of the Benedicts and of John, who preceded him, was for a considerable bribe elected about the tenth year of his age by the Romans; and afterwards, having been frequently ejected by them, and disgracefully re-admitted, flourished without the least authority\*." He is speaking of that most deplorable character Benedict IX., who succeeded to the pontificate A.D. 1033. It would be a melancholy task to go more minutely into these horrors.

§ 2.  
SPREAD  
OF THE  
CHURCH.

Christianity can hardly be expected to have made many new converts after what has been stated: and yet there were not wanting examples of a zeal for the faith which would have done credit to a less abject age, especially amongst crowned heads. Canute the Great, for instance, evangelized Denmark from England. S. Stephen, the first Hungarian king, by a royal decree made Christianity the religion of his people: though a reaction took place on his death, A.D. 1038. That he made a gift of his dominions to the Roman see depends upon an assertion of Gregory VII., in a letter to Solomon, one of the subsequent kings. Bruno, a near relation of Otho III., with others, preached to the Prussians, among whom Adalbert, bishop of Prague, had previously undergone martyrdom.

Prussia.

\* Hist. lib. iv. c. 5.

† Ap. Mansi, tom. xx. p. 138.

In the East the Nestorians exhibited far more energy than the orthodox. CENT.  
XI.

But these missionary conversions were completely thrown into the shade by transactions of a more mixed character by which Christianity was advanced by fire and sword: and actual war denounced against a hostile creed. This policy may be said to have been first authorized A.D. 1059, in the attack upon, and ultimate expulsion of, the Saracens from Sicily, by Robert Guiscard and his brother Roger: the latter of whom erected so many churches and monasteries throughout the island, that he may be said with truth to have re-established Christianity there. To reward his services Urban II. conferred upon him and his lawful successors, A.D. 1098, the full powers inherent in a legate of the holy see, a most extraordinary privilege indeed for a layman and a king! Hence the earnestness with which it has since been impugned<sup>s</sup>. Nevertheless, Mansi says not a word against the genuineness of the letter which conveyed it<sup>h</sup>, nor would Clement XI. have formally repealed it, A.D. 1715, could it have been otherwise evaded. Indeed similar powers were afterwards offered to one of our kings, Henry II., as we shall see.

The expulsion of the Saracens from Palestine was a still more remarkable proceeding. Silvester II. is said to have first instigated it; and Gregory VII. addressed Henry, William, count of Burgundy, and others, upon the subject<sup>1</sup>: Victor III. did not let the idea sleep, and under Urban II. the preaching of Peter the Hermit, aided by the concurrent arrival of an embassy from Alexius Comnenus, evoked the first crusade. The synod of Piacenza, A.D. 1095, to be sure hesitated, not so much on account of the principle as for the practical difficulties of the undertaking: but Urban renewed his solicitations, and by the synod of Clermont the Western Church was formally committed to a war, whose very name attests that it was undertaken for the defence of the cross. That the espousal of the crusades by the pontiffs was a deeply politic step, whether they were conscious of it or not,

<sup>s</sup> Vid. Baron. "De Siciliæ Monarchia." Annal., A.D. 1097. n. 18.

<sup>h</sup> Tom. xx. p. 659.

<sup>1</sup> Ep., lib. ii. § 31, 37, &c., ap. Mansi, tom. xx. p. 55—390.

**CENT.** is abundantly proved from the enormous ascendancy which  
**XI.** they thereby acquired; but unfortunately these considerations do not enter into the right and wrong of the question. It was without doubt a new thing for a Christian bishop to solicit the assent of a spiritual synod to a carnal war: nor can the injuries sustained by the pilgrims, or reverence for the Holy Land, offer a sufficient apology for the principle. As a political war only, which they were not, the crusades may have been justifiable: but as a religious war, which they were, they would seem essentially unchristian. Among the chiefs of the expedition were Hugh, brother of Philip I., Robert, duke of Normandy, Raymond, count of Toulouse, Robert, count of Flanders, Godfrey of Boulogne, duke of Lower Lorraine, with his brothers Baldwin and Eustace, and Boamund, duke of Apulia and Calabria. All before starting received a red lance at the hands of the pontiff: and all wore a worsted cross upon the right shoulder solemnly consecrated; 600,000 and upwards from first to last composed the army. During the first part of the campaign success seemed to have justified the measure. Niceæ fell, A.D. 1097: the following year saw Antioch and Edessa, with the adjacent provinces, in the hands of the invaders. Finally, A.D. 1099, Jerusalem exchanged the banners of the crescent for those of the cross: and a kingdom was established under Godfrey, which had existed at the time when it was overthrown by Saladin above eighty-seven years. But these successes were purchased at a fearful cost: innumerable lives had been sacrificed: while the evils entailed upon society throughout Europe were a contagious and undying sore.

Chiefs of  
the first  
crusade.

§ 4.  
CORRUPTIONS AND  
INNOVATIONS.

The miracles and visions that are said to have occurred during the crusades are of a piece with the age. The lance that pierced the side of our Blessed Lord for instance, was stated to have been found through the instrumentality of S. Andrew. Other precious but questionable relics came to light elsewhere: for instance, those of the Theban legion. The rage for pilgrimages increased a hundred-fold. Indeed it may be said that the discipline of the Church was completely overlaid by them. Canonical penance had in the last century, or perhaps earlier, undergone a considerable

change, when redemptions and commutations began to be allowed. For instance, according to the rules of our own archbishop Theodore, though they are perhaps interpolated, instead of living for a year upon bread and water, the penitent might sing fifty psalms upon his knees: or he might give a certain sum to the poor: or procure a presbyter to say mass for him: or prostrate himself a hundred times upon the ground, and at each prostration repeat a Pater Noster<sup>1</sup>. By these means a penance of a hundred years might be got through under a week<sup>2</sup>. Under Victor II. holy wars were added as a lawful substitute: and by the second canon of the Clermontan synod it was decreed that all penance might be redeemed by a journey to Jerusalem, undertaken for the liberation of the Church of God, and from pure devotion. In spite of the condition attached to it, the eagerness with which good and bad alike snapped at the privilege, proved how ecclesiastical discipline was likely to be affected by it: and it would appear from Morinus that the decadence of canonical penance is to be assigned to the very next century<sup>3</sup>. Indulgences formed the next plait in the tissue. Another innovation was the consecration of the Saturday to the Blessed Virgin Mary by Urban and the same synod. On the seventh day of the week her office was ordered to be recited by the clergy, to obtain her prayers for the success of the expedition; a custom which was not long reaching the laity. The use of prayer-beads is said to have originated with Peter the Hermit.

CENT.  
XI.Penance  
how com-  
mutable.Indul-  
gences.Sabbath  
dedicated  
to the  
B. V. M.

Also a new ecclesiastical dignity had been gradually developing, and henceforward assumed a distinctive name. Cardinal presbyters and deacons in the days of S. Gregory the Great, the first who mentions them, meant no more than the fixed presbyters and deacons of the principal churches<sup>m</sup>. Even in the present century we find Theobald, bishop of Soissons, speaking of the cardinal presbyter of a place in his diocese<sup>n</sup>. As the see of Rome rose into pre-eminence, her cardinal presbyters and deacons naturally eclipsed the rest;

Cardinal  
priests and  
deacons.<sup>1</sup> Marshall, Penit. Discipl., c. iii. § 2.

lib. iv. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Morin. De Penit., lib. x. c. 18.<sup>3</sup> Chron. Abbat. S. Johan. Suev. ed.<sup>1</sup> Ibid., c. 17.

Petro Grisio, p. 49.

<sup>m</sup> Anton. de Dom. De Rep. Eccl.,

C E N T. and one of them not unfrequently represented the pope. Thus  
 XI. Peter was sent into France as the legate of John XVIII.<sup>o</sup> Hildebrand was only a cardinal subdeacon when he was sent by Victor II. to Henry I. of France in a like capacity.

Those of  
 Rome  
 eclipse the  
 rest.

Cardinal  
 bishops.

The secret of their growing importance is revealed in a letter of Leo IX. to the patriarch Michael, where the Roman clergy generally are said to be styled cardinals: *Cardini utique illi, quo cætera moventur, vicinius adherentes*<sup>p</sup>. Cardinal bishops, on the other hand, are more rarely mentioned, especially those of the Roman see. Reference, however, is made to seven bishops in the life of Stephen IV., A.D. 769<sup>q</sup>, who are styled hebdomadal cardinals: and these, doubtless, were the seven suffragan bishops of Ostia, Porto, Albano, S. Rufina, Frascati, Palæstrina, and La Sabina. Immense consequence was given them in the present century, when, A.D. 1059, a Lateran synod under Nicholas II. placed the election of the Roman pontiff in the hands of the cardinal bishops<sup>r</sup>. Consent of the inferior clergy and laity was nevertheless indispensable. Afterwards<sup>s</sup>, the cardinal presbyters and deacons were joined with them, to satisfy the claims of the mass of the clergy—whence the origin of the sacred college—and henceforward the consent of the people ceased to have a practical existence. Thus the term cardinal came to be restricted to the dignitaries of the Roman see, in the same way that the reputed successors of S. Peter gradually monopolized the term pope.

§ 5.  
 GOVERN-  
 MENT.

Silvester  
 II.

But it was very far from a monopoly of words only to which Rome aspired in the persons of her supreme pontiffs. Germs of a new claim had already shewn themselves, and they were destined to be matured considerably during the present and subsequent age. They will be traced best in the lives of those who represented them. Silvester II., the first French pope, had been tutor to Otho III., by whose influence he obtained the tiara, and successively archbishop of Rheims and Ravenna. His mathematical and astronomical studies, in

<sup>p</sup> Pagi ad Baron. Annal., A.D. 1009. n. 2.

<sup>r</sup> Ep. i. §. 32. ap. Mansi, tom. xix. p. 653.

<sup>q</sup> Anast. in Vit. Steph. IV. ap. Thomassin. Vet. et Nov. Eccl. Discipl.,

P. i. lib. ii. c. 116.

<sup>r</sup> Can. 2. Vid. Mansi, tom. xix. p. 898.

<sup>s</sup> Gratian indeed includes them in the decree of Nicholas, and adds a salvo to the emperor. Dist. xxiii. c. 1.

which he greatly excelled, made his ignorant contemporaries say that he was indebted for his election to the occult arts, and that he had sold his soul to the Evil One<sup>t</sup>. Most of the principal acts of his life have been already mentioned. He only held the popedom from A.D. 999 to A.D. 1003. His immediate successors, John XVI. or XVII., John XVII. or XVIII., and Sergius IV., did nothing important. Benedict VIII., who owed his election, A.D. 1012, to the influence of the counts of Tusculum, to whose family he belonged, was not ashamed to implore the assistance of Henry II. against his rival Gregory, and rewarded his services by crowning him emperor, A.D. 1014.

CENT.  
XI.

John  
XVII.  
John  
XVIII.  
Sergius IV.  
Benedict  
VIII.

Benedict was succeeded by his brother, and a layman, John XIX., who sat from A.D. 1024 to A.D. 1033. And upon his demise Count Alberich, their powerful brother, procured the election of his son Theophylact, a boy of ten years old. Benedict IX., for so he styled himself, proved a consummate monster: he was ejected for his crimes, A.D. 1038, by the people, but restored by the emperor Conrad. He was expelled once more, A.D. 1044, and one John, bishop of Sabina, substituted in his room, who took the name of Silvester III. Benedict, however, effected his return, and parting with the popedom for a bribe to the arch-priest John, who became Gregory VI., retired into private life with a view to marry his cousin<sup>u</sup>. But he soon claimed to be reinstated in the dignity which he had laid aside: and for a time the Church was divided between three heads. Eventually, Henry III. got a sentence of deposition passed upon Silvester and Benedict at the synod of Sutri, and Gregory resigning his claims to the pontificate, which he confessed he had obtained uncanonically, Suidger, bishop of Bamberg, was elected by a Roman synod, and became Clement II. Upon his death, which happened nine months after his election, Benedict for the last time obtruded himself into the pontificate, but Poppo, bishop of Brixen, whom Henry sent from Germany, supplanted him before two-thirds of a year were over, and sat between twenty and thirty days as Damasus II. His successor, Bruno, bishop of Toul, or Leo IX.,

John XIX.

Benedict  
IX.

Gregory  
VI.

Clement  
II.

Damasus  
II.

Leo IX.

<sup>t</sup> Vid. Baron. Annal., A.D. 999. n. 3.

<sup>u</sup> Döllinger, Per. iii. c. iii. § 3. Eng. Trans.

**CENT. XI.** owed his elevation to the diet of Worms, A.D. 1048, under the same monarch. But now the tide began to turn. Hildebrand reproached the new pontiff for his acceptance of the tiara from lay hands: and Leo, moved by his remonstrances, laid aside his dignity till he had been canonically elected by the Roman clergy and people<sup>2</sup>. In his latter days Leo made war upon the Normans, but was taken captive by them, and died upon regaining his liberty, A.D. 1054. His correspondence with Michael Cerularius, and his condemnation of Berengarius in a Roman synod, will be considered elsewhere. Accounts vary respecting the election of Gebhard, bishop of Eichstadt: but it seems probable that the future Victor II. was chosen at a synod of Mentz, convened by the emperor. He was succeeded, A.D. 1057, by Stephen IX., Henry having died the previous year: but the following year a fresh vacancy occurring, the counts of Tusculum procured the election of John, bishop of Velletri, through bribes and violence. Benedict X., however, was immediately displaced by Gerard, bishop of Florence, who was backed by Hildebrand and the young emperor: and Gerard or Nicholas II. may be said to have commenced a new era in the papedom, by vesting the election to it in the hands of the cardinals; a step which virtually dissolved the conditions of the previously existing system.

Nicholas ventured another extraordinary proceeding, to which the state of the times gave colour, when he constituted Robert Guiscard duke of Apulia, Calabria, and Sicily, and confirmed those territories to him and his successors, on condition of a yearly payment to the holy see. Guiscard had been otherwise able to retain what he had won by his own arms: but a papal recognition in those days was thought a valuable title.

Upon the death of Nicholas, A.D. 1061, two competitors appeared for the pontificate: Agnes, the mother of Henry IV. then a minor, supporting Cadolous, bishop of Parma, who was appointed by the synod of Basil, and styled himself Honorius II., and Hildebrand, anxious that the election should be conducted according to the decree of Nicholas, procuring the choice of Anselm, bishop of Lucca, by the cardinals. An-

<sup>2</sup> Othon. Frisin. Chron., lib. vi. 33.

selm eventually triumphed and became Alexander II. It is even said that he imposed a penance upon the empress. Another bold act was the countenance which he gave to the invasion of England by William the Conqueror, whom he presented with a standard on the occasion. The commencement of the contest about investitures is likewise assigned to his pontificate. But whatever he did sinks into insignificance compared with the acts of his successor Hildebrand, who assumed the tiara A.D. 1073, not so much as a nominee of the cardinals, as by the unanimous voice of the clergy and people. Gregory VII. had indeed been the virtual pope during the pontificates of Gregory VI., Leo, Victor, Nicholas, and Alexander, his influence increasing proportionably the nearer his own turn came.

CENT.  
XI.  
Alexander  
II.

Gregory  
VII.

Gregory refused to enter upon his office without the imperial confirmation; a course which seems inconsistent with his conduct in the election of his own immediate predecessor. Either therefore the decree of Nicholas made the consent of the emperor indispensable, as Gratian has it; or else, conscious of the integrity of his own election, and with a deep presentiment of the impending conflict, he took the politic step of implicating Henry in the responsibilities of his admission to the pontificate. Gregory was, it should be observed, the last pontiff who was so confirmed. Thus fortified he hurried into action. But it is only of his principal measures that a sketch can here be attempted. His first grand move was against simony and clerical incontinence, as it was called, or, still more opprobriously, the Nicolaitan heresy. The Roman synod of A.D. 1074 decreed conformably with his instructions: 1, that those clergy who had been admitted by purchase to any rank in the ministry, should not minister henceforward in the Church: 2, that nobody should retain a church which had been purchased with money; and that the rights of a church should no longer be bought and sold: 3, that those who were living incontinently should cease from their clerical office: and 4, that people should avoid the ministrations of those who contravened these apostolic injunctions. There can be little doubt of the gross corruptions which occasioned so stringent

Gregory  
enforces  
celibacy  
upon the  
clergy and  
inhibits  
simony.

<sup>7</sup> Mansi, tom. xx. p. 408. cap. 5.



CENT.  
XI.Milder  
course pur-  
sued under  
Lanfranc.

a rule: but it was a strange misnomer that put marriage in the same category with fornication and uncleanness generally: and it was against primitive practice, still extant among the Greeks, that those who had married before ordination should be required to separate from their wives to be ordained. Besides, the sudden disruption of so many domestic ties, had they been less objectionably stigmatized, was most inexpedient. Wiser by a good deal was the course pursued by the synod of Winchester, A.D. 1076, under Lanfranc, which simply decreed that none that had been ordained priests should marry, and that none should for the future be ordained priests or deacons but those that were unmarried; but that those who were already ordained and married should not be required to dismiss their wives\*. These severe regulations therefore, combined, raised a storm of opposition amongst the better sort as well as the bad; though it can scarce be denied that all earnest reformers sided with the pontiff. The Milanese clergy maintained clerical marriage to be lawful under certain restrictions, upon the authority of S. Ambrose; the German clergy said that to interdict it was the act of a heretic; the clergy of the Netherlands and France wrote numerous expostulatory letters on the subject. Speaking of the effects which it had upon his countrymen, Matthew Paris says\*, that never heresy produced a greater schism. Nor were writers wanting on the same side, among whom were Sigebert of Gemblours, and Alboin, whose opponent was Bertholdus, or Bernaldus<sup>b</sup>. However, Gregory was not to be deterred from what he had undertaken; and partly through his legates, and partly through his epistles, so effectually enforced the celibate system, that it has been the practice as well as the law of the Roman communion ever since.

The in-  
vestiture  
question.

His next step probably as much conciliated the sympathies of the ecclesiastical body as the last had alienated them. In the full persuasion that simony could never be extirpated so long as laymen exercised the control they did over eccle-

\* Mansi, tom. xx. p. 459.

\* Hist., A.D. 1074.

<sup>b</sup> Those who wrote against are given by Melchior, Goldast. Apol. pro Hen.

IV., and those who wrote for Gregory, by Gretzer., Apol. pro Greg. VII. Comp. Voss. Supplem. de Eccl. Script. s. v. Benno Cardinalis.

siastical benefices, he commenced the following year his celebrated crusade against investitures. Some details perhaps are necessary to explain the term. CENT.  
XI.

By accepting temporalities conferred upon them from Charlemagne to the Othos, the dignitaries of the Church had become part and parcel of the feudal system, and, as such, held their tenure conditionally like other vassals. However, it had been deemed more seemly that homage should precede and not follow consecration. Another difficulty had presented itself in the symbols with which the fiefship was to be conferred: as it would have been incongruous for the sovereign to have invested a future ecclesiastic with the sword and lance. And so the ring and staff, or crozier, being the recognised insignia of the episcopal office, had been admitted as the most proper equivalent. But symbolism having acquired a deeper significancy, it was seen immediately, that it was a still greater anomaly for tokens so pre-eminently spiritual to be conferred by a layman. And how large a share these symbols had in the dispute is evidenced by the way in which matters were compromised between our own Henry I. and S. Anselm<sup>c</sup>: the king relinquishing investiture by the ring and staff: and the archbishop allowing the customary homage. Now, however, a mist hung around the subject: nor was it remembered how Henry III. had healed a schism in the pontificate thirty years before his intervention; nor what a blessing lay-patronage had been to the Church in the hands of the third, second, and first Otho. Evils had arisen which imparted a black dye to the whole thing: and accordingly Gregory in a Roman synod, A.D. 1075, decreed that any that should accept a bishopric or abbacy from lay hands should not be reckoned either bishop or abbot, and should lie under excommunication as long as he retained it. Inferior benefices were subjected to the same rule; while excommunication was passed upon the donor equally whatever his rank or quality<sup>d</sup>. As regards the first part of the sentence it is only fair to admit that Gregory had a clear precedent in the third canon of the Incongruity in the existing practice. Gregory not without precedents.

<sup>c</sup> Collier, *Eccl. Hist.*, cent. xii. B. iv. p. 292. fol. ed.

<sup>d</sup> *Pagi ad Baron. Annal.*, A.D. 1075. n. 1 et seq.

**C E N T.** seventh œcumenical, and a still earlier council\*, but on the  
XI. other hand the relations of Church and State had wholly changed. Conformably with the decrees of the synod five German nobles, friends of Henry, were excommunicated, and Philip the French king threatened. But Henry, for whose admonition the hint was principally intended, made light of the sentence, and continued his objectionable appointments. Gregory cited the offender to appear before him, but Henry caused the pope to be deposed at the synod of Worms the same year: a sentence which the bishops of Lombardy confirmed. And so commenced a fresh controversy respecting the claims and extent of the temporal and spiritual powers.

How far  
 he exceed-  
 ed his pre-  
 decessors.

And even here it is necessary to distinguish between those acts in which Gregory merely followed his predecessors, and those which were clear innovations. S. Ambrose had in the fourth century excommunicated and absolved the emperor Theodosius; Nicolaus Mysticus had in the last century excommunicated Leo the Wise. Then Gregory II. and III., it would appear, had advanced a step further against Leo the Isaurian: and Pepin had actually sought the co-operation of Zachariah in the deposition of the last of the Merovingians. The emperors of the West came a long way to be crowned by the pope, as if they admitted that their title derived more or less force from him; and William of Normandy, and Robert Guiscard, had recently petitioned that their respective expeditions might have the sanction of the holy see. Acting upon the traditions of his predecessors, Gregory had told the Spanish grandees upon his accession, that the kingdom of Spain was the property of S. Peter, and had not been contradicted; and rightly or wrongly he had maintained similar claims upon Hungary, which he averred had been the offering of S. Stephen. Entering upon his office with these precedents before him, and many more which modern criticism has since modified or overthrown, and over and above viewing them through the received notions of the day, it is scarcely surprising that a man of high bearing and indomitable spirit should have dashed a step in advance of his

\* Bevereg. Synod., vol. i. p. 288, et Bala. et Zon. ad l.

age, especially when he saw on the one hand so many deep-rooted corruptions: and on the other so determined a resolution on the part of Henry to resist the removal of them. CENT.  
XI.

Accordingly, in a Roman synod of a hundred and ten bishops, (who, by the way, were eager to go all lengths with him,) Gregory not only excommunicated the archbishop of Mentz, the bishops of Utrecht and Bamberg, and the Lombard bishops who had deposed him, but bound Henry by a like anathema, to which the following extraordinary sentence was superadded.

"I forbid to King Henry, son of Henry the emperor, who, through an unexampled pride, has rebelled against thy Holy Church," he is apostrophizing S. Peter, "the government of the whole realm of Germany and Italy. I absolve all Christians from the oaths which they have taken, or may take to him; and I decree that no one shall obey him as king; for it is fitting that he, who has endeavoured to diminish the honour of thy Church, should himself lose the honour which he seems to have<sup>f</sup>. . . . ."

Gregory claims to deprive Henry of his dominions.

This proceeding, which was thought by many of his contemporaries novel and unprecedented, and by some absolutely involving heresy, certainly cannot be defended on the principles of the Gospel; and it is melancholy to reflect that it should have established a precedent. But that it did so, is a consequence for which Henry is responsible as well as Gregory. This prince, who had in the first instance put on a bold front, and got a counter anathema hurled against the pontiff by the Lombard bishops and others, was eventually frightened into a most abject submission, before the year was out, by the untoward events which befel his party. With equal inconsistency, when he discovered that his interests had not been subserved by what he had done, he disengaged himself from the pope and returned to his former course. Rodolf, duke of Suabia, was now crowned king by Siegfried, archbishop of Mentz, A.D. 1077: but Henry, being reconciled to his friends, outstripped his rival; and Gregory for a while maintained a specious neutrality, notwithstanding his legate Bernard had excommunicated Henry and pronounced Rodolf

The emperor in fault for his abject submission.

<sup>f</sup> Bowden, *Life of Greg. VII.*, vol. ii. p. 109.

C E N T. the rightful king. The battle of Fladenheim, however, materially altered the prospects of the former; and as complaints were loud against the scandal which he had brought upon the Church, and his intrusion of his own minions into the vacant sees, Gregory followed the example of his legate, A.D. 1080, and transferred the allegiance of the Germans from Henry to Rodolf. Henry retorted, not only by deposing the pope as before, but by naming Guibert, archbishop of Ravenna, to the vacant chair. He had him confirmed afterwards by the Lombard bishops. Meanwhile Rodolf died; and Henry, having invaded Rome for the fourth time, and confined Gregory within the walls of S. Angelo, received the imperial crown from the anti-pope Clement III. Herman, count of Salm, whom Siegfried had crowned in the room of Rodolf, was unable to offer the slightest opposition. The pontiff was eventually liberated by the Normans under Roger Guiscard, but he only retired to Salerno to reiterate his anathema against Henry and there die, A.D. 1085, having approved himself a most uncompromising reformer of the corruptions of his day, though the remedies which he would have applied to them were seen through a false medium. Of the integrity of his intentions a reasonable doubt cannot be entertained, and as for the imputations against his orthodoxy or morality, the best answer to them will be found in the character or the circumstances of his calumniators.

Gregory  
dies.

Two works of a very opposite character have been attributed to him, though one can readily discover a connection between them in his theory. The first is the collection of the services of the Church into the form called the Roman Breviary. A noble work indeed; especially when it is remembered that those parts of it which militate against primitive doctrine and practice were the interpolations of a later age, and not due to him<sup>s</sup>. It is also said that he was the first who ordered the fasts of the four seasons. On the other hand, we know that the design of the Roman Breviary was that there might be one only liturgy and one only language throughout Christendom, namely, that of the Roman see, though the idea certainly did not originate with Gregory. Alexander II. had done what he could to suppress the Gothic

<sup>s</sup> Bowden, *Life of Greg. VII.*, vol. ii. p. 328.

or Mozarabic liturgy throughout Spain; and now the kings of Arragon and Castile gradually consented to the reception of the Roman use within their dominions. In the same way Alexander had forced the Latin ritual upon the Sclavonians, who had formerly been allowed the use of the same form in the vernacular tongue. As for the Gallican liturgy it had been partially supplanted in France by the Roman; first by Pepin who preferred the Roman mode of chanting, and afterwards under Charlemagne<sup>1</sup>. In Britain, whither it had been imported by SS. Germanus and Lupus, and not disallowed by S. Gregory the Great in his answer to S. Austin, it had already been similarly supplanted at the synod of Cloveshoo<sup>1</sup>, under Archbishop Cuthbert, A.D. 747. The Milanese perhaps formed the most remarkable exception, who refused to part with the liturgy said to have been composed by S. Ambrose.

But the other composition ascribed to Gregory, namely the celebrated *Dictates*, exhibit his overstrained and mistaken principles in a less amiable form, and though they may be no more the composition of the pontiff whose name they bear, than the Creed of S. Athanasius was of the great opponent of Arianism; still it is probable that they were called his dictates, because they are a fair embodiment of his principles, in the same way that the above Creed has been ascribed to S. Athanasius because it asserts his doctrine. The sum and substance of them is, "that the Roman pontiff can alone claim to be called universal, alone depose and restore bishops, alone use the imperial insignia, and alone have his feet kissed by all princes. That he can depose emperors; can be judged by none; and that his sentence can only be cancelled by his own act. That he can absolve subjects from their allegiance to the wicked. That no council can be called general without his command, and that nobody can be reputed a catholic who dissents from the Roman Church. That the Roman Church neither has erred nor ever will err." Most of these principles are enunciated in the letters of Gregory, and all have certainly been acted upon by him or others in the same station.

Upon the death of Gregory, Desiderius, abbot of Cassino, being the first of the three suggested by the late pope in his

<sup>1</sup> Mabillon. De Liturg. Gall., lib. i. c. 3.

<sup>1</sup> Spelman, Concil., can. 13 et 15, vol. i. p. 249.

The *Dictates* whether written by Gregory or not embody his principles.

**C E N T. XI.** last moments, was elected by cardinals aided by Roger Guiscard and the countess Matilda, and after considerable resistance on his part ordained in the church of S. Peter, A.D. 1087, the other part of the city being in the hands of the anti-pope Clement. At a synod of Beneventum, the same year, Victor III. anathematized his rival, and excommunicated Hugh, archbishop of Lyons, and Richard, abbot of Marseilles, who had opposed his own election. He likewise renewed the decrees of his predecessor against investitures. Upon his death, which happened a short time afterwards, Otto, bishop of Ostia, was elected at Terracina by the same party, and became Urban II. He did not hesitate to avow his adherence to the principles of the Gregorian school at the synod of Piacenza, and by espousing the cause of Peter the Hermit, there and at the synod of Clermont, which resulted in the first Crusade, he at length effected his admission into Rome, and forced Clement to fly. His party had been previously strengthened by making cause with Conrad, who revolted from his father, A.D. 1093, and was crowned king of Italy by Anselm, archbishop of Milan. Philip of France on the other hand was excommunicated by the Clermontan synod for his unlawful marriage. Roger, count of Sicily, refusing to admit Robert, bishop of Trani, the papal legate, into his dominions, Urban, in a bull dated A.D. 1098, conferred full legatine powers upon him and his lawful successors. But different again was the course pursued towards William of England, where the pontiff had a faithful ally in the great S. Anselm. S. Anselm repaired to Rome, A.D. 1098, for the purpose of consulting Urban, and it was only by his intercession that Rufus was not excommunicated. Urban died A.D. 1099: his rival Clement outliving him by a single year. Paschal II., originally cardinal Rainer, who succeeded Urban, more properly belongs to the next century, his pontificate lasting from A.D. 1099 to 1118. In the early part of his reign three different aspirants successively presented themselves on the death of Clement, but only the last who styled himself Silvester IV., had time to assume a title, and before five years were over Paschal was left without a rival. The remainder of his history shall be reserved for the age in which it falls.

Thus by the master-mind of Gregory, the supremacy of

the Roman see which had been long since growing out of CENT. XI. the primacy, accorded to it in the primitive Church, put forth a mighty shoot, and out-topped the loftiest branches of the temporal power to which it had hitherto clung for support, as a vine to a forest-tree. Her spiritual empire had been in the main acknowledged throughout the West; and it began to be argued that as the body was subject to the soul, so the temporal ought to be subject to the spiritual. But it was forgotten in the parallel, that the soul is not without her own infirmities and corruptions: while for the soul to obtain mastery over the body in the present world, humility, self-abnegation, and mortification, with a sincere dependence upon God, are indispensable. Would that Roman bishops had indeed exhibited the true parallel! However, the argument encountered opposition in a more practical shape. Gregory may have been succeeded by Victor, Urban, and Paschal: but Henry IV., their strenuous antagonist during his whole reign of half a century from first to last, was no less succeeded by Henry V. on the same side. Philip of France was excommunicated as much for his conduct in the investiture contest as for his incestuous union. William Rufus and Henry I. rather exceeded than declined from the example of the Conqueror, before whom even the stout heart of Gregory quailed. His memorable reply to the latter, who had urged a claim upon him which had succeeded with others, may be given in his own words. "Hubert, your legate, most holy Father, came and admonished me in your behalf that I should pledge my fidelity to you and to your successors: and likewise that I should come to a better decision about the money which my ancestors were wont to send to the Roman Church. One of these requests I admitted, but not the other. I was unwilling to pledge my fidelity, nor will I: because I neither promised to do so, nor do I find that my predecessors ever did so to your predecessors." William was equally tenacious of the right of investiture which had been in the hands of the kings of England from Saxon times: and Gregory complains bitterly that he would not even allow Lanfranc to obey his citation to the Apostolic see<sup>k</sup>.

<sup>k</sup> Vid. Baron. Annal., A.D. 1079. n. 21—26.



CENT.  
XI.

Entire separation of the East from the West.

Michael Cerularius.

Formally excommunicated by the papal legates.

But the event which proved the greatest counterpoise to the temporal aggrandizement of Rome in the West, was the completion of the rupture between it and Constantinople in the East. A singular effort had been made to accommodate matters between the two sees, A.D. 1024, by the patriarch Eustathius, and Basil II., who according to Glaber Radulphus<sup>1</sup> sent ambassadors to bribe John XIX. to consent to the Church of Constantinople being styled and reputed universal in the East, as Rome was in the world. This overture might have succeeded, had it been kept more secret: but through the remonstrances of the Italian bishops, it fell to the ground. Under Michael Cerularius the schism was finally consummated. This patriarch, A.D. 1053, addressed a letter in his own name, and that of Leo the Bulgarian, metropolitan to John, bishop of Trani in Apulia, which contained a number of charges against the Latin Church; for instance, that they fasted on the Sabbath: that they used unleavened bread in the Eucharist; that they eat blood and things strangled: and that they did not sing the Alleluiah through Lent. But it was not by mere words that Michael evinced his antipathies. Under his auspices the churches which belonged to the Latins at Constantinople were closed: and their monasteries seized or suppressed. Leo IX. wrote a long-defence of his Church, which he said was built upon the rock, that is, Christ and S. Peter; and retorted as many as ninety heresies upon the Greeks. His letter is addressed to his namesake of Achrida besides Michael. At the request of the emperor Constantine X. he despatched three legates to Constantinople to prevent a further rupture. Humbert, the chief of them, undertook a defence of his letter, and made various recriminatory charges against the Greeks in a work that was translated into Greek by command of the emperor. But he was answered with considerable bitterness by Nicetus Pectoratus, a monk of the Studium, and provoked into a most intemperate rejoinder. All hopes of a reconciliation were now abandoned: and A.D. 1054, on the sixteenth of July, the legates in the presence of the emperor laid a sentence of excommunication against Michael, Leo, and those that adhered to them on the high altar of the church of

<sup>1</sup> Hist. lib. iv. 1.

S. Sophia, and departed shaking off the dust from their feet against them. Cerularius retorted the anathema before the month was out, in a Constantinopolitan synod: and letters passed between him and Peter, patriarch of Antioch, who had been addressed on the other side by the patriarch of Grado, Dominicus, in which the different points of the controversy are fully set forth. Peter, in his respectful and admirable reply<sup>m</sup>, was for peace with the Latins, while he refuted their positions: and while he rebuked Dominicus in a letter for assuming a title that belonged only to the five principal sees, he here corrected an error into which Michael had fallen, when he asserted that the names of the pontiffs had been erased from the sacred diptychs ever since the days of Vigilius or Agatho. This, it has been already observed, would seem to have happened under Sergius in the last century, though it is not easy to decide from the accounts whether one pontiff only, namely Christopher, or all others who thought with him on the subject of the Procession had been so served. Their names had certainly been erased before the days of Michael throughout the East, nor were they revived under his successors. Even the succours sent at the request of Alexius from the West to the Holy Land failed to restore a better understanding.

CENT.  
XI.  
Anathema  
retorted by  
him.

Letter of  
Peter of  
Antioch.

So far therefore Rome met with a decided check in the East: on the other hand the divisions occasioned by Berengarius within her own pale considerably retarded her progress. And it probably may have been this consideration that weighed mainly with Gregory, to induce him to adopt a course that proved unsatisfactory to his most ardent admirers at the time, and has since been a difficulty to his panegyrizers. Leutheric, archbishop of Sens, who flourished at the commencement of the present century, is said to have preceded Berengarius in his opinions, and some Italian bishops to have condemned them anticipatingly, A.D. 1025. But it was the doctrine of John Scotus to which Berengarius professed his adherence in his letter to Lanfranc, and it was his letter to Lanfranc that procured his condemnation by Leo IX. and a Roman synod, A.D. 1050, and by a synod of Vercelli the following September, where the book to which

§ 6.  
BEREN-  
GARIAN  
CONTRO-  
VERSY.

Berenga-  
rius con-  
demned  
twice.

<sup>m</sup> Cotel. Eccl. Græc. Monum., vol. ii. p. 145. 4to. ed.

**C E N T. XI.** he appealed was likewise proscribed. Berengarius had been a pupil of Fulbert, bishop of Chartres, and master of the school of Tours. He was now archdeacon of the church of Angers. Neither his learning nor his piety are disputed; and the charge of sorcery that has occasionally been brought against him only attests that his acquirements were beyond his age. He does not seem to have regarded the Blessed Eucharist as a bare figure, but only to have protested against the gross views of Paschasius; and while he did not disavow a spiritual or real presence, he laid great stress upon the subjective faith of the recipient<sup>a</sup>. He was not present at the above-mentioned synods, which condemned him; and the alleged synod of Paris under Henry I., it is probable never met<sup>b</sup>. At Tours he made a profession which satisfied the papal legates, Hildebrand and Gerhard, A.D. 1054, but in a Roman synod, A.D. 1059, under Nicholas II., the extreme party prevailed so far as to oblige him to sign a far more stringent, and certainly most harshly worded one, framed by the celebrated Humbert. This, as it was natural, speedily produced a recoil in his mind; and what he had signed was openly repudiated in his correspondence. Numerous were now the writers that entered the lists against him, among whom were Durandus, abbot of Troarn, Hugh, bishop of Langres, Deodwine, bishop of Liege, Asceline, a monk of Normandy, Lanfranc, whom Berengarius answered in a work that is extant, and his successor S. Anselm, archbishops of Canterbury. Still his friends had increased in the same ratio, so much so, that Alexander II. only sent him a monitory letter. Various provincial synods however condemned him, and A.D. 1078 he was once more cited to appear before a Roman synod under Gregory VII. Gregory, says Berengarius<sup>c</sup>, had been assured of his innocence by a revelation of the Blessed Virgin Mary made to a holy man whom he had begged to solicit her advice. At all events he did not exact a very rigorous profession the first time; though in a synod the following year stronger terms were forced upon his acceptance. But, unless Berengarius is to be disbelieved, and

His views.

His opponents.

Provincial synods against him.

<sup>a</sup> Vid. Ep. ad Ricard. ap. D'Acher. Spicel., vol. iii. p. 400, Nov. ed. fol. et Jurament. Berengar. ap. Mansi, tom. xix. p. 761—67.

<sup>b</sup> Gieseler, E. H., Per. iii. div. ii. § 29. note. Eng. Tr.  
<sup>c</sup> Ap. Mansi ut sup.

he would scarce have misstated a fact so easily contradicted, in the face of so many vigilant adversaries, Gregory secretly favoured him—a circumstance which explains Lanfranc's subsequent coolness towards the pontiff<sup>a</sup>—and disapproved of the rigorous measures of the latter synod. Hence though he afterwards retracted or interpreted in his own sense the profession there exacted from him, he experienced no farther molestation and died A.D. 1088 in the island of Côme near Tours.

The provincial synods of the eleventh century were numerous and for the most part unimportant; a selection of them only can be attempted. At the synod of Orleans, A.D. 1017, Heribert, Stephen, and Lisoï, were condemned and burnt for their heretical opinions. Glaber Radulphus<sup>r</sup> has given a long account of them in his history, not quite consistent however with what Ademar and others relate<sup>s</sup>. Ademar calls them Manicheans, but they added a good many extravagancies that were singular unless they have been misrepresented. Other heretics, whose leader was an Italian named Gundulf, were reclaimed at the synod of Arras, A.D. 1025; and these, like the former, disparaged rites and ceremonies. Towards the end of the century, Roscelin, a canon of Compeigne, and master of the celebrated Abelard, disseminated unsound opinions respecting the Blessed Trinity, which he was obliged to condemn at the synod of Soissons, A.D. 1092, and eventually he was exiled for them. Roscelin it is probable stumbled at the scholastic dogma in which it was said that the Incarnation was a work of the whole Trinity, while the Person of the Son only was incarnated. Hence he said of the three Persons that they were three distinct things. The principal synods against Berengarius have been already mentioned, and it is unnecessary to add to the list those occasioned by the contentions between Gregory VII. and Henry. In the early part of the century, discipline was enforced by the synods of Elne, A.D. 1027, the second of Limoges, A.D. 1081, by the synod of Rheims, A.D. 1049, at which Leo IX. was present, of Compostella, A.D. 1056, and the second of Tours, A.D. 1060, held by legate

§ 7.  
COUNCILS.

Synod of  
Orleans  
against  
Heribert  
and others.

Roscelin  
condemned  
at the  
synod of  
Soissons.

Disci-  
plinary  
synods.

<sup>a</sup> Vid. Ep. Lanfr. ad Greg. VII. ap. Baron. Annal., A.D. 1079. n. 23, 24.

<sup>r</sup> Hist., lib. iii. c. 8.

<sup>s</sup> Vid. Mansi, tom. xix. p. 374, 380.

**CENT. XI.** Stephen. Finally a synod of Rome, the eleventh, was held under Alexander II. against incestuous connections. Against simony and the marriage of the clergy, besides those before mentioned, the principal were the fourth Roman, A.D. 1049, under Leo IX.; the second of Mentz the same year; the synods of Lyons and Tours, A.D. 1055, under Hildebrand; the sixth of Mentz, A.D. 1075, under Siegfried, who however could get nothing done for the tumult which it excited, and was forced to fly for his life; the synod of Burgos, A.D. 1080, where the Roman liturgy was likewise enjoined, not that the Mozarabic was entirely superseded; and lastly the synods of Piacenza and Clermont, A.D. 1095, in which the first crusade was discussed. Among British synods, the second of Winchester saw Stigand deposed for his crimes by the papal legate, the king being present; while in the synod of A.D. 1093 S. Anselm received consecration, and the see of Canterbury was confirmed in the primacy. Allusion has already been made to the confutation of the Greeks by S. Anselm at the synod of Bari, A.D. 1097, upon which occasion he was styled "pope of another world" by its president Urban II. The Greeks themselves could only boast of a few synods of Constantinople, and those scarce remembered for their insignificance.

§ 8.  
**WRITERS.**  
Theophylact.

George  
Cedrenus.

Nevertheless the East did not want writers of note and importance to sustain her literary reputation. Theophylact, archbishop of Achrida, the Bulgarian metropolis, who flourished about A.D. 1077, wrote valuable commentaries on the Gospels, Acts of the Apostles, and Pauline Epistles, which might be called S. Chrysostom abridged. Of his commentaries upon the minor prophets only those on Hosea, Jonah, Nahum, and Habakkuk, are extant. His epistles, in number seventy-five, reveal the miseries and calamities of his province. He has been placed first in the catalogue, because he has been assigned by some to the foregoing age. His last work that need be mentioned was on the subject of the Procession against the Latins. Among the Byzantine historians, George Cedrenus flourished under Isaac Comnenus about A.D. 1058; he has the character of a credulous and superstitious writer, besides that of a wholesale plagiarist; of his historical compendium, a large work embracing the history of the world

from the creation to his own times, the first part, says Cave<sup>†</sup>, C E N T.  
down to the reign of Diocletian, was borrowed from the XI.  
Chronicon of George Syncellus, thenceforward to the reign  
of Michael I., or Rhangabe, A.D. 813, from the Chronicon  
of Theophanes, and thenceforward to his own age, from the  
work of John Scylitzes, mentioned by him in his preface.  
This last circumstance seems a conclusive reason against the  
supposition entertained by some that John borrowed from  
him: besides which the Curopalates brings down his history to  
the last days of Nicephorus III., or Botaniates, A.D. 1081.  
Michael Psellus, not to be confounded with his less conspi- Michael  
cuous namesake of the ninth century, was born of a noble Psellus.  
Constantinopolitan family, and discharged the office of pre-  
ceptor to the son of Constantine XI., or Ducas, afterwards  
Michael VII. Upon the deposition of his pupil, A.D. 1078,  
he joined him in assuming the monastic habit. Though he  
wrote against the Latins on the Procession, Leo Allatius<sup>‡</sup>  
does not hesitate to pronounce him the first Greek writer of  
his own and following age. He wrote commentaries upon  
Aristotle, as well as upon the Psalms and Canticles: and  
among his other numerous extant works may be mentioned  
a short tract upon the seven holy œcumenical councils.

Another writer who has conferred a great benefit upon Nilus  
ecclesiastical history is Nilus Doxopatrius, who flourished Nilus  
a little earlier, A.D. 1043, and at the request of Roger, king Doxopa-  
of Sicily, composed a brief account of the five great patri- trius.  
archates. In it he assigns to Rome the entire West to the  
columns of Hercules and the British isles. Under Antioch  
he reckons thirteen metropolitans having suffragans under  
them, besides eight independent sees immediately subject  
to the patriarch, and thirteen free archbishoprics. Under  
Alexandria he reckons eight metropolitans of the first kind,  
and five sees of the latter kind: under Jerusalem, which, with  
Constantinople, he explains were of a less ancient date than  
the former three, he reckons four metropolitans of the first  
kind, and twenty-five archbishoprics: and under Constan-  
tinople fifty-two metropolitans of the first kind, thirteen  
sees of the second, and thirty-four of the third kind. The  
five patriarchates of the Church catholic are by him com-

<sup>†</sup> Hist. Lit., s. v.

<sup>‡</sup> Cave, Hist. Lit., s. v.

**CENT.** XI. pared to the five senses of a man. This interesting treatise has been published by Le Moyne in the first volume of his *Varia Sacra*, which contains two more Greek tracts upon the œcumenical councils. Michael, patriarch of Constantinople, surnamed Cerularius, Peter, patriarch of Antioch, and Leo, archbishop of Achrida, left epistles behind them already noticed: Nicetus Pectoratus disputed against Humbert, but afterwards, according to the statement of his adversary, recanted. Samuel, called from his birthplace Morochianus, was a converted Jew: and John Xiphilin was patriarch of Constantinople between A.D. 1066 and A.D. 1078.

Michael  
and others.

Western writers on the other hand were still more numerous. Besides those who composed lives of the saints that were daily canonized upon various grounds, but always with reference to some principle or practice of the day in which they had distinguished themselves: the principal historical writers were Glaber Radulphus, a monk of S. Germain of Auxerre, who composed a history of the times, from A.D. 900 to A.D. 1045, in five books: Dithmar, bishop of Merseburg, who, towards the commencement of the century, described the reigns of Henry I., the three Othos, and Henry II. in seven books: Hermann, surnamed Contractus from a weakness in his limbs, who wrote a Chronicon from the creation to A.D. 1054, and Ademar, originally a monk of Limoges, a Chronicon of the French monarchy to A.D. 1029. Ademar, it may be observed, maintained the apostleship of S. Martial, the patron-saint of his diocese, against one Benedict, a monk of S. Michael: it was a subject fiercely discussed at the synods of Limoges, A.D. 1029 and A.D. 1031. To these may be added Odorannus, a French Benedictine, who wrote a Chronicon extending from A.D. 675 to A.D. 1032. Lambert of Aschaffenburg, and monk of Hirsfeld, who wrote a Chronicon from the creation to A.D. 1077, but which may be said to assume the form of a history from A.D. 1050, and Marianus Scotus, whose Chronicon afterwards continued ends A.D. 1083. Scotus, with Siegbert of Gemblours, a contemporary chronicler elsewhere noticed, are the first authorities for the story of the female pope: both assigning her to A.D. 854, though it is fair to add that the genuineness of both passages has been questioned. With

Glaber Ra-  
dulphus.

Dithmar.

Hermann.

Ademar.

Odoran-  
nus.

Lambert.

Marianus  
Scotus.  
Siegbert.

Adam, canon of Bremen, who wrote an ecclesiastical history, C E N T. XI. more particularly of his own Church, in four books, about Adam. A.D. 1080, the above class may terminate. To those who wrote against Berengarius before enumerated may be added his fellow-pupil Adelman, bishop of Brescia, and to those who Adelman. wrote against Gregory VII. his prejudiced biographer, the pseudo-cardinal Benno. Generally distinguished authors Benno. were Fulbert, bishop of Chartres, conspicuous for the cultus Fulbert. of the Blessed Virgin Mary: Humbert, already noticed in Humbert. the controversy between Michael Cerularius and Leo IX.: and Peter Damian: especially the last. His original name Peter Damian. was Peter de Honestis, and Damian the name of his brother. Hence he derived his surname in the same way that Eusebius the historian was surnamed from his friend Pamphilus. He was born at Ravenna, A.D. 1007, assumed the monastic habit at Avella, where he was afterwards abbot, and A.D. 1057 was created a cardinal, and bishop of Ostia by Stephen X. A.D. 1059, he was made papal legate by Nicholas II., and sent to Milan to enforce celibacy upon the clergy and suppress simony. Notwithstanding the opposition he encountered he carried his point, and gained over Guido the archbishop, A.D. 1061. Disgusted with the immoralities of the Roman clergy he resigned his see and went into retirement, but the following year Alexander II. sent him into France with legatine powers to reform Cluny. A.D. 1068 he settled a dispute at Florence between the bishop and citizens in the same capacity, and A.D. 1069 was despatched into Germany to prevent Henry IV. repudiating his wife Bertha. His last public mission was to effect a reconciliation of the Ravennates, A.D. 1072, their late archbishop Henry having been excommunicated by Alexander eight years before for his refusal to submit to the Roman see. Peter died A.D. 1074, no less esteemed for his writings and policy than for his extreme piety. But he was the first who made the recital of the office of the Blessed Virgin Mary obligatory upon monks: a proof that his piety was that of his age.

The method of the scholastic theology had been long known to the Greeks through the writings of S. John Damascene. It was transplanted in the West, where it was



CENT. destined to thrive so luxuriantly, by two English arch-  
 XI. bishops. Lanfranc, the earlier of the two, was an Italian by

Lanfranc. birth, who came to Normandy in his youth, and rose to be  
 abbot of Bec, A.D. 1070; he was advanced to the see of  
 Canterbury, by William the Conqueror. He had scarcely  
 entered upon his office before he was engaged in a contro-  
 versy with Thomas, archbishop of York, about the primacy  
 which was confirmed to him at Rome, by Alexander II., the  
 following year: and by the synod of A.D. 1072 to his suc-  
 cessors. His book against Berengarius has been already  
 noticed, and of his other works, his commentaries upon the  
 Pauline Epistles are not less celebrated. His death happened  
 A.D. 1089, according to the best accounts, and after a three

S. Anselm. years vacancy the see was filled by S. Anselm. This illustri-  
 ous and excellent man had succeeded Lanfranc in his abbacy,  
 and had come over to England at the request of Hugh, count  
 of Chester, when he was elected archbishop. He would not  
 accept the dignity till he had received a promise from William  
 II. that he would restore the Church lands which he had  
 confiscated. It was not long, however, before he was involved  
 in a dispute with the king; A.D. 1094 the archbishop re-  
 quested leave to convene a national synod, which the king  
 refused: he next requested to be allowed to go to Rome for  
 his pall: but was once more put off. Urban II. eventually  
 composed matters between them by sending the bishop of  
 Alba to England with the pall. The king persisted in his  
 refusal to have a synod convened. S. Anselm, A.D. 1097, re-  
 solved to go to Rome for advice, and notwithstanding the  
 opposition that was made to detain him got safe to Lyons,  
 and from thence to Rome. His disputing against the Greeks  
 at the synod of Bari, and his interceding with the pope in  
 behalf of his sovereign, has been already noticed. He did  
 not return before A.D. 1100 upon the death of William, the

First papal  
 legate sent  
 into Eng-  
 land.

same year that Guido, archbishop of Vienne, was sent into  
 England in the character of a papal legate, which accord-  
 ing to Eadmer was considered a great innovation<sup>2</sup>. S. Anselm  
 had scarce resumed his functions before a contest arose be-  
 tween him and Henry I. about investitures. A.D. 1102 a  
 national synod held in the metropolis under S. Anselm, de-

<sup>2</sup> Vid. Collier, E. H., cent. xii. B. iv. p. 280. vol. i. fol.

clared it unlawful for a priest or deacon to marry, or live with his wife, being already married. Equally stringent were the regulations passed against simony. But it was on the consecration of William and Reinelm to the sees of Winchester and Hereford that they first joined issue: and here S. Anselm was victorious, for neither William nor Reinelm would accept investiture from the king. A.D. 1103 the archbishop undertook a journey to Rome at the request of his sovereign to try to effect a compromise, and William Warelwast was sent by Henry thither for the same purpose: Paschal II., however, adhered to the course pursued by the archbishop, and S. Anselm, dreading to return to England, made Lyons his abode for sixteen months. A.D. 1105 a reconciliation was brought about by means of the countess Adela: and Paschal empowering the archbishop to waive some points for the sake of appeasing Henry, his return took place the following year. Finally, at a synod held in the metropolis A.D. 1107, Henry relinquished investitures on his part, while S. Anselm guaranteed that he would not refuse consecration to those who had done homage. Two years more brought S. Anselm to the close of his earthly pilgrimage: and though his life was so eventful, he has the credit of being the first of the Schoolmen. Of his numerous works the treatise entitled *Cur Deus homo* is perhaps the most remarkable. Of the moral weight of his character, the pithy remark of Eadmer speaks volumes, "His very silence was a mighty appeal." His namesake, Cujus silentium ingens clamor.

This century witnessed immense additions to the monastic orders. Exemption from episcopal jurisdiction, of which Fulda had long since set the first example, began to be freely granted; and if it was thought a privilege to be so immediately connected with the holy see, it was no less advantageous to the holy see to have so many devoted vassals. Again, the monks of Cluny by their energetic reforms had produced a great reaction, so much so that many monasteries were content to affiliate themselves to Cluny, and receive abbots from thence, or obey the arch-abbot as he was called. Hugh, arch-abbot of Cluny from A.D. 1048 to A.D. 1108,

CENT.  
XI.§ 9.  
MONASTIC  
ORDERS.

CENT. received one of the most complete charters of exemption that  
 XI. had been seen hitherto, from Alexander II.†

But new orders were rapidly starting into existence on all sides, and most of them castes of the great Benedictine race. In Italy the Camaldulensians were founded about A.D. 1023, by Romuald, a Ravennate noble, who retired to a place called Camaldoli, near Arezzo, at the foot of the Apennines, and there commenced a hermit life. John Gualbert, A.D. 1030, or thereabouts, established the congregation of Vallis-Umbrosa on the Apennines, between Camaldoli and Florence. Germany does not seem to have participated to any great extent in the monastic revival, a fact easily explained in the great struggle between Church and State of which it was the scene. Nevertheless, Hirschau was established by William, A.D. 1069, and with a hundred more monasteries and upwards placed by the indefatigable abbot upon the Cluniac system. France, on the other hand, the focus from which reforms emanated, beheld a mighty development. A.D. 1084 the celebrated order of the Carthusians commenced in a wild spot called Chartreuse, near Grenoble, under the auspices of Bruno, canon of Rheims, and once the preceptor of Urban II. Hugh, bishop of Grenoble, is said to have suggested the locality, and himself to have joined them. According to John Gerson, who lived about the beginning of the fifteenth century, Bruno had been moved to the undertaking by the circumstance of a Parisian doctor lately deceased returning to life and announcing his condemnation in the other world. This story was afterwards inserted in the Roman Breviary, but it was expunged in the seventeenth century under Urban VIII., and exploded entirely by Launoy in a tract on the subject. The Carthusians extended themselves into Calabria before the end of the century, where a monastery was erected for them by the munificence of Duke Roger, A.D. 1095. Their rule was one of the strictest. Another equally conspicuous order that were now established were the Cistercians. Robert, abbot of Molesme in Burgundy, despairing of ever reforming his own monastery, removed with twenty companions to a place

† Ep. xliii. ap. Mansi, tom. xix. p. 973.

named Citeaux in the same province, and there carried out the rule of S. Benedict with a strictness that had long been obsolete. As regards dress indeed they substituted white for black, and combined cultivation of the soil with contemplation. Under Stephen Harding, an Englishman, who succeeded Robert in the abbacy, the difficulties of a first start were surmounted, and when S. Bernard assumed the Cistercian habit, A.D. 1113, the fame of the order was made. The Grandimontans, founded by Stephen of Thiers at a place so called near Limoges, A.D. 1073; the order of S. Antony of Vienne founded by Gaston, a Viennese nobleman, A.D. 1095, and others, were not equally conspicuous. The military orders belong more properly to the next age. Canons and canonesses had existed in the etymological sense before noticed from the earliest age; and from the times of S. Augustine and the Vercellensian Eusebius had occasionally assumed a semi-monastic character, though the rule said to have been composed by S. Augustine, would seem to have been rather compiled from his writings. Chrodegand, bishop of Mentz in the eighth century, was the author of a different rule. A third and much more prolix one, said to have been the work of Amalarius principally<sup>a</sup>, deacon of the same Church, was published by the synod of Aix-la-Chapelle, A.D. 817. In it both sexes are made the subject of a separate book, and what is not a little remarkable, both are allowed private property<sup>a</sup>. This part of the rule incurred the censure of Nicholas II. and a Roman synod, A.D. 1059, by whom it was revised, and Ivo, bishop of Chartres, A.D. 1078, put out a more stringent rule, by which private property was interdicted, and a community of goods enforced. It is said that these new regulations occasioned the division of canons into regular and secular, which it would appear began in the present century<sup>b</sup>.

CENT.  
XI.Grandi-  
montans  
and others.Canons and  
canonesses.Canons di-  
vided into  
secular and  
regular.

Without entering into the prodigies and wonders with which contemporary writers absolutely teem, it may be observed that several of the Roman pontiffs are said to have worked miracles alive or dead. A proof that the holy see

§ 10.  
MISCEL-  
LANEOUS  
EVENTS.

<sup>a</sup> Sirmond. ap. Mansi, tom. xiv. p. 279.

<sup>a</sup> Mansi, *ibid.*, p. 147—354.

<sup>b</sup> Vid. Mabill. *Annal. Ord. Ben.*, lib. lxi. c. 32—35. et Gieseler, E. H., Per. iii. div. iii. § 65, not. Eng. Tr.

**C E N T.** was more worthily filled than it had been for a considerable  
**XI.** time. Thus Leo IX. is said to have cured a leper during his  
 Bishops of Rome said to have performed miracles. life-time : while a dumb man received power to speak at his tomb. Victor II., in the celebration of the holy Eucharist, was supernaturally put on his guard against a poisoned chalice. Alexander II., formerly bishop of Lucca, and Anselm by name, was only surpassed by his namesake, relative, and successor in the see, to whom are ascribed eighty miracles within fifty days after his decease. Gregory VII. had claims to be called a second Thaumaturgus.

Conquests  
of the  
Turks.

To revert to the more ordinary events of the age. In the East the ravages of the Turks advanced rapidly westwards. Alp Arslan, nephew and successor of Togrul Beg, had penetrated into Phrygia when Romanus Diogenes, whom he eventually defeated and made captive, A.D. 1071, issued from Constantinople to oppose him. Malek Shah, A.D. 1080, made Nicæa his head quarters. But the tide turned for a while upon the approach of the first crusaders, and the Turks retrograded eastwards from Asia Minor. Egypt, it has been already stated, had fallen under the dominion of the Fatimites. Hakem III., Fatimite caliph, occupied Jerusalem, A.D. 1009, and overthrew the church of the Resurrection, instigated, it is said, by the Jews. By a treaty between his son Dobiras and Constantine X. or Monomachus, it was restored A.D. 1048, but A.D. 1072, Jerusalem had passed into the hands of the Turks, whose unusually severe treatment of the pilgrims provoked the first crusade.

Saracen  
ascendancy  
on the de-  
cline.

In the West, Saracen ascendancy was gradually on the decline. They were expelled from Apulia, Calabria, and Sicily, by the Normans. Their discords in Spain had led at the close of the last century to the re-establishment of a Christian monarchy under Sancho the Great. Of his sons, Garsias inherited Navarre : Ferdinand, Castile : Gonsal, Sobrarve and Ribagorce : and Ramire, Arragon. Ferdinand, surnamed the Great for his exploits, afterwards acquired Leon in the right of his wife. By these monarchs, especially the last, and their successors, the power of the Saracens was gradually undermined, but it was not finally extinguished before the end of the fifteenth century.

Meanwhile Britain had successively succumbed to the

Danes and Normans. Sweyn, king of Denmark, conquered England A.D. 1013, but his death, which happened the following year, restored Ethelred, whose son and successor, Edmund Ironside, forced Canute to a composition. Edmund, however, was murdered A.D. 1017, and Canute, who had already succeeded his father Sweyn, united both kingdoms under his sway. With Edward the Confessor, A.D. 1051, the Saxon dynasty revived: but the year after his death England fell into the hands of the Normans under William the Conqueror, A.D. 1066.

Among the celebrated characters of the age, Matilda, the great countess, as she was called, occupied a conspicuous place. She was the daughter of Boniface, margrave of Tuscany, and Beatrice, who upon the death of her husband espoused Godfrey, duke of Lorraine, and married her daughter Matilda, to his son Godfrey, by a former wife. But the young couple were not happily matched, and upon the death of his father, A.D. 1069, Godfrey retired to Lorraine, leaving his Cisalpine territories in the hands of Beatrice and her daughter. By Alexander II. they were speedily propitiated on the side of the Church; but while her mother survived, Matilda could not move in a subordinate sphere. But the year 1076 saw not only her mother, but her husband to the grave, and henceforward Matilda devoted her spirit, soul, and body, with all that appertained to her, to the cause of the holy see. Her abilities and energy were not inferior to her possessions: and whether she could<sup>c</sup> or did (for both points are controverted) bequeath the latter to Gregory VII. and his successors, it is quite certain to what purpose she consecrated the former. Of Gregory, she was not only the supporter, but the ardent friend and admirer; in his high-soaring views and aspirations, her masculine spirit discovered a kindred element. But the same arms that fought for Gregory were not withheld from Urban and Paschal II., and at the solicitation of Urban II. she even accepted a second husband in the younger Welf. Nevertheless, accounts say she remained a virgin to the day of

CENT.  
XI.

The great  
Countess.

<sup>c</sup> Hallam, Middle Ages, c. iii. p. 1. deed is not extant. Annal., A.D. 1077.  
vol. i. p. 361. ed. 1819. On the other n. 24.  
hand Baronius admits that the original

C E N T. her death, A.D. 1113, a course for which Cunegunda, wife of  
 XI. the emperor Henry II., and Edgitha, wife of S. Edward the Confessor, afford parallels in the present century.

§ 11.  
 JEWISH  
 AFFAIRS.  
 Schools.

The dispersion of the Jewish schools near Babylon by the Saracens occasioned the downfall of the Geonim, the last of whom was R. Ezekias. Nevertheless, Jewish schools began to be common throughout Spain and Africa, of which the principal in the former were Cordova, Granada, Toledo, Saragossa, and Barcelona. These flourished above four hundred years, and produced many conspicuous doctors. Still in the West the Jews did not escape persecution, as they were supposed to have instigated the destruction of the church of the Resurrection, A.D. 1009, and to have forewarned the Saracens of the approach of the first crusade.

## CHAPTER XII.

§ 1.  
 STATE  
 OF THE  
 CHURCH.

THE first year of the twelfth century was the ninth indication, and the twenty-first year of the emperor Alexius Comnenus. Henry IV. was in his forty-sixth year as king, and his eighteenth as emperor: his death happened A.D. 1106. Philip I. had reigned over France from A.D. 1060, and Henry I., from his uncommon erudition surnamed Beauclerc, A.D. 1100, had seized the English crown: though his brother Robert, returning from the crusades about a month after his accession, disputed his title. Peter I. was king of Arragon and Navarre, and Alfonso VI., during a long reign from A.D. 1065, had united the kingdoms of Leon, Castile, and Galicia. Paschal II. was still struggling with his rivals.

Though considerable enthusiasm had been awakened by the contest about investitures and the first crusade, the state of Christendom generally was very deplorable. S. Norbert, archbishop of Magdeburg, it would appear<sup>d</sup>, and founder of

<sup>d</sup> Ep. ad Gaufr. Carnot. lvi. ed. Mabill. not. S. Bernard calls him "Dominum Norbertum," and speaks of him

with the utmost reverence. Baron. Annal., A.D. 1106. n. 26, cannot or will not recognise the identity.

the Præmonstratensians, told S. Bernard that he knew for a C E N T. certainty that Antichrist was to be revealed in his days: while XII. the abbot Joachim, who was invited to England by Cœur de Lion A.D. 1190, and was notorious for his prophecies, did not scruple to say that he was already born at Rome, a future successor to the Apostolic chair. Even S. Bernard speaks in the following strain. "Thy friends, O God, and neighbours, have gathered themselves against Thee and have come near. Whole Christendom, from the least to the greatest, seems to have conspired against Thee: from the sole of the foot even unto the head there is no soundness in it. Iniquity has gone forth from the elders among the judges, Thy vicars, who make a show of governing Thy people: it can no longer be said like people, like priest: because the people is not as the priest." . . . But it is clear that he spoke under considerable reserve, for he adds, "Christ sees these things and is silent. The Saviour bears these things and dissembles: it is our duty therefore to dissemble likewise, and to hold our peace, particularly with respect to our masters the Heads of the Churches\*." Elsewhere, more unreservedly, "all Christians and all men generally seek their own, and not the things which belong to Jesus Christ. Even ecclesiastical dignities have become a matter of filthy lucre, and mercenary transactions: and it is not the salvation of souls, but the increase of riches that is sought in them. It is for this that they beat their breasts, attend church, celebrate mass, and sing psalms. For bishoprics and archdeaconries, for abbacies, and other offices, there are disgraceful contests now-a-days: to wit, that the revenues of the churches may be squandered upon vanities and superfluities. It only remains that the Man of sin, the Son of perdition, should be revealed!†"

Again, zeal and energy, where they did exist, were often grievously misdirected. Paschal II., for instance, absolved Henry V. from the oath which he had taken to his father, never to aspire to the crown while the latter lived, on condition, it may be said, that he would dethrone his father. Accordingly, "Germany beheld, during A.D. 1105," says a recent historian, "the dreadful scene of warfare between a

\* In Convers. S. Pauli, Sermon. i. vol. i. p. 656. ed. Mabill.

† In Psal. Qui habitat. Sermon. vi. ad fin. Ibid., p. 838.



**CENT. XII.** parent and his child<sup>8</sup>." The crusades, notwithstanding the romantic associations connected with them, have been already noticed as a departure from Christian principle: and still less could it be said of them, as will appear presently, that success justified the measure. The persecution of the Waldenses was a still more serious error of the same kind; yet learning experienced a revival among the Schoolmen, and the conversions to Christianity, by whatever means accomplished, were neither few nor inconsiderable.

**§ 2.  
SPREAD  
OF THE  
CHURCH.**

**Pome-  
ranians  
evange-  
lized.**

**Slaves and  
Wends.**

**Finland-  
ers.**

**Norwe-  
gians.**

**Livonians  
sought to  
be con-  
verted by  
the sword.**

A.D. 1124, Otho, bishop of Bamberg, evangelized the Pomeranians, and in his second mission, A.D. 1126, made Christianity permanent among them. Adelbert was ordained bishop of Julin the following year. The Pomeranians had recently been conquered by Boleslaus III., duke of Poland, who in the terms which he granted them, had expressly stipulated for the free spread of the gospel. In the same way Waldemar I., king of Denmark, was mainly instrumental in the conversion of the Slaves and Wends: the island of Rugen, which was the last place that preserved heathenism, was subdued by him, A.D. 1168, and the faith planted on the ruins of the old religion. Absalom, archbishop of Lund, assisted in the good work. Eric IX., king of Sweden, afterwards canonized, subdued the Finlanders, and Henry, archbishop of Upsal, afterwards martyred and canonized, evangelized them. Christianity was extended among the Norwegians by Nicholas, the legate of Eugenius III., afterwards Hadrian IV.<sup>a</sup> Finally, towards the end of the century, Mainhard, a canon of Segebert, preached to the Livonians, A.D. 1186, but for a time his success was not very great; he was however ordained bishop of Yxhull, A.D. 1188, and upon his death Berthold, abbot of Lucca, who succeeded him, employed arms as well as arguments for the propagation of the faith: Celestine III. having offered remission of sins in the same degree to those who marched against the Livonian infidels, as to those who went to the Holy Land. Berthold was actually slain at the head of the army! Albert, the third bishop, organized a military order called "Sword-bearers," to prosecute the holy, or far more correctly, sacrilegious,

<sup>8</sup> Bowden, Life of Greg. VII., vol. ii. p. 349.

<sup>a</sup> Spondan. Epit. Baron. Annal. A.D. 1154. n. 2.

war<sup>1</sup>. It was thus that infidels were to be led into the belief that Christ died to *save* mankind! In the East the Nestorians were the only body that evinced activity; and many marvels have been told of the celebrated Prester, or Presbyter John, the origin of whose name, and locality of whose kingdom, have been so variously assigned. It seems generally admitted now that he was a Nestorian priest, who rose to be king: and that he was known to the Easterns by a wholly different name. The scene of his dominions, it is probable, was Asiatic Tartary. He left a son, David, who reigned to A.D. 1202, when he was slain by the Tartars. His grand-daughter married the mighty Ghengis Khan. A letter to him is extant from Alexander III.<sup>2</sup>, which was entrusted to the escort of one Philip, a physician.

CENT.  
XII.Prester  
John.

Apart from the above-mentioned conversions, because conversion does not seem to have found a place among the objects for which they were undertaken, were the crusades of the present age. Godfrey of Boulogne, the first king of Jerusalem, though he would not assume the title, died A.D. 1100, and was succeeded by his brother Baldwin. As the news of the capture of Jerusalem had produced immense excitement throughout Europe, A.D. 1101, a vast multitude flocked to his standard. This expedition, however, proved so disastrous that it has not been even dignified with the name of a crusade, and imputations were loud against Alexius Comnenus, to whose treachery, long since suspected, its failure was mainly attributed. Anna Comnena, on the other hand, in her writings, defends the conduct of her father.

§ 3.  
CRU-  
SADES.

But the valour of Baldwin amply compensated for these calamities, and before long, the whole maritime coast, except Tyre, submitted to his arms. Besides the kingdom of Jerusalem, which extended from Idumæa to Phœnicia, with the countship of Tripoli: the principality of Antioch to the North, and the countship of Edessa beyond the Euphrates, were held by the crusaders. Christianity was restored, churches erected, and the religion of Mahomet rigorously proscribed throughout these countries. Baldwin I. died A.D. 1118, the same year with Alexius Comnenus, and was succeeded by the

Baldwin  
succeeds  
his brother  
Godfrey.

<sup>1</sup> Pagi ad Baron. Annal., A.D. 1186. n. 13.

<sup>2</sup> Pagi ad Baron. Annal., A.D. 1177. n. 3, et seq.

**CENT.** count of Edessa, or Baldwin II. Under the auspices of the  
**XII.** new king, the order of Templars commenced, Tyre was cap-  
 Baldwin II. tured, and the dominion of the crusaders extended to the  
 Tigris. Upon his death, which happened A.D. 1180, he was  
 Fulk. succeeded by Fulk, count of Anjou, his son-in-law, whose  
 kingdom is said to have reached from Dan to Beersheba, the  
 old Scripture boundaries. But in the next reign the ebb  
 Baldwin III. commenced. A.D. 1142, Baldwin III., a minor, succeeded  
 his father: and Zenghi, sultan of Mosul and Aleppo, re-  
 Second crusade. covering Edessa and the country beyond Euphrates, a second  
 crusade issued from Europe at the preaching of S. Bernard,  
 under Conrad III. and Louis VII., A.D. 1147. Thus re-  
 enforced, Baldwin kept his ground before Nourredin, the son  
 of Zenghi; but of the army which came to his assistance,  
 not less than two hundred thousand men are said to have  
 perished; while the disastrous issue of the crusade generally  
 filled Europe with gloom, and entailed considerable disrepute  
 upon S. Bernard as a prophet. Baldwin was succeeded A.D.  
 Amalric. 1163 by his brother Amalric, who made a most infelicitous  
 Baldwin IV. expedition into Egypt: his son Baldwin IV. was a leper.  
 His daughter Sibylla married for her second husband, Guy  
 of Lusignan, whom she got crowned after the death of her  
 infant son Baldwin V. But through the treachery of Ray-  
 Baldwin V. mond, count of Tripoli, Guy was overthrown at the battle of  
 Guy. Tiberias by the great Saladin, and Jerusalem once more fell  
 Third crusade. into the hands of the Turks, A.D. 1188. The third crusade,  
 undertaken the following year under the auspices of the em-  
 peror Frederic Barbarossa, Philip Augustus, king of France,  
 and our own Cœur de Lion, was a mere exhibition of chivalry  
 and adventure: the name of Richard I. was long a proverb  
 amongst his enemies: but jealousies between the chiefs un-  
 dermined the success of the enterprize, nor was the lost  
 ground ever regained by the Franks. William, archbishop  
 of Tyre, to whose activity the third crusade was mainly due,  
 does not hesitate to ascribe the constant success of the  
 enemy to the immoralities and vices which disgraced the  
 then Christian possessors of the Holy Land, from the king  
 to the priest, and from the priest to the people<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Bell. Sac. Hist., lib. xxiii. in Præf.

The progress of rites and ceremonies is the next head to be considered. The term canonization, says Mabillon, only began to be used when the thing intended by it, which had long since preceded it, began to be restricted to the holy see, that is, in the twelfth century. From the first to the tenth century, it was competent for a bishop, with the consent of his diocese, to make a saint of a departed Christian, by inserting his or her name in the local catalogue; and by a tacit consent of the same kind, some prime names had been canonized by the whole Church. Udalric, bishop of Augsburg, A.D. 993, is said to have been the first instance of a solemn papal canonization, and from the tenth century generally to the days of Alexander III., provincial bishops were accustomed to apply for the consent of the pontiff. But Alexander III. made canonization a privilege of the Roman see, and under him our own Edward the Confessor, Thomas à Becket, and the great abbot of Clair-vaux, were enrolled among the saints<sup>m</sup>. With reference to the honour paid to departed saints, the most striking development was connected with the Blessed Virgin Mary. Her Nativity had already been observed as a festival by the Church; it was proposed to do the same by her Conception, which was beginning to have the epithet "immaculate" applied to it. This innovation of doctrine and discipline, it is very remarkable, was vehemently opposed by S. Bernard and other celebrated men of the age; and in a letter from S. Bernard to the canons of Lyons, well worth reading, immaculate conception is stated in the strongest way to have been the exclusive prerogative of the Incarnate Word<sup>n</sup>. Yet his authority, like the authority of the most distinguished of the schoolmen of a later date, was overborne by the mass.

With regard to relics, the search for them was greatly enhanced by the quantities now used in the consecration of churches and altars, in which the rule seems to have been, "the more the better." The two following consecrations by Callixtus II., in the fifth year of his pontificate, well

CENT.  
XII.§ 4.  
INNOVA-  
TIONS.Local ca-  
noniza-  
tion in the  
first sense  
of the  
word.S. Bernard  
strongly  
opposed to  
the im-  
maculate  
concep-  
tion.

<sup>m</sup> Mabill. *Præf.* ad vol. vii. *Act. Sanct. Ord. Ben.*, § vi. p. 57—71. *Comp. Decret. Greg. IX.*, lib. iii. tit. xiv. c. 1.

<sup>n</sup> *Ep. clxxiv.* It is curious to see, § 6, how S. Bernard disposes of the revelations that were alleged in support of the contrary doctrine.

CENT.  
XII.

Instances  
of the em-  
ployment  
of relics  
in the  
consecra-  
tion of a  
church.

illustrate the practice. "A.D. 1123, the first indiction, January 28, this church of S. Agnes was consecrated by lord Pope Callixtus, with a remission yearly, on the said day, of one year and forty days. The following relics were placed in the altar; to wit, the vest brought by the angel to the blessed Agnes: portions of the hair and veil of the Blessed Virgin Mary, of the cloth with which S. Paul was blindfolded at his decapitation. An arm of S. Callixtus, pope and martyr: of SS. Agnes, Anastasius, and Eustachius. Part of the belt of S. Gregory, pope: of SS. Tryphon, Sebastian, Hermes, Alexander, pope and martyr, and of S. Cornelius, pope." . . . The relics that garnished the altar were still more numerous. "In the fifth year of the pontificate of lord Pope Callixtus II., May 6, this altar was consecrated by him, in which were enclosed the following relics. Of the sepulchre of our Lord: of the vest and sepulchre of S. Mary: of the stones that killed S. Stephen: of the gridiron and blood of S. Laurence: of the remains of S. Sebastian: one of the heads of the four crowned saints: an arm of S. Hippolytus, martyr: an arm of S. Boniface IV., pope: of Cornelius, pope, and of Felix, pope: of Agapetus, Anastasius, and Secundus, martyrs: of Pigenius, presbyter and martyr: of Felix and Adauctus: Processus and Martinianus: Cosmas and Damianus: Marcus and Marcellianus: Cæsarius and Julianus: Marcellinus and Peter: Abycyrus, John, Abundius, Irenæus, Chrysanthus and Darius, Mary and Martha, the seven holy brothers, the forty martyrs, Cyprian and his companions, Cæcilia, virgin and martyr: of Prisca, Sabina, Armenia, and S. Serena, martyrs: relics from the cemetery of S. Mary of the martyrs: relics from the old altar, and of very many more saints whose names God knows°.

With such a demand for them, the extraordinary discoveries that were made are not surprising: and in the *Chronicons* of the age we find the year assigned in which the blood of our Lord was brought from the East, or as, at Mantua, revealed to a blind man<sup>p</sup>. The bodies of the wise men were, A.D. 1162, translated to Milan, from Con-

° Baron. *Annal.*, A.D. 1123. n. 3 et 4.

<sup>p</sup> *Hermanni Contract. Chron.*, A.D. 1048.

stantinople: and the coat without seam, revealed at the C E N T. XII. monastery of Argenteuil, was proved to have been made for our Lord, whilst a boy, by His glorious Mother, from the letters that were found in it<sup>a</sup>. Pages might be filled with the like miserable tales.

The origin of indulgences is evolved by Mabillon in the following way. First, as early as the Apostolic age, excommunication was wont to be relaxed, as in the case of the incestuous person by S. Paul. Secondly, in the days of the Martyrs, public penance was occasionally remitted upon their intercession. Thirdly, a further change occurred about the ninth century, when public penance fell into disuse. Commutations and redemptions which the synods of Cloveshoo had, A.D. 747, designated a novel invention and dangerous practice, gradually supplanted the old penitential discipline: but indulgences, says Mabillon, eventually approved themselves to be a shorter cut. These seem originally to have been granted to the dead. John VIII., A.D. 878, granted them to those who either had fallen, or should fall, in the wars against the heathen. Afterwards they came to be subdivided into plenary and temporary indulgences, the distinction arising from the circumstance whether the punishment due to sin had been wholly or partially remitted. Indulgences of one kind or the other were granted to those who attended the dedication of a church, made a pilgrimage to Rome, or the Holy Land, venerated the relics of a given saint, and the like. Generally, but not always<sup>r</sup>, confession and contrition were *expressly* required in the recipients: and occasionally people were not entitled to the benefit of them unless they had partaken of the Blessed Eucharist. Instances of bishops granting them are not uncommon in the tenth century, but eventually like canonization they came to be monopolized by the Roman see. Hence the doctrine of the Canonists, "that the pope, like God, had alone the power of remitting sins," and hence those still more objectionable expressions "that Christ remitted the guilt, but not the penalty; the pope, both the guilt and the penalty." But these were the refinements of a later age. Nevertheless the doc-

Indul-  
gences.

Plenary  
or tempo-  
rary.

<sup>a</sup> Rob. de Monte, app. ad Chron. Sigeb., A.D. 1157.

<sup>r</sup> E. g. Concil. Later. I. can. 11. Ap. Mansi, tom. xxi. p. 284.

**CENT.** trine of transubstantiation, as it was beginning to be called,  
**XII.** had, A.D. 1196, developed the following order on the part  
 of Odo, bishop of Paris: "The laity should be frequently  
 admonished, that, as often as they see the Body of our Lord  
 carried by them, they should immediately drop upon their  
 knees, and with joined hands continue in prayer till It has  
 passed, as to their Lord and Maker." And again, "The  
 most Holy Body of our Lord should be carefully and dili-  
 gently kept locked up in the fairest part of the altar\*."

Adoration  
of the  
Host.

§ 5.  
GOVERN-  
MENT.

In the same way the following lines exhibit the advance of  
 the papal claims under Paschal II. They are intended to  
 personify a controversy between the two rival courts.

"Pars quoque papalis sic obviat imperiali:  
 Sic regnare damus quod Petro subjiciaris;  
 Jus etiam nobis Christus utrumque parit.  
 Spiritus et corpus mihi sunt subjecta potenter:  
 Corpore terrena teneo, cœlestia mente:  
 Unde tenendo polum, solvo ligoque solum.  
 Æthera pandere, cœlica tangere, Papa videtur,  
 Nam dare, tollere, nectere, solvere cuncta meretur,  
 Cui dedit omne decus lex nova, lexque vetus†!"

Paschal  
II.

The acts of Paschal in his pontificate sufficiently prove  
 that these were not mere words. Five years after his elec-  
 tion he absolved Henry V. from the oath by which he had  
 bound himself never to aspire to the crown while his father  
 lived: and so fomented a war between father and son. At  
 the synod of Mentz, A.D. 1105, his legates actually ratified  
 the usurpation of the son. He had already confirmed in a  
 Lateran synod, A.D. 1102, the anathema hurled against the  
 elder Henry by his predecessors, two years previously to  
 which Philip of France had shared the same fate at the  
 hands of his legates. But upon the death of Henry IV.,  
 A.D. 1106, the recoil came: and it can only be regarded as  
 a just retribution, when Henry V., whom Paschal had en-  
 couraged in a most unnatural rebellion against his father,  
 suddenly turned the tables upon the pontiff. Paschal had  
 indeed carried his resentment so far that he had refused the  
 deceased emperor Christian burial. Henry V. began his  
 reign by claiming investitures: A.D. 1100, the pope was

\* Odon. Synod. Constit. c. v. § 6. et  
 7. ap. Mansi, tom. xxii. p. 678.

† Gotfrid. Viterb. Chron., P. xvii.

ap. Germ. Script., vol. ii. p. 347. ed.  
 Struv.

forced into a compromise, by which it was agreed that the emperor on his part should renounce the right of investing with the ring and staff, but ecclesiastics on the other hand should resign their fiefs and relinquish every privilege which they held under the crown. These conditions, however, proved unpalatable to the great mass of the clergy, and the following year Paschal formally conceded investitures: took a solemn oath not to excommunicate Henry for the part which he had played in the controversy, and finally crowned him emperor, A.D. 1111, pronouncing at the administration of the Communion, a deliberate malediction upon any that should infringe the compact. Yet within a year from the transaction we have the rare spectacle of a pope submitting to the decisions of his own synod, and retracting his former acts: and while Paschal did not himself venture to excommunicate the emperor, his legates at the synod of Vienne and elsewhere did not scruple to do so. Henry was not slow on his part to retaliate, and Paschal died, A.D. 1118, at Benevento, whither he had retreated on the occupation of Rome by the emperor. How Paschal allowed the investiture question to be settled between our own Henry I. and S. Anselm, has been already noticed. CENT.  
XII. Gelasius II., the next pontiff, was forced into exile by the imperial party, who set up a rival in the person of Burdin, archbishop of Braga, the so called Gregory VIII. Paschal submits to his own synod. Gelasius had just time to excommunicate the emperor and his idol<sup>a</sup>, as he calls him, when he died at Cluny, A.D. 1119. Guido, archbishop of Vienne, a relative of the emperor, but who had, as the legate of Paschal, excommunicated him, A.D. 1112, succeeded Gelasius, and took the name of Callixtus II. Gelasius II. At a synod of Rheims, the same year, he renewed the anathema against Henry and Gregory, with equally stringent inhibitions against investiture by a layman. Callixtus II. No less than four hundred and twenty-seven candles, the number of bishops and abbots assembled, are said to have been extinguished upon his pronouncing sentence. The following year, A.D. 1120, Callixtus regained Rome. His rival Gregory was rigorously treated and confined a prisoner for life. A mutual understanding ensued between Callixtus and the emperor at the synod of Worms, A.D. 1122,

<sup>a</sup> Vid. Mansi, tom. xxi. p. 173.



CENT. XII. afterwards ratified at the first Lateran, or ninth general council, as it is called, A.D. 1123. Here what may be styled

Honorius  
II.

ecclesiastical investiture was relinquished on the part of the emperor: and free canonical election and consecration restored: while the pope conceded a temporal investiture by the sceptre, and that within six months from consecration. Episcopal and abbatical elections within the empire, were to be made in the presence of the emperor, and without force or bribery. By the synod of Rheims, and the Lateran council, presbyters, deacons, and subdeacons, were rigorously forbidden to have wives. Honorius II. succeeded Callixtus A.D. 1124. "This pope," says Bishop Otho\*, "excommunicated Frederic, duke of Suabia, and Conrad his brother, simply because they asserted their hereditary claims against Lothaire, the new emperor." A holy war, with the usual accompaniments, was proclaimed against Roger, duke of Sicily, upon scarcely less political and apparently more personal grounds. Upon his death, A.D. 1130, two rivals appeared: one styling himself Anacletus II., and the other, whose interest was supported by S. Bernard in a foreign land, Innocent II. Though Italy adhered to the former, Innocent was recognised generally throughout the West, and upon the death of Anacletus, A.D. 1138, reigned without a rival. A.D. 1133 he had strengthened his interest not only by crowning Lothaire, whose cause his predecessor had espoused, but by exacting from him upon his coronation a stringent oath of fidelity to the holy see. By his orders the event was commemorated in a picture afterwards destroyed by Hadrian IV., at the request of Frederic Barbarossa, bearing the following motto†.

Innocent  
II.

Rex venit ante fores, jurans prius urbis honores:  
Post homo fit Papæ, sumit quo dante coronam!

Then with happy versatility he first promoted a war against Roger, whom his rival Anacletus had created king of Sicily, but afterwards allowed him his title in a diploma which it is marvellous to compare with the actual facts‡. His violent

\* Otho Frising. Chron., lib. vii. c. 17.

† Sigon. de Reg. Ital., lib. xi. ad A.D. 1133. Comp. Radevic. Contin.

Othon. Frising. De Reb. Fred. Imp., lib. i. c. 10.

‡ Baron. Annal., A.D. 1139. n. 12.

measures against Louis VII., king of France, were neither palatable to Peter the Cluniac or S. Bernard. Innocent and his immediate successors, Celestine II. and Lucius II., were occasioned considerable trouble by the preaching of Arnold of Brescia, whose views came into collision with the temporal aggrandisements of the Church: and Lucius lost his life A.D. 1145, in a tumult arising from the excitement which they had produced. He was succeeded by a disciple and namesake of the great S. Bernard, Eugenius III., who passed most of his pontificate in exile in the vicinity of his old master. A.D. 1148 he effected his return into Italy, which he did not long survive, his death occurring A.D. 1153. The name of Eugenius III. has derived additional lustre from the celebrated work of S. Bernard, hereafter to be noticed, which was addressed to him; and it is still more directly to his credit, that he patronized the work of Gratian, which opened a way to the study of the canon law. Anastasius IV. held the popedom little more than a year. Upon his death, A.D. 1154, Nicholas Breakspear, an Englishman, and bishop of Albano, who, like Felix III., Agapetus, and others, was the son of a priest, succeeded\*. His first act was to place Rome under an interdict till Arnold had been expelled: his next to crown Frederic, whose refusal to hold his stirrup or bridle, while he dismounted, had for a time delayed the ceremony. In his dispute with William, king of Sicily, Adrian IV. was not so successful: in fact, he was coerced by William in the same way that Innocent had been by Roger. In a peace concluded between them, A.D. 1156, William got his sovereignty recognised over Apulia, Calabria, and Sicily; and though legates and appeals were allowed in the former countries, Sicily was specially claimed and allowed to be exempt from both: a circumstance which confirms the genuineness of the grant under Urban II. Frederic, who claimed Sicily as a part of his dominions, was highly displeased with these concessions on the part of the pope: and in the controversy which it occasioned, Adrian and his legate Orlando insinuating that the emperor derived his dignity from the holy see, a rupture was only prevented by the former explaining away his words, and making sundry concessions to the incensed

\* Vid. Collier, E. H., B. iv. cent. xii. p. 344. (comp. p. 348.) fol. ed.

CENT. monarch. Still even so the storm seemed only deferred by  
XII. a temporary lull. A.D. 1158, at the diet of Roncaglia, Frederic announced his intention of re-asserting and re-establishing the ancient rights of the empire: the requisitions of the pope were only met with recriminations: and matters had well-nigh reached a climax, when Adrian died, A.D. 1159.

Alexander III. Cardinal Orlando, or Alexander III., encountered a rival in Octavian, another cardinal who favoured the imperial cause, and who styled himself Victor IV. The latter was of course supported by Frederic, and declared by the synod of Pavia, A.D. 1160, to be the lawful pope. Nevertheless Alexander was acknowledged by the kings of England and France: and at the synod of Tours, A.D. 1163, seventeen cardinals, and a hundred and twenty-four bishops passed a sentence of excommunication upon Victor and his adherents. Victor dying the year following, Cardinal Guido succeeded to the anti-popedom, but so weak comparatively was the cause of the so called Paschal III., that Alexander returned from France, whither he had retired, and entering Rome, excommunicated Frederic in a Lateran council, 1168; withal deposing him from his dominions. Meanwhile John, abbot of Struma, or Callixtus III., replaced Paschal, whose death occurred towards the close of the year. On the other hand the revolt of the Lombards had already shaken the power of Frederic: and repeated losses from the same quarter inclined him to come to terms with Alexander, which he did at Venice, A.D. 1177. Here accounts vary as to the manner of his reception by the pope. Whether at the command of Alexander or not, it seems certain that Frederic fell prostrate at the feet of the pontiff, which he kissed, afterwards was saluted by him with the kiss of peace, held his stirrup, and walked by his bridle the following day. This was not *quite* the character of the interview between S. Peter and Cornelius! That Alexander placed his foot upon the neck of the monarch, repeating the words, "the young lion and the dragon shalt thou tread under thy feet," which produced the retort from Frederic, "Said to Peter not to you:—" and the rejoinder, "Yes, to me and to Peter:—" is perhaps unsupported by contemporary evidence: but later

Reception  
of Frederic  
by the  
pope.

writers, and among others Sabellicus<sup>b</sup>, have mentioned it, and a picture may be alleged for the transaction, no less than the picture which Adrian IV. destroyed. Equally felicitous was the issue of the dispute between Alexander and our own Henry II. Henry had been among the first to acknowledge Alexander: and had promoted Thomas à Becket to the see of Canterbury, A.D. 1162. Nevertheless, the same year a quarrel ensued between him and the archbishop on the question of the privileges of the clergy: the king requiring that for robbery, murder, arson, and the like, they should be immediately amenable no less than laymen to the civil courts, and Becket insisting that they ought to be held exempt from the civil courts unless they had been first degraded in the court Christian. This controversy gave rise to the celebrated Constitutions of Clarendon, as they are called from the place where they were signed and sealed, A.D. 1164: to which Becket had apparently pledged his adhesion on the spur of the moment, but upon second thoughts retracted it, and even sought absolution from Alexander for the lengths he had gone towards accepting them. By them not only were clergy obliged to appear before the civil judge when charged with misdemeanours, but ecclesiastical causes were ordered to be finally determined in the metropolitan court: express leave from the sovereign being made necessary to a further appeal. It was also laid down that those who held of the crown were not to be excommunicated without reference to the crown. One cannot wonder, therefore, that Alexander should have formally voided these constitutions, and excommunicated those who adhered to them. At the same time it is most remarkable that he should have written letters offering to confer upon Henry, with a single salvo, full legatine powers at the commencement of the dispute<sup>c</sup>.

C E N T.  
XII.

Dispute  
between  
Becket  
and Henry  
II.

Constitu-  
tions of  
Claren-  
don.

From A.D. 1165, to A.D. 1170, Becket was absent from England, having escaped over to France in the first instance, to lay his case before Alexander: and henceforward he was unable to return with security to his person. In fact he only came back the last-mentioned year to be murdered. This barbarous event, however, placed Henry completely at the

Becket  
murdered.

<sup>b</sup> Hist. Rer. Venet., Dec. i. lib. vii. prope fin.

<sup>c</sup> Hoveden, Annal., P. ii. A.D. 1164.

**CENT. XII.** mercy of Alexander. By the oaths which he took previously to his absolution, he virtually repealed his own constitutions :

Pope to be  
chosen by  
two thirds  
of the car-  
dinals.

while by the penance to which he submitted at the shrine of the martyred prelate, he cleared himself in the eyes of his subjects from the least share in the murder. Mindful of the schism occasioned by the manner of his own election, Alexander got a canon passed at the third Lateran council, A.D. 1179, to the effect that he should be reputed pope, and he only, who had been chosen by two thirds of the cardinals.

Lucius  
III.

In the last canon of the same council we meet with the first papal enactment against those afterwards called Albigenses : though it was not against them that a holy war is there proclaimed. Lucius III., A.D. 1181, succeeded Alexander, but was twice driven from Rome during his brief pontificate. A law made by him has been preserved that ecclesiastics should be<sup>d</sup> convented before ecclesiastical judges, whatever the charge. It would seem, therefore, that there had not

Urban II.

been a definite law before on the subject. Urban II., who succeeded him A.D. 1185, died within two years, it is said through grief at the capture of Jerusalem by Saladin : and Gregory VIII., the next pope, only enjoyed his office two months. Clement III. brought William, king of Scotland, to a settlement in the protracted dispute about the see of S. Andrews ; the third crusade, which embarked under his auspices A.D. 1189—91, has been elsewhere noticed. Many bold acts have been attributed to the last pontiff of the cen-

Gregory  
VIII.  
Clement  
III.

Celestine  
III.

ture, Celestine III. He excommunicated Alfonso X., king of Leon and Gallicia, for his incestuous marriage : he commanded Philip Augustus to receive back his wife Ingelburga, whom he had divorced. Henry VI., prostrate at his feet, received the crown from him, and swore fidelity to the holy see : and though the story respecting the extreme haughtiness of Alexander towards Frederic be a fiction, it is recorded by a contemporary that Celestine behaved in a scarcely less opprobrious way. Hoveden says : "The pope was sitting in his pontifical chair, holding the imperial crown between his feet : and the emperor stooping his head with the empress similarly received the crown from the feet of my lord pope. Whereupon my lord pope struck the crown of

<sup>d</sup> Decret. Greg. IX., lib. ii. tit. i. c. 8.

the emperor with his feet, and cast it down to the ground, CENT. thereby intimating that he had the power of removing him XII. from the empire, should he prove unworthy of it. But the cardinals," he adds, "immediately picked up the crown, and placed it on the head of the emperor." Tusculum, long the seat of the so-called counts, who had so often oppressed Rome, was surrendered by Henry to the pope, and by the Romans rased to the ground. Henry was afterwards understood to have been included in the excommunication passed upon Leopold, duke of Austria, for the detention of Richard Cœur de Lion, returning from the Holy Land through Germany: and hence the archbishop of Messina refused his corpse Christian interment, A.D. 1197, without leave from Celestine. This was only granted conditionally: while two thousand marks between the pope and cardinals were demanded for the recognition of his son Frederic as king of Sicily. Celestine died himself the following year, A.D. 1198. This pontiff is said to have been the first to grant what is called abso- Absolution lution *ad cautelam*; that is, conditional absolution of a per- ad cautela- son excommunicated during appeal against the sentence<sup>f</sup>. lam. With Celestine, it may be observed, Baronius ends his immortal annals. The renowned Innocent III., who succeeded, belongs to the next century. It cannot be denied that a vast moral improvement had taken place in the pontiffs since Gregory VII., though the principles upon which they acted, especially with reference to temporal matters, were strange and unprecedented. A recoil sooner or later was inevitable, and in the history of the Waldenses and other numerous sects which started into existence about the same time, we see the first practical working of those causes which brought about the Reformation.

"Friend and foe," says Gieseler, "have contributed to confuse the history of the Waldenses:" and a more egregious § 6. illustration of his remark could scarce be given than that WAL- occurring in a work upon them by a living author, who DENSES. would confound them with the Valesians, or followers of Valesius<sup>h</sup>, an Arabian heresiarch of the third century, who

<sup>e</sup> Annal., P. ii. Rich. I., A.D. 1191. Trans.

<sup>f</sup> Vid. Du Cange, Glossar. s. v.

<sup>g</sup> E. H., Per. iii. div. iii. § 86. Eng.

<sup>h</sup> Hoffman, Lex., s. v. Comp. Mansi, tom. xix. p. 678.

**CENT.** with Michael Cerularius and Leo, were excommunicated by  
**XII.** Cardinal Humbert<sup>1</sup> A.D. 1054. They are most carefully to be distinguished from the Catharists, Picards, Paterinists, and Albigenes, of whom presently. Their founder without doubt was Peter of Lyons, who flourished about A.D. 1160, and whose simple surname would seem to have been Waldo, notwithstanding the various etymologies that have been advanced. It is proved to have been a name sufficiently common in those days<sup>2</sup>: and few names there were then that were not subjected to a mystical interpretation. Occasionally, with reference to the dwelling-place of their founder, they seem to have been called poor men of Lyons: and occasionally, from the wooden sandals or sabots which they wore, *sabbatati* or *insabbatati*<sup>3</sup>. Reinerius Saccho, the Dominican, who lived about A.D. 1240, and upon his own confession<sup>4</sup> "belonged seventeen years to the sect of the Catharists," but after his conversion "was often present at the inquisition and examination of the heretics," has been often alleged to prove their antiquity: but it is to be observed, that it is of the Leonists, and not the Lyonnese, that he says, "some assert that they date from the days of Silvester, and others from the days of the Apostles." Accordingly he ranks the former among the ancient, but the latter among the modern heretics. Again, the Leonists, according to him, infested Germany. Again, of the Leonists he says that while they lived uprightly before men, and rightly believed all things relating to God, and that were contained in the Creed: their only fault was that they blasphemed the Roman Church and clergy. To the Lyonnese, on the contrary, who, he says, were likewise called Leonists, possibly from the entire agreement between the two sects in the last particular—besides blasphemies against the Roman Church and clergy, numerous errors connected with the sacraments, saints, and customs of the Church, are attributed in the fifth chapter of his work. And all these errors in his judgment they had fallen into because they denied purgatory!

Testimony  
of Reine-  
rius Saccho  
explained.

<sup>1</sup> Faber's Vallenses and Albigenes, appendix, ed. 1838.

<sup>2</sup> Maitland's Albigenes and Waldenses, § 5. p. 107-8. ed. 1832.

<sup>3</sup> Hallam, Middle Ages, c. ix. part

ii. vol. iii. p. 469. note. ed. 1819.

<sup>4</sup> § 6. Contra Wald. ap. Max. Biblioth. Pat., tom. xxv. p. 262.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. § 3.

<sup>6</sup> § 4. *ibid.*

So far Reinerius. Yet moderns seem agreed that Leonists and Lyonnese mean one and the same sect, notwithstanding it is disputed whether they were called Leonists from the Iconoclast, or from one Leo said to have been contemporary with Constantine the Great; or else from Leon, the German form of the French Lyon<sup>p</sup>. Maitland contends that the manuscripts published by Morland and others, illustrating the faith and practice of the Waldenses, of which perhaps the most interesting is a poem entitled "The Noble Lesson," were composed in a later age<sup>q</sup>. Nevertheless Reinerius admits that the founder of the Lyonnese was not unlearned, and that besides instructing his followers to be imitators of Christ and the Apostles, he taught them the text of the New Testament in the vulgar tongue. It is likewise observable that they are never once charged with Manicheism. The bull of Lucius III., A.D. 1183, contains the first anathema against the poor men of Lyons: while in the edict of Ildephonsus, king of Arragon, against them, A.D. 1194, we are first introduced to their more modern designation, Waldenses.

CENT.  
XII.The Noble  
Lesson.

As for the Albigenses, they scarce belong, as such, to the present century. It is true that Gascony, Albigeois, and the parts about Toulouse, are specified as the seat of the Catharists, Patrinnists, or Publicans, in the twenty-seventh canon of the third Lateran council, A.D. 1179, and that the constitutions of Odo, bishop of Paris, A.D. 1097, speak of the Albigensian heretics. Moreover their name was derived from the locality in which they were found. Yet Maitland avers that the name was not used as a discriminating title for a religious sect until long after the synod of Albi, A.D. 1254<sup>r</sup>.

§ 7.  
ALBI-  
GENSES.

Our attention, therefore, will be confined to the Catharists, Patrinnists, and Publicans, above-mentioned, of whom those who lived in the neighbourhood of Albi formed part at the time of the third Lateran council. Their origin has been traced to the Manicheans of the East, represented from about A.D. 660 by the sect calling themselves Paulicians, from the Apostle Paul. "These," says Gibbon, whom Hallam follows, were "transplanted about the middle of the eighth century by Constantine Copronymus, from the banks of the Euphrates

Connexion  
between  
the Cathar-  
ists and  
Paulicians.

<sup>p</sup> Gieseler, E. H., loc. cit. n. Usser,  
De Success. Eccl., c. 10.

<sup>q</sup> § 6.  
<sup>r</sup> § 5. p. 96.



**C E N T.** to Constantinople and Thrace," where their preachers "solic-  
**XII.** ited not without success the infant faith of the Bulgarians".  
 Thence they gradually extended themselves westward, so much so, that in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, Switzerland, France, and Italy, abounded with them, as is attested by the numerous names by which they were known<sup>1</sup>; but the derivation of the term Patrinists, Patarinists, Paterinists, or Patarenists: of the term Publicans, Poplicans, or Populicans: and even of the term Catharists, is still under dispute. Of the Catharists, says Reinerius<sup>2</sup>, there were three principal branches, Albanenses, Concorezenses, and Bagnolenses, all of whom inhabited Lombardy. Afterwards he reckons no less than sixteen communities, or, as he calls them, under protest, churches, from Constantinople westwards. Their sacraments were four: imposition of hands or spiritual baptism, benediction of the bread, penance, and orders. Their orders were likewise fourfold—bishop, elder son, younger son, and deacon. All Catharists held the following opinions: that the devil made the world and all things in it: that the sacraments of the Church, namely, baptism with material water, and the other sacraments, had not the least saving efficacy, nor were they true sacraments of Christ and His Church, but rather deceptive and diabolical, and of the church of the malignants. Also they held that carnal marriage was a mortal sin always, and one that would hereafter be as heavily punished as incest and adultery. Also they denied a resurrection of the flesh. To eat meat, eggs, or cheese, even in a case of necessity, they considered to be a mortal sin. Also that secular powers sin mortally when they punish evil doers or heretics. Also that none could be saved except through their instrumentality. Also that infants unbaptized would not be worse punished everlastingly than robbers and murderers. Also that to kill a bird from the least to the greatest, or quadruped from the weasel to the elephant, was a great sin. Also they denied purgatory. Besides these tenets, which were entertained by the whole body, different communities had fallen into peculiar errors. It is not to be for-

Branches  
of the  
Catharists.

<sup>1</sup> Decline and Fall, c. liv. vol. v. p. 531. 4to. ed.

<sup>2</sup> Usser, De Success. Eccl., c. 10. § 18.

<sup>3</sup> § 6.

gotten that Reinerius was a contemporary writer, and had been seventeen years of his life a Catharist; yet though he must have known their tenets accurately as a disciple, it is quite possible that as a convert from them he may have exaggerated them. CENT.  
XII.

Connected with the Catharists on the one hand were the Bogomiles. Bogomiles in the East, whose founder was Basil, and whose errors resembled those of the Paulicians. Basil and those who adhered to him were burnt by order of Alexius Comnenus, A.D. 1118. On the other hand Peter of Bruis, a Petrobrusians. presbyter, filled Languedoc and Provence with a kindred sect called Petrobrusians: and from Henry a monk, who followed in his wake, came the Henricians. Peter the Venerable has attributed five principal errors to the former in his treatise against them, written about A.D. 1126\*. First, according to him, they pronounced against infant baptism; secondly, they would have all churches destroyed, on the ground that God hears those who deserve to be heard without reference to the place in which they prayed; thirdly, they would have all crosses broken, as not a fit devotional emblem: fourthly, they denied the real presence and daily sacrifice in the mass; and lastly, they derided oblations, prayers, and alms for the dead, as wholly unavailing. In the same way from a letter of S. Bernard, who was sent into Toulouse by Eugenius III. to oppose them, we get a clue to what was condemned in the Henricians. Writing to Hildefonsus, count of Toulouse, who had favoured them, he says; "What infinite mischief to our certain knowledge has the heretic Henry done and is doing in the Church of God! . . . Basilicas without people, people without priests, priests without due reverence, in a word, Christians without Christ. Churches are deemed synagogues, the sanctuary of God is denied to be holy, sacraments are not accounted sacred, and festivals are defrauded of their solemnities. Men die in their sins, souls are snatched away to the dread tribunal: alas! neither reconciled by penance, nor fortified by the holy Communion. The little ones of Christians are debarred a way to Christ, while the grace of Baptism is repudiated: they are not allowed to approach salvation, though the Saviour cried

\* Ap. Biblioth. Max. Patrum, tom. xxii. p. 1033.

- CENT. XII.** affectionately in their behalf, 'Suffer the little children to come unto Me'.<sup>a</sup> These charges, it would appear, are not to be pressed to the letter—Bishop Hildebert had given Henry licence to preach in the early part of his career<sup>a</sup>—Nevertheless there seems as little doubt that these sectarians fell into many grave errors, as that those very errors were occasioned by the deeply corrupt system against which they declaimed. Of a still worse nature were the excesses of
- Tanchelin.** Tanchelin, whom Baronius calls precursor of the Sacramentarians<sup>a</sup>, and Eon, or Eudo, who preached somewhat earlier in the same parts, and magnified themselves into something absolutely superhuman. Of these Eudo was condemned and imprisoned at the synod of Rheims, A.D. 1148, under Eugenius III., and Henry, about the same time or not long after, shared the same fate. By a committee of the same synod
- Eon.**
- Gilbert.** Gilbert, bishop of Poitiers, was convented for unsound notions respecting the Trinity. By distinguishing too minutely between the Divine Persons and Essence, it would seem, he had come to the erroneous conclusion that only the Person of the Son, contradistinguished from the Divine Nature, had become Man. Gilbert's principal opponent was S. Bernard. The discussion which took place is remarkable, as affording the first instance of a collision between the ultramontan cardinals and authorities of the Gallican Church. Eugenius with great difficulty appeased his irate satellites, and the abbot of Clairvaux apologised. Other charges had been alleged against Gilbert by his archdeacons, namely, that he said merit was to be attributed to Christ only, and that none were baptized but those who were to be saved. However, his judges seem to have occupied themselves exclusively with the first charge, upon which when he had satisfied them, he
- Apostolici.** was honourably dismissed to his diocese<sup>b</sup>. The Apostolici mentioned by S. Bernard seem to have been a branch of the Catharists, into whose minor ramifications it is unnecessary to enter.

§ 8.  
RISE OF  
THE NOMI-  
NALISTS.

But it was rather to the corrupt practice and ceremonies, in a word, external aspect of the Western Church of the

<sup>a</sup> Ep. ccxli.

<sup>a</sup> Mabill. Analect. fol. ed., p. 316.

<sup>a</sup> A.D. 1126. n. 12.

<sup>b</sup> Vid. Otho Frising. De Gest. Fred. I., lib. i. c. 49—57.

twelfth century, that sects like the Waldenses and Albigenses were antagonistic: the extreme objectivity of her theory produced a more formidable, because more subtle, recoil of which Abelard pre-eminently, rather than Roscelin<sup>c</sup>, was the coryphæus. It was not indeed a new controversy, but, viewed through the medium which Christianity supplied, it had assumed a new appearance. Plato had been the first to people the world with objective realities, exemplars, or types of the things we see, self-existent, eternal, and immutable<sup>d</sup>. And this he had been led to do partly from a just abhorrence of the materialistic sensualism of the sophists, including their prime authorities, Protagoras and Heraclitus<sup>e</sup>, who imagined all things in a constant flux, and that there was nothing objective that was fixed or true; and partly owing to his discoveries in the processes of the abstractive faculty<sup>f</sup>. In a word he may be said to have deified abstract terms, regarding them as the only tangible representations of a hidden verity, or rather verities, that were far beyond them. These views were naturally unintelligible to the more practical and eminently logical Aristotle, whose attention was concentrated upon dialectics, and who saw plainly that definitions were the creations of the mind acting according to her own subjective laws. According to him universals, or rather the common nature denoted by them, had a real existence, but not apart from the singulars, from which they had been abstracted<sup>g</sup>. These three views were respectively precursors of the Nominalists, Realists, and Conceptualists among the schoolmen. It is only remarkable that a fourth view should not have effectually precluded these controversies, originating as it probably did with the Alexandrine school, whose ambition it was to reconcile Plato and Aristotle, but stamped with the authority of the great S. Augustine. Ammonius Hermias, a writer of the sixth century, speaking of the deep questions to which Porphyry

CENT.  
XII.

Protagoras  
and Heraclitus.

Aristotle.

Precursors of the  
Nominalists, Realists, and  
Conceptualists.

A fourth  
view.

\* Vid. Meiners in Comment. Soc. Reg. Scient. Gotting., vol. xii. p. 31.

<sup>d</sup> Vid. Stalbaum Prolegom. ad Plat. Timæum, c. v. p. 40—43.

<sup>e</sup> Vid. Stalbaum Prolegom. ad Plat. Phileb., p. 13 et seq.

<sup>f</sup> See the graphic picture, Phileb.,

p. 15. D—16. fol. ed.

<sup>g</sup> Vid. S. Thom. Aq. on Arist. Metaph., lib. iii. (iv.) c. 2, where "ens rationis" and "ens naturæ" are well distinguished; also on Arist. De Anima, lib. iii. c. 5.

C E N T. had alluded in his work upon the five predicables<sup>b</sup>; namely  
 XII.

whether genus and species had a real objective, or merely subjective existence: and if objective, whether they were material, or immaterial, and whether separable or inseparable from the singulars from which they had been abstracted—Ammonius Hermias having stated the different opinions that had been entertained about them, puts forward a happy simile, by which a way is opened to a more comprehensive, and a truer view. “Imagine a signet,” he says, “having a device upon it: of Achilles for instance: and many seals ranged near it, waiting to receive impressions. Apply the signet to these respectively, and let the person who is afterwards introduced, and beholds the seals, and is aware that they are impressions of one and the same signet, receive the idea of the impression from them. Thus the signet of the ring is that which may be said to be before singulars: the impressions on the seals in singulars: that in the mind of him who has derived the idea from them, abstracted from, and posterior to, singulars. And let the same view be entertained with reference to genus and species. To the great Maker of all things, the types of all things are present in His mind. Thus in making man, He had the image of man present to His mind, and from it made man . . . . for who that is about to make a thing, can be without a definite idea in his mind of the thing to be made by him?” . . . In the same way S. Augustine had already intimated that independent objective existence was the objectionable part of the Platonic doctrine of forms or exemplars<sup>i</sup>, which he says cannot but have existed from all eternity in the Divine mind.

Objection-  
able part  
of the Pla-  
tonic doc-  
trine.

But to return from a digression which it is hoped may be considered neither irrelevant nor unprofitable. The philosophic aspect of the Church of the twelfth century was one of what may be called ultra-realism. Whether material objects had a separate existence beyond what meets the senses or not, it was virtually conceded that by the benedictions of the Church they had: so that, practically, what Heraclitus said of the oven might be said of all things that had been converted by the Church to a holy purpose, (and what had

<sup>b</sup> In Porph. *Quinque Voc.*, p. 29.  
ad f. ed. Ald.

<sup>i</sup> “Nam hoc opinari sacrilegum est.” *Lib. De lxxxiii. quæst. 2. xlv.*

not?) "Here, too, are gods<sup>k</sup>." Meanwhile faith, hope, and charity, subjective conditions, were at a low ebb in the world. Personal holiness had not been proportionably taught or enforced. These glaring inequalities, it would appear, evoked incipient nominalism under Abelard, to be developed under Occam: though it would be premature to go further into the controversy—as it was not before the close of the century that the terms Nominalists and Realists began to be used. Such dialectical or philosophical speculations, however, were not without influence upon Abelard in his theology. S. Bernard, indeed, may be thought oratorical, when he says that when Abelard spoke of the Trinity he resembled Arius, when he spoke of grace he resembled Pelagius, and, when he spoke of the Person of our Lord, Nestorius<sup>l</sup>. And yet, when S. Bernard explains these charges respectively in his letter to Innocent II., unless mis-stated, they would scarce seem to involve less<sup>m</sup>. Another accusation was, that he taught that reason unaided was able to attain to a perfect comprehension of the Divine Essence<sup>n</sup>. Abelard, it has been well observed, saw faith so mixed with superstition and credulity, that he was led to enquire into the relations between faith and reason<sup>o</sup>. A remarkable anticipation of the difficulties of a later age! Abelard was first called to account for his opinions at the synod of Soissons, A.D. 1120, where he was compelled to burn, with his own hand, his work upon theology lately published. But subsequently, disseminating views equally questionable, he provoked the opposition of SS. Bernard and Norbert, by the former of whom he was confronted at the synod of Sens, A.D. 1140, from whose condemnation he appealed to the pope. Through the mediation of Peter the Venerable he was absolved by the holy see: and through the same mutual friend reconciled to S. Bernard: and upon his death, A.D. 1142, the same patron composed in his honour two magnificent epitaphs of which the following couplet is a sample.

C E N T.  
XII.

Errors ascribed to Abelard by S. Bernard.

Abelard burns his book.

Befriended by Peter the Venerable.

"Petrus hic jacet Abailardus  
Cui soli patuit scibile quicquid erat."

<sup>k</sup> Arist. De Part. Animal., lib. i. c. 5.

<sup>l</sup> Ep. exci.

<sup>m</sup> Ep. cxcii.

<sup>n</sup> Neander's Life of S. Bernard, p.

<sup>o</sup> Ep. cxc. i.e. Tract. de error. 124. Eng. Trans.

Abailar.

CENT. It is still more to his credit that his learning was not more  
XII.

Arnold of  
Brescia.

Candid  
testimony  
of Gunther  
the poet.

conspicuous than his piety. Abelard's speculative errors, it would appear, followed him to the grave: but the many practical truths to which he had given vent survived him. "The burning words of truth once uttered," it has been said, "in-flame heart after heart, and probably work results greater in degree, or different in kind, from any that were ever contemplated by their truth-inspired speaker<sup>p</sup>." Arnold of Brescia declaimed against the Erastianism of the clergy with a boldness and enthusiasm that exceeded not only his teacher but propriety. S. Bernard attacked him with the same vehemence that he had his master, besides imputing to him the same errors<sup>q</sup>. Otho says of him that he taught that the clergy who had property, bishops who had temporalities, and monks that had possessions, could not by any means be saved; that all these things appertained to the sovereign, through whose hands only they could pass to the laity<sup>r</sup>. Gunther, a contemporary poet, bears far more candid testimony to his intentions in the following lines, which shew likewise the manner in which Arnold would have had the clergy supported.

*Illis primitias et que devotio plebis  
Offerat, et decimas castos in corporis usus  
Non ad luxuriam, sive oblectamina carnis  
Concedens—mollesque cibos cultusque nitorem  
Illicitosque jocos, lascivaque gaudia cleri,  
Damnabat penitus mores, monachosque superbos—  
Veraque multa quidem, nisi tempora nostra fideles  
Respuerent monitus, falsis admixta monebat<sup>s</sup>!*

Otho adds, that he was reported to have held unsound views upon the sacrament of the altar and infant-baptism: nor does Gunther omit that he was not strictly orthodox.

Arnold was accused by the bishop of his diocese and others before Innocent II., at the second Lateran council, A.D. 1139, as a disturber of the public peace. He was enjoined silence and driven from Italy: but his exile brought him into contact with Cardinal Guido, the future Celestine II., who proved his friend, and upon whose elevation he probably returned. Lucius II. was killed in a revolt excited by his

<sup>p</sup> Neander's Life of S. Bernard, p. 167. Eng. Trans.

<sup>q</sup> Ep. cxcv. et vi.

<sup>r</sup> De Gest. Fred. I., lib. ii. 20.

<sup>s</sup> Legur., lib. iii. circa med.

principles, and perhaps his presence. At all events, from the flight of Eugenius III., Rome was his constant residence. But Adrian IV. placed the city under an interdict till it had expelled him: and finally proscribed by Frederic I., he was apprehended by Cardinal Gerard, and burnt A.D. 1155, in order that his relics might not fall into the hands of his admirers.

CENT.  
XII.

Meanwhile the Greeks continued no less adverse to the claims of the see of S. Peter than the above sects: and indeed Rome was advancing in the work of aggression so rapidly, that it was clear that nothing but absolute submission would content her. By means of the crusades she was daily extending her sway eastwards: Latin rites, and a Latin hierarchy followed in the train of the crusaders: and Greek priests and prelates were ejected from Cyprus, Syria, Palestine, Mesopotamia, and Arabia, no less than Mahometans. Latin patriarchs usurped authority over Antioch and Jerusalem, and the rightful patriarchs were exiles: and from A.D. 1204, to A.D. 1261, while Constantinople was in the hands of the Franks, even the imperial city was subjected to a like invasion<sup>t</sup>. Proposals of union indeed had been made from time to time, but it was a political purpose for the most part that prompted them: for instance the synod of Bari, A.D. 1097, may be traced to the embassy of Alexius Comnenus to the synod of Placentia two years before. Chrysolanus, archbishop of Milan, was the bearer of a communication from Paschal II. to the same emperor, A.D. 1116. Negotiations likewise passed between Innocent II. and John Comnenus, and between Adrian IV. and Manuel. Manuel would fain have compromised matters in a Constantinopolitan synod, A.D. 1168, but the influence of Michael of Anchiali the patriarch obtained a vote in favour of a total separation from the pope. This was the more remarkable, the papal claims having been unusually moderate. The pope, it is said, only challenged primacy, appeals, and commemoration in the liturgy<sup>u</sup>. Hostility to Frederic I. proved a new tie between Alexander III. and Manuel. Ambassadors came from the latter to the third Lateran council, A.D. 1179, and from the former to

Opposition  
to Rome on  
the part of  
the Greek  
Church.

Latin  
schismatic  
bishops.

Moderate  
claims of  
the pope.

<sup>t</sup> Leo Allat. De Perp. Cons., lib. ii. acts.  
13, endeavours to apologize for these      <sup>u</sup> Leo Allat., ibid. c. 12.



C E N T. Constantinople, the emperor openly proposing a temporal, as  
 XII. the price of a spiritual, re-union of the East and West\*.

Greek and  
 Latin Con-  
 troversial-  
 ists.

But the superficial nature of these overtures is plainly seen in the relentless acrimony with which controversialists on both sides contended during the whole period. Under Alexius Comnenus the Greek champions were Zonaras, Euthemius Zigabenus, Eustratius Nicenus, Nicetas Byzantinus, Nicetas Seidus, and others. Basil, archbishop of Acrida, replied to Adrian IV. under John the Handsome; and at the end of a long catalogue, Theodore Balsamon and George Xiphilin are well-known names. S. Anselm of Canterbury, his namesake of Havelburg, Chrysolanus, Etherianus and others, argued for the Latins. Meanwhile the Greeks, however they protested against Western errors and innovations, participated in them to a great extent, and were greatly divided amongst themselves. It was disputed in what sense the

Greek con-  
 troversies.

Father was greater than the God-Man; in what way the assumed Nature was united to the assuming; whether the God of Mahomet or only the false prophet was to be anathematized. While George Xiphilin was patriarch the question arose whether the Body of Christ received in the holy Eucharist was corruptible or incorruptible. These controversies added to the rise of the Bogomiles, materially weakened the orthodox body, while Rome, whose influence rose with the crusades, proselytized some of her most important sects. Of these the Armenians were brought over by a reported miracle under Eugenius III., and their example was followed by the Moravians A.D. 1182.

§ 9.  
 COUNCILS.

Three councils of the twelfth century aspire to be called general: all held in the basilica of the Lateran, whence they derive their name. It may be said of them generally that they neither represented the whole Church, nor indeed the whole West. Eastern bishops, were they ever convened, attended none of them. As for William, archbishop of Tyre, and the prelates of Cæsarea, Tripolis, and Acre, who attended the last, they belonged to the Latin communion: and even of the two ambassadors of Manuel, one, namely George, metropolitan of Corcyra, not more favourable to the Latins than

Lateran  
 councils  
 unattend-  
 ed by the  
 Easterns.

\* Vid. Pagi ad Baron. Annal., A.D. 1168. n. 12.

† Otho Frising., Chron. vii. 32.

his companion, was detained at Brundisium by sickness; the other, the Abbot Nectarius, disputed against them during the council with so much earnestness, that he was saluted with the honours of a conqueror upon his return home<sup>a</sup>.

CENT.  
XII.

Lastly, German bishops were wanting to the first and third, and Italian bishops to the second of the Lateran councils: yet notwithstanding all these deficiencies, they are commonly known as the ninth, tenth, and eleventh general councils. Of these the first met in the pontificate of Callixtus II., A.D. 1122 or 3. Three hundred bishops attended it, the subjects to be discussed having been already ventilated at the synods of Toulouse and Rheims, A.D. 1119, under Callixtus. Here,

First and  
third not  
attended by  
German:  
the second  
not by  
Italian  
bishops.

The first.

besides the mutual concessions which passed between Henry V. and the pope before mentioned, ordinations made by Burdin, or Gregory VIII., the antipope, and his bishops, are declared void: plenary remission of sins is offered to all who would embark for Jerusalem upon a holy war: those who turned back are excluded from church and Divine service, infant baptism and a death-bed confession being the only two rites allowed them: the goods of the Porticans<sup>a</sup> or pilgrims to Rome are protected; the violators of the Treuga, or religious truce from Wednesday evenings to Monday mornings, are subjected to a spiritual penalty; and finally, presbyters and deacons, subdeacons and monks, are forbidden to have concubines, or contract marriage, and those already so united are to be separated from their partners, and to do penance.

The second Lateran council was convened under Innocent II., A.D. 1138, and numbered, it is said, one thousand bishops present. Here canons were once more passed against simony, marriage of the clergy, breakers of the Treuga, whose observance is especially pressed between Advent and the octaves of the Epiphany, and between Lent and the octaves of Easter, and against those who disparaged the Sacraments. Here the followers of Peter de Bruis, and even of Arnold of Brescia, are said to be condemned, though they are not named.

The second.

In the fifteenth canon, those who have laid violent hands upon a clerk or a monk are said to have incurred the guilt

<sup>a</sup> Baron. Annal., A.D. 1179. n. 9.

<sup>a</sup> Vid. Du Cange, s. v.

**C E N T.** of sacrilege, and are anathematized : nor are they to be absolved unless in a dying state, without reference to the holy see. Those who have taken sanctuary are likewise protected under excommunication. Finally, the acts of Peter Leon or Anacletus II., the antipope, are rescinded.

**XII.**

The third. The third Lateran council was celebrated under Alexander III., A.D. 1179 or 80, and attended by three hundred bishops, of whom four were English, some Scotch, and seven or eight Irish. The first canon, which made the consent of two-thirds of the cardinals necessary to the valid election of a pope, has been already noticed. By the next canon antipapal ordinations are pronounced null and void. The fifth enacts that none shall be ordained presbyter or deacon, unless possessed of independent means, without a title : and the thirteenth and fourteenth inveigh against the custom of having many cures, and bind each person to residence upon his own cure. Clergy are forbidden to undertake secular offices : Christians to serve or live with Jews and Saracens : bishops are enjoined to assign a competent maintenance for masters of cathedral schools for poor scholars, who are to be taught gratuitously. The last canon is directed against the Catharists, Patrinists, or Publicans, and their abettors, who are anathematized : and a holy war is proclaimed against the brigands of Brabant, Arragon, and Navarre, who had been guilty of the greatest cruelties towards Christians.

Provincial synods. Provincial synods were numerous, and of these the most remarkable have been anticipated in the disputes between popes and antipopes, popes and emperors, popes and heretics or schismatics. Crusades were advocated by the synods of Vezelai, Laon, and Chartres, A.D. 1146 : of Normandy, A.D. 1184 : of Paris and London, A.D. 1186, and others A.D. 1188 ; those of Compostello, A.D. 1114 : Toulouse, A.D. 1119 : London, A.D. 1125, and at other times, enforced discipline. But that of London, A.D. 1125, was disgraced by the foul act of the papal legate and cardinal-priest, John de Crema, who the very evening of the day in which he had celebrated mass, and got severe regulations passed against clerical marriage and concubinage, was found in company with a harlot<sup>b</sup>. Other British synods were held with refer-

<sup>b</sup> Collier, E. H., B. iv. cent. xii. p. 318-19. fol. ed.

ence to the dispute between Becket and Henry II., already C E N T.  
mentioned; others with reference to the dispute between XII.  
the archbishops of York and Canterbury. The question of  
the primacy was first argued between Thomas and Lanfranc,  
A.D. 1070; afterwards between a cousin and namesake of  
the same Thomas and S. Anselm, in the days of Paschal I.,  
who decided for the latter. A.D. 1175, Roger, archbishop of  
York, and Richard of Canterbury, contended at a synod of  
London or Westminster, which should sit on the right of the  
papal legate; and the former aspiring to the seat of honour,  
he was pulled down and roughly handled by the Canterbury  
clergy<sup>c</sup>. Roger instantly appealed to Alexander III. The  
question involved not only precedence but jurisdiction. On  
the part of the archbishop of Canterbury there was the claim  
to consecrate to the see of York, to receive a profession of  
canonical obedience from the see of York, and to have the  
cross borne before him exclusively within his own province.  
The archbishop of York claimed jurisdiction over Lincoln,  
Chester, Worcester, and Hereford.

Roger  
roughly  
used by the  
Canterbury  
clergy.

The controversy was not finally adjusted before A.D. 1352,  
when both had their respective rights confirmed; and the  
archbishop of York was allowed to have the cross borne be-  
fore him in the Canterbury diocese as well as his own. But  
in all councils and synods the right hand was assigned to  
Canterbury, and the left to York; and the latter was to be  
called simply primate, but the former primate of all Eng-  
land.

In the East numerous synods were held throughout those  
parts which had been latinized by the crusaders, papal legates  
convening and attending them. There were likewise Eastern  
Constantinopolitan synods of the Greek Church. The first con-  
demned the writings of Constantine Chrysomalus, A.D. 1140;  
the three next, between A.D. 1143 and A.D. 1147, were occu-  
pied with the errors of the Bogomiles, who were condemned:  
and at the last Cosmas, the new patriarch, was deposed for  
his intercourse with Nipho, a monk who had joined them.  
The sixth, A.D. 1168, under Michael, has been already no-  
ticed. Lastly, the negotiations which passed between the  
Greeks and Armenians at the synod of Tarsus, A.D. 1177,

<sup>c</sup> Hoveden, Annal., P. ii. Hen. II., A.D. 1175.

**CENT. XII.** prove that the union of the latter with Rome hung by a very slender thread.

**§ 10.  
WRITINGS  
AND WRITERS.**

**Book of the  
Sentences  
how di-  
vided.**

**Contents.**

Before enumerating the principal ecclesiastical writers, it might be convenient to introduce a brief account of some contemporary writings which gave a new turn to medieval studies, and affected literature for at least the next three centuries. Dogmatic theology, it has been before observed, had existed almost five hundred years in the Greek Church, thanks to S. John Damascene. Archbishops Lanfranc and Anselm had during the last century followed in his steps; added to which his great work had been translated into Latin. Roscelin and Abelard, introducing dialectics into theology, had dogmatized with a boldness, that while it had provoked opposition from SS. Bernard and Norbert, had elsewhere attracted attention and admiration. Finally, Hugo de S. Victor, against whose writings none could object, had written a systematic work upon theology, entitled a "Summary of the Sentences." It was evident that a spirit of criticism and enquiry had been raised not to be repressed; and that the real way to meet it was to find vent for it in a channel that had embankments. Accordingly Peter the Lombard, bishop of Paris, published his Sentences A.D. 1162, a work in which the received doctrines are methodically arranged, and supported by lengthy quotations from the Fathers and from Scripture. Four books divided into chapters, or distinctions as they are called, subdivided into sections, compose the Sentences. The first book treats of God, of the Persons in the Godhead, and the Divine attributes. In the second book a view is exhibited of the created universe, more particularly the rational creature, men and angels: to which free-will, grace, and sin, are corollaries. Next follows the scheme of redemption in the third book: first, the Incarnation of Christ; secondly, with reference to our sanctification, the theological virtues of faith, hope, and charity, the moral virtues, the seven gifts of the Spirit, with the precepts contained in the Decalogue. The fourth book is occupied with the seven Sacraments of the Church, and ends with a traditionary description of the general resurrection and judgment day.

It is to be observed that the same method is pursued in a

shorter work extant by one Bandinus: but whether he borrowed from Peter, or Peter from him, is a disputed point. CENT.  
XII.

Again, Robert Pullen, an Englishman, had published Sentences principally collected from Scripture. But Peter Lombard has been styled pre-eminently Master of the Sentences: and his book rose to be as much a text-book in the schools, as the Mishna had been to the Jewish commentators. Alexander Alensis led the way in the next age: his example was followed by Albertus Magnus and S. Thomas Aquinas. To have written upon the Sentences was a long time indispensable to the very name of a theologian, and the custom only ceased with Estius in the seventeenth century. Estius the  
last writer  
upon the  
Sentences.

It may be still said that not to have studied the Sentences is incompatible with theological depth. Nevertheless Peter Lombard was warmly opposed in his own age by the abbot Joachim and others among the Mystics; by his own disciple John of Cornwall, who reported him to have taught that Christ, as Man, was nothing; a doctrine which Alexander III. condemned A.D. 1179, in a letter to the archbishop of Sens<sup>d</sup>; and eventually the Parisian doctors selected twenty-six propositions, usually printed at the end of the Sentences, in which, they say, he is not generally followed. It is observable likewise, that when he is establishing what may be called the distinctive doctrines of the medieval Church, he is in the habit of relinquishing Scripture and S. Augustine for authorities of a far later date.

From his time those who followed in his footsteps were called Scholastics or Schoolmen: the term having passed into a new sense. Anciently, by the word schools were meant places in which the works of education or study were pursued: and there were schools under civil as well as ecclesiastical regimen. Farther, persons used to be called Scholastics, as Socrates and Evagrius, who followed the legal profession; afterwards the title was shared by those masters who had raised their schools to a well-earned celebrity. But henceforward it was monopolized by the theologians, who were called Sententiarians or writers upon the Sentences. Scholastics  
or School-  
men.  
  
Sententi-  
arians. Argumentation was the key-stone upon which the scholastic system rested: those who sought truth in the reveries of the

<sup>d</sup> Vid. Mansi, tom. xxii. p. 454.

C E N T. inner man were called Mystics: and those who adhered to  
 XII. the old method of interpreting the sacred text were called  
 Mystics. Biblicals<sup>e</sup>.

Biblicals.

Gratian  
 and the  
 canon law.

Again, the same principles upon which Peter Lombard had based his theological system were applied by Gratian to the canon or ecclesiastical law: and he, too, was not without a stimulus in his undertaking. During the first part of the century considerable impulse had been given to the study of the imperial law: though it is disputed to whom belongs the credit of the revival. Some have reckoned it among the good deeds of the countess Matilda, others contend it should date from the reign of Lothaire II. The old story that the Pandects were discovered in the ruins of Amalphi by the Pisans, A.D. 1137, has been generally abandoned: but it is indisputable that Bologna was now the seat of a celebrated school of civil law under Irnerius, and that the study of jurisprudence was attracting many admirers throughout Italy<sup>f</sup>. But it was scarce possible that the contemplation of a system so majestic should not have excited emulation among those whose minds were steadily fixed upon the glories of the see of S. Peter, and were especially sensitive to the least tendency to obscure it by the secular and antagonistic power. Accordingly, that the Church might not be disparaged by the comparison of the unmethodical state of her laws, nor again, the prerogatives of S. Peter impaired by a too exclusive attention to a rival jurisprudence, Gratian, a monk of S. Felix in the same city, Bologna, published his *Decretum* about A.D. 1151; a work in which sentences of the Fathers, canons of councils and synods, pontifical decretals and epistles, and even civil laws, are digested and arranged under heads: not but that he is supposed to have borrowed largely from Ivo, bishop of Chartres, and from Burchard. Three parts compose the *Decretum*, the first containing a hundred and one distinctions: and the second, thirty-six causes subdivided into questions. Chapters are common to both. As a third question to the thirty-third cause follows a tract upon penance, comprehending

The Decretum,  
 how divided.

<sup>e</sup> Vid. Mosheim, B. iii. cent. xii. E. H., vol. ii. p. 454. ed. Soames.

<sup>f</sup> Vid. Hallam's Middle Ages, c. ix. P. ii. vol. iii. p. 513. ed. 1819; L'Art

de vérifier les Dates, vol. iii. p. 810. a. v.; Roger I. Roi de Sicile. Struv. Corp. Hist. German., Per. vi. sect. v. § 9.

seven distinctions. The third part has five distinctions only. Those chapters having the title *palea* affixed to them, of which the origin is disputed<sup>5</sup>, have been considered interpolations, and not a part of the original compilation as it came from the author. As for the merits of the *Decretum*, it cannot be denied that it was a credit to the age which produced it, and that it laid the foundations of the canon law. Yet it is equally true that it was replete with errors, as may be seen from the dialogues of Antonius Augustinus upon the amendment of it. Still, such as it was, it received the approbation of Eugenius III. On the other hand, the views there put forward were found to be too moderate for the pretensions of his successors. Hence, between criticism and indifference, the authority of the *Decretum* has long since been supplanted by a more recent code. In the first place Gregory IX. caused five books of Decretals of his immediate predecessors as well as his own, to be published, A.D. 1234. These books are divided into titles, and the titles into chapters. Afterwards, a sixth part was added by Boniface VIII., comprehending five books likewise, and similarly subdivided: to which eighty-eight Rules of law, as they are called, are appended in the way of a supplement. Further, Clement V. added five books of constitutions, similarly subdivided, and from him called Clementines: while to John XXII. are due twenty constitutions contained under fourteen titles, and called "Extravagants," because extraneous to the *Decretum*. Lastly, five books more were collected of the extravagant decrees of those pontiffs who wrote subsequently to the publication of the sixth part: and these were distinguished from the former by the epithet *Communes*, and are only divided into chapters. Thus contrasting canon law with the law of the empire, it may be said that the *Decretum* occupied the place of the Digest, the Decretals the place of the Code, and the Clementines and Extravagants of the Novels<sup>6</sup>. Other authorities are the *Bullaria Romana*, which contain constitutions of the pontiffs from Gregory VII. to Sixtus V., the *Regule Cancellariæ*, or rule of judicature for the Roman court promulgated by the new pontiff on his accession, and only valid

CENT.  
XII.  
Origin of  
the title  
*palea* un-  
known.

Decretals.

Sixth part.

Rules of  
law in the  
sixth.

Clemen-  
tines.  
Extrava-  
gants.

Common  
Extrava-  
gants.

Bullaria  
Romana.  
Regule  
Cancel-  
lariæ.

<sup>5</sup> Vid. Du Cange et Hoffman, a. v.

<sup>6</sup> For the technical mode of citing these and the like works see the Appendix.



C E N T. during his life-time: first introduced by John XXII., and  
 XII. lastly, the decisions of the *Rota Romana*, a court established  
 by the same pope<sup>1</sup>.

*Rota  
 Romana.*

Thus in the two foregoing works of Gratian and Peter Lombard we have the germ of the system of the future canonists and schoolmen, by whom the supremacy of the see of S. Peter was intellectually established and argumentatively worked out from premises assuming to be authoritative. Yet it is remarkable how little the subject of the pontificate would appear to have entered into the theology of those days, from the very cursory way in which it is mentioned in the Sentences<sup>2</sup>: also that Gratian only claims a primacy for the Roman see, though with him it involved jurisdiction, and was derived immediately from our Blessed Lord.

This was precisely the view taken by S. Bernard, in his celebrated work addressed to Pope Eugenius, upon Consideration: and inasmuch as it contains a curious sketch of what the great oracle of the twelfth century considered the just prerogatives of the see of S. Peter, the excess to which they had been carried, and the flagrant abuse that had been made of them, we propose extracting what may be called the salient points of his five books in the third and last place. 1. Consistently with the principles of his age, S. Bernard imagined that as far as spirituals were concerned, the pontificate was based upon Divine right; "You are the person," he says, "to whom the keys were committed, and to whom the sheep were entrusted . . . not only of the sheep, but of the shepherds likewise without exception are you the sole pastor. Do you ask me whence I would prove this? I reply from the Word of the Lord<sup>3</sup> . . . 2. Still, though so much had been said about it by his contemporaries, he cannot advocate temporal powers in the pope. "Do the work of an evangelist," proceeds the Saint, "and you have fulfilled the work of a shepherd; you bid me, you rejoin, feed dragons and scorpions, not sheep. For this very reason, I say, be the more instant; but with the Word, and not the sword. Why should you try the sword again, which you have been already commanded, 'to put up into his place.' Were a person to deny that it was yours, I should say that he did not attend sufficiently to the word

Pontificate  
 based upon  
 Divine  
 right.

Temporal  
 powers in  
 the pope:  
 scarce re-  
 cognised.

<sup>1</sup> Vid. Hoffmanni Lex., s. v.

<sup>2</sup> Lib. ii, c. 8.

which our Lord spoke when He said, 'Put up *thy* sword into his place.' Even this is yours therefore, to be drawn at your beck it may be, but not with your own hand. . . . Both swords belong to the Church, the material as well as the spiritual: but the first is to be drawn for the Church, the latter for and by the Church: the latter by the hand of the priest: the former by the hand of the soldier; at the beck indeed of the priest, but at the behest of the emperor<sup>1</sup>." And with these words the subject so hesitatingly discussed is once for all dismissed. 3. Even ecclesiastically considered, dominion, he contends frequently, was the last thing for which the popedom was instituted. "Hear S. Peter, he says: 'Not as being lords over God's heritage, but being ensamples to the flock:' and lest you should suppose that he merely used the language of humility and not of truth equally: the words of our Lord in the Gospel are, 'The kings of the Gentiles exercise lordship over them, and they that exercise authority upon them are called benefactors:' and his inference is, 'But ye shall not be so.' The thing is self-evident: lordship is forbidden to the Apostles. Go now, and dare usurp either as lord the Apostleship: or in your Apostolic character lordship. Plainly you are prohibited from the one or the other; should you seek to have both at the same time, you will lose both." Here S. Bernard<sup>m</sup> appears not only in the character of a preacher of righteousness, but as a fore-teller of events: he is a prophet in the fullest sense of the word. Elsewhere not less decidedly: "To whom but Christ was it said, 'Desire of Me and I shall give the heathen for Thy inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for Thy possession.' Let Him have possession and lordship: be it yours to superintend. This is your portion: do not extend your hand a jot further. What! you rejoin: do you allow me the presidency, and forbid me the lordship. Plainly so." . . . Then apologizing for having recurred to a subject already discussed in a former book, he protests solemnly (and they are remarkable words indeed!) "Nevertheless I add this over and above: *for there is no poison, no sword that I dread so much in your case, as the lust of exer-*

CENT.  
XII.Lordship  
forbidden.

1 Pet. v. 3.

S. Luke  
xxii. 25.

Ps. ii. 8.

<sup>1</sup> Lib. iv. c. 3.<sup>m</sup> Lib. ii. c. 6.

CENT.  
XII.

Origin of  
appeals.

All lawful  
jurisdiction  
absorbed  
by the  
supremacy.

*cising lordship*." . . . 4. He afterwards justifies his caution by a gloomy narration of the corrupt practices, which it might be said had become universal in his days, especially connected with appeals; and it is remarkable that he says that it was "utility," or "necessity" (for the reading is doubtful) which had led to the latter: and that "the antidote had been converted into poison." . . . "The wicked," he says, "appeal against the good, that they may not do good: and the latter succumb through fear of the voice of thy thunder. Appeals are made against bishops, that they may not dare to prohibit or dissolve unlawful marriages: that they may not venture to punish or check by any means rapine, theft, or sacrilege, and the like; that they may not be able to repel or eject from sacred functions or benefices infamous and unworthy persons." . . . Instances are alleged in a subsequent chapter— . . . "And you say, why do not the injured appellates come and prove their innocence, and convict the guilty? Let me tell you what they are wont to reply. We would be spared useless trouble! There are those at court who are more ready to favour appellants: who encourage appeals; as we must lose our cause at Rome, it is more satisfactory to do so without the journey." 5. He next shews how the excess to which the supremacy had been carried, had unduly absorbed all other lawful jurisdictions. "You wonder," he proceeds, "whither these observations tend, and are still ignorant what it is that I would insinuate. I will not keep you in suspense any longer. I am speaking of the murmurs and complaints of the Churches—they cry loudly that they are mutilated and dismembered. . . . Abbots are exempted from bishops, bishops from archbishops, archbishops from primates or patriarchs! Can this be good as regards the theory? It would be wonderful could it be even excused as a fact. By doing so frequently you prove that you have a plenitude of power, but not of justice it may be. You do so because you are able: but, whether you ought likewise, is a question. . . . Can you possibly think it lawful for you to dismember the Church, confound order, disturb the boundaries which your fathers have set? If it be just for each to preserve his own rights, how can it accord with

<sup>a</sup> Lib. iii. c. 1.

<sup>o</sup> Lib. ii. c. 2.

justice to take from a person what belongs to him? You err if you think that your Apostolic power, as it is the highest, is the *only* power ordained by God. . . . When the Apostle says, 'Let every soul be subject to the higher powers,' he says not, to the higher power, as in one, but to the higher powers, as in many. Your power is not the only power from God, there are likewise intermediate and still lower powers. And as they are not to be separated whom God has joined, so neither are they to be made one whom He hath divided. You make a monster, if you take a finger from the hand, and suspend it from the head in a position superior to the hand, and upon the same level with the arm. And so it is if in the body of Christ you place the members differently from what He has ordained<sup>p</sup>."

CENT.  
XII.

Under extraordinary circumstances, and because they had been previously customary, S. Bernard would not entirely prohibit either exemptions or appeals. 6. But the system as it existed had materially altered the Apostolic character of the popes themselves. Contrasting the Apostle with those who had succeeded him in the care of all the Churches, he indignantly asks, "Was it the case that there flocked to him from the whole world ambitious, covetous, simoniacal, sacrilegious, fornicators, incestuous, and other monsters of men of the same kind, that by his Apostolical authority they might obtain or retain ecclesiastical honours? . . . What could be more servile or unworthy, particularly for the supreme pontiff, than, I do not say every day, but almost every hour of the day, to be occupied with the like matters, and for the like characters<sup>q</sup>? . . . The mode in which causes are now conducted is literally execrable, and one that would disgrace the very forum, let alone the Church'. . . Shew me the man, if you can, in your whole metropolis, who would have acknowledged you pope without a bribe or hope of bribe. . . . The only thing about which ecclesiastics are tenacious or jealous, is about the maintenance of their dignity. All stress is laid upon honour, none or next to none upon sanctity . . . the Will of God is wholly a secondary consideration<sup>r</sup>. . . Either deny that this people has been placed under your pastordship,

Enormous  
abuses  
arising  
from  
appeals.

<sup>p</sup> Lib. iii. c. 4.

<sup>q</sup> Lib. i. c. 4.

<sup>r</sup> Ibid., c. 10.

<sup>s</sup> Lib. iv. c. 2.

C E N T. or give proof of it. Deny you cannot, lest he in whose seat  
 XII. you sit should deny you to be his heir. This Peter it is, who  
 S. Peter contrasted with his reputed successors. was never known to have gone into public adorned with silks or jewels, covered with gold, riding upon a white horse, attended by soldiers, or surrounded on all sides by talkative servants! He believed that without these it was quite possible to fulfil the salutary precept, 'If you love Me, feed My sheep:' in these you have succeeded not Peter but Constantine<sup>1</sup>." 7. Lastly, S. Bernard draws a lively picture of what a pope ought to be. "Consider above all things," he says, "that the holy Roman Church, over which by Divine grace thou presidest, is mother, not mistress, of the Churches: and that you are not lord over the bishops, but one of them: a brother moreover of those who love God, and a companion of those who fear Him. For the rest, you should consider yourself to be a model of justice, a mirror of holiness, a pattern of godliness, a champion of the truth, a defender of the faith, a teacher of nations, a leader of Christians, a friend of the bridegroom, a paronymph of the bride, an orderer of the clergy, pastor of the people, master of the unwise, refuge of the oppressed, advocate of the poor, hope of the wretched, protector of the fatherless, judge of the widows," and so forth<sup>2</sup>. Had there been the least hope of ensuring a succession of the like characters, Aristotle would never have expressed his deliberate opinion, that under the laws of our present existence, aristocracy as a constitution excels monarchy<sup>3</sup>.

Writers. To turn from these writings to the writers themselves, of whom there was a greater abundance than could have been anticipated amidst so much ignorance. Anselm, dean of Laon, and master of the celebrated school there, is said to have compiled from writings of the Fathers the interlinear gloss upon the Old and New Testament. He died A.D. 1117. Abelard, if he does not speak highly of the talents of his old master, is at least a specimen of the school in which he was educated. His history has been partly anticipated. He was born at Palais, near Nantes, studied under Roscelin, William of Champeaux, and Anselm, and A.D. 1099, opened a school of his own near Paris. But his unfortunate connec-

<sup>1</sup> Lib. iv. c. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Lib. v. c. 7.

<sup>3</sup> Du-Val. Synop. Annal. Arist. Pol., lib. vii. ad c. 1.

tion with Eloisa obliged him to quit his professorial chair, and he entered the monastery of S. Denys. Here he published his work upon the Trinity, which he was compelled at the synod of Soissons to burn with his own hand A.D. 1120. He was afterwards obliged to leave his cloister because he denied the areopagite Dionysius and the patron-saint of France to be one and the same person. He now founded the convent of Paraclete, in which he subsequently placed Eloisa. Not long afterwards he was elected abbot of S. Gildas de Ruys, near Vannes; but quarrels with the monks drove him from his cloister once more: and in the next we hear of him, he has drawn down the antagonism of SS. Bernard and Norbert. The remainder of his history has been already sketched. William of Champeaux, who is said to have published the first theological sentences, died bishop of Chalons A.D. 1121. Rupert, abbot of Duytz, wrote celebrated commentaries upon the Old and New Testament among other works. Baronius' says that he fell into the *error* of asserting that the Body and Blood of Christ are really present in the Eucharist, whilst the substance of the bread and wine remain unchanged! But Bellarmine interprets his opinions very differently. Peter Maurice, abbot of Cluny, surnamed the Venerable, was a staunch opponent of the corruptions of his day, as appears by his epistles. His charitable conduct towards Abelard has been already noticed. He died A.D. 1156. S. Bernard, of whom so much has been already said, was born at Fontaines, in Burgundy, near Dijon, A.D. 1091. His parents, Tecelin and Aletta, were both of noble extraction. At the age of twenty-two he entered the cloister of Citeaux, then under Stephen Harding: two years after he was sent with a colony to Clairvaux, of which he was ordained the first abbot by William of Champeaux, bishop of the adjacent diocese. A.D. 1128, he contributed by his presence and voice, at the synod of Troyes, to the establishment of the military order of the Templars. From A.D. 1130 to A.D. 1138, the schism occupied him: but at the end of that time Victor succumbed to his arguments, and confessed Innocent II. to be the lawful pope. His next victory was over Peter Abelard, A.D. 1140. Within the next six years Europe

CENT.  
XII.William  
of Cham-  
peaux.  
Rupert.Peter the  
Venerable.

S. Bernard.

<sup>2</sup> Annal., A.D. 1111. n. 49. ap. Cave, Hist. Lit., s. v.

**C E N T.** had risen as one man to his eloquence, and undertook the cost  
**XII.** and labours of a crusade. Gilbert, bishop of Poitiers, Henry

the Petrobrusian, and others, successively felt the full weight of his influence against them: but as we have already seen the Saint was too candid to gloss over the corrupt state of the Church in his work inscribed to her reputed earthly head. Written at the request of his friend and pupil Eugenius, it was perhaps his latest production: it came out A.D. 1152, and the following year witnessed his death. Earnest men of all parties in the Church have ever found much to admire in his works and in his life: and a character that can so convert discord into harmony must necessarily have contained a good deal that is superhuman. His fervour indeed may perhaps offend indifferentism, and the pride of the intellect may smile at his untutored genius, but the sermons and epistles of S. Bernard speak paternal language to the true Christian: and their authority is greatly enhanced when it is considered that his whole life was no less a sermon than his discourses. For his peculiarities, whether of faith or practice, let his age answer. His canonization took place under Alexander III.

Hugo de  
S. Victor.

Hugo de S. Victor, so called from the Parisian monastery to which he belonged, was another great name. He has been styled a second Augustine, and considered the founder of a new school between the Schoolmen and the Mystics\*. Of his works his commentaries upon the Old and New Testament are conspicuous. Richard, his companion in the same cloister, was a distinctively mystical writer. Peter, sur-named Blæsensis, from Blois, his birth-place; Earnulf, bishop of Rochester; John of Salisbury, bishop of Chartres; and Peter Cellensis, his successor, left tracts and epistles, some of which inveigh earnestly against contemporary corruptions. Peter Comestor was the author of the scholastic history; Robert Pullen wrote eight books of sentences upon the Trinity; the abbot Joachim was renowned for his prophecies, which bore hard upon the Roman see. Then Ivo, bishop of Chartres, besides his *Decreta* and *Panormia*, wrote a chronicon of the kings of France, from Pharamund to Philip I.: Sigebert of Gemblours, a general one from A.D. 381 to A.D. 1112: Otho, bishop of Frising, one from the creation to

Richard.

Peter  
Blæsensis  
and others.

\* Gieseler, E. H., *Per. iii. div. iii.* § 73.

A.D. 1146, besides the life and reign of the emperor Frederic Barbarossa. William of Malmesbury, a Benedictine, wrote a history of the kings of England, beginning from the Saxon times to the eighteenth year of Henry I., or A.D. 1127; a continuation of it to A.D. 1143; and a history of English bishops, from the arrival of S. Augustine to his own days. Other contemporary British annalists were Simeon of Durham; Eadmer, the biographer of S. Anselm; Ganfrid, or Geoffrey of Monmouth, afterwards bishop of S. Asaph; Henry of Huntingdon; Roger de Hoveden, Oxford theological professor; Gervasius, a monk of Canterbury; William, surnamed Parous, a native of Bridlington, also called Neuburgensis, or Neubrigensis, from the Augustinian monastery there, in which he held a canonry; Radulphus de Diceto, dean of S. Paul's, and others. These may be seen published in the different collections which have been made of the Anglican historians.

CENT.  
XII.

Among those who have written upon the crusades, whose works have been similarly collected by Bongarsius, William, archbishop of Tyre, most probably a Syrian by birth, deserves the first place. He was elected to the see over which he presided, A.D. 1174; and four years afterwards went to Rome to be present at the third Lateran council, A.D. 1179. He made a second journey to the West, upon the capture of Jerusalem by the Saracens, A.D. 1188. His history, which has been much extolled, comprehends twenty-three books. Robert, a monk of S. Remigius, Baldrick, abbot of Angers, and afterwards archbishop of Dol, Raymund de Agiles, who attests that he was present at the discovery of the lance that pierced our Lord, Albert, a canon of Aix, and others are included in the above collection. Then Helmsold, presbyter of Lubec, composed a Chronicon of the affairs of the Sclavonians; Cosmas, dean of Prague, a history of the Bohemians; the medieval annalists of Germany have been published by Struve, and those of France by Du Chesne. Those who wrote biographies of the saints, are a class too numerous to be mentioned. Among authoresses, Eloisa, the wife and correspondent of Abelard, Hildegardis, abbess of S. Rupert, and Elizabeth, abbess of Schönhauget, are pre-eminent. Greek writers were scarcely less numerous or con-



**CENT. XII.** spicuous. Among these, John Zonaras wrote annals from the beginning of the world to the death of Alexius Comnenus, A.D. 1118. He also commented upon the canons.

**Zonaras.** Euthemius Zigabenus has gained a name by his panoply

**Euthemius.** against all heretics. Eustathius, archbishop of Thessalonica, left a valuable commentary upon Homer, and John Tzetzes

**Eustathius.** was a renowned scholiast. Eustratius, archbishop of Nice, besides interpreting Aristotle, left a work against Chrysolanus on the Procession of the Holy Ghost. Theodore Balsamon flourished about the close of the century. From being deacon and keeper of the archives of the great church of Constantinople, he rose to be nominal patriarch of Antioch, but he never saw his see, which was in the hands of the Latins. His commentaries upon the canons of the Church, which he undertook at the instance of the emperor Manuel, and the patriarch Michael, are much esteemed: and he was a strenuous advocate of the Greeks against the Latins. Among historians, Michael Glycas, Constantine Manasses, Anna Comnena, daughter of the emperor Alexius Comnenus, John Cinnamus, Nicetas the continuator of Zonaras, and lastly, George Logothetes, and George Pachymeres, who successively continued Nicetas, are the most remarkable.

**Michael Glycas and others.**

Another class of Greek writers were the epitomizers, or collectors of canons: of whom Constantine Harmenopulus has left a manual of civil law, an epitome of the canons, and a tract upon heretical sects, to which is subjoined a profession of the orthodox faith. Almost contemporary with him, that is about the middle of the century, Alexius Aristenus edited a synopsis of the canons, with scholia. Simeon Magister, about the same time, brought out another edition of the same work. Michael Anchialus and George Xiphilin, patriarchs of Constantinople, and opponents of the Latins, promulgated some original decrees. The principal writers against the Latins have been elsewhere enumerated: to these may be added John Cameterus, patriarch of Constantinople, who flourished towards the close of the century. The Latins had infused unusual warmth into the controversy, by expelling the Greek and orthodox prelates from their respective sees. Greek hagiographers were almost as numerous as those of the West. Among the monastic reformers, John, patriarch

**Constantine Harmenopulus.**

**Aristenus and others.**

of Antioch, about A.D. 1150, has left a curious oration CENT.  
XII. against those who accepted monasteries from prelates or princes as a reward, and made gains by them. Among sectarians, Isaac, catholicus of the greater Armenia, has left two invectives against the Armenians, whom he lays under a charge of Eutychianism : but his chief gravamen is that they did not pay the same respect to saints and images that the other Greeks did.

The rise of the Carthusian and Cistercian orders, both distinguished by their white habits from the Benedictines, has been already described. There were other and scarcely less important accessions to the monastic system in the present age. First, the order of the Premonstratensians was founded by S. Norbert, a canon of Premontre, A.D. 1120, and confirmed by Honorius II. It was intended as a reform upon the Augustinians, and followed the same rule, though the habit was white, not black. The military orders came next. Of these the Hospitallers, or brethren of the hospital of S. John of Jerusalem, that is, a hospital dedicated to S. John Baptist, which had been instituted for a very different purpose, while Jerusalem was in the hands of the Saracens. The Egyptian caliph had been petitioned by the merchants of Amalfi to assign them a dwelling-place there for the support of the sick and indigent : and these charitable offices they for some time fulfilled. But the example of the Templars was not without effect upon them, and A.D. 1120 Raymond du Puy, their head, had converted them into a semi-military order for the defence of Jerusalem against the Saracens. The name of brethren was speedily supplanted by that of knights : they were divided into seven nations, of which the three classes of knights, priests, and serving brethren, formed subdivisions. When expelled Palestine, they occupied successively Cyprus, and Rhodes : from which last place they were ejected by the Turks. Malta subsequently became the retreat of the order, and they were called finally the knights of Malta. But the first purely military order was that of the Templars, or brethren of the service of the temple, whose first residence was Jerusalem, in a house near the site of the temple, and its founder Hugo de Payens, A.D. 1119. They were confirmed at the synod of Troyes, A.D. 1128, and sup-

§ 11.  
MONASTIC  
ORDERS.

Premon-  
straten-  
sians.

Hospi-  
tallers.

Templars.

**CENT. XII.** plied with a rule; and the great S. Bernard wrote a tract upon the new warfare thus established. They were bound to the same observances as the canons regular, at the same time that they were required to guard the highways, protect pilgrims from the Turk and Saracen, and support Christianity with carnal weapons. Their dress was white adorned with red crosses. But the order, after about two hundred years existence, was suppressed by Clement V. and the council of Vienne, A.D. 1311.

Teutonic  
knights of  
S. Mary.

A third order were the Teutonic knights of S. Mary of Jerusalem, established by a noble German, who founded a hospital there in the first instance, for the relief of the sick and needy, attached to which was an oratory dedicated to S. Mary. Other Germans now joined in the work: and from their joint contributions the hospital developed into a society resembling that of the Templars, whose rule it borrowed; only it was confined to the Germans: in token of which they bore black crosses upon white garments to distinguish them from the Templars. The order was confirmed A.D. 1191, by Celestine III., but it removed to Germany under the emperor Frederic II., A.D. 1229.

Knights of  
S. James,  
and others.

Lastly, Spain had her military orders, though not so celebrated, for protection against the Moors. Of these the knights or brethren of S. James were founded about A.D. 1170, in the kingdom of Leon, and confirmed by Alexander III., A.D. 1175. Their head was called a master, and with his consent they might marry. The knights of Alcantara, so called from the fortress occupied by them, were confirmed A.D. 1177. But the knights of Calatrava, a city given them by Sancho III., king of Castile, A.D. 1158, would appear to have had their confirmation delayed to the days of Innocent III. They were founded by Raymond, a Cistercian abbot. Both these latter orders eventually obtained licence to marry, like the first: and there were other and less important Spanish military orders connected with the Cistercians that enjoyed the same liberty<sup>a</sup>.

**Carmelites.** This century, likewise, saw the rise of the mendicant orders, though their development belongs to the next. The only

<sup>a</sup> Gieseler, E. H., Per. iii. div. iii. § 72. n.

CENT.  
XII.

one here to be noticed is that of the Carmelites, which, indeed, was not a mendicant order from the first. It took its name from Mount Carmel, where it was first established under the superiorship of one Berthold, a Calabrian. The year in which they were founded is very doubtful, but Albert, patriarch of Jerusalem, is said to have given them a rule about A.D. 1209, confirmed by Honorius III. A.D. 1226<sup>b</sup>. When expelled Mount Carmel, the order passed into Europe, where they were known as the eremite brethren of S. Mary of Mount Carmel, or more simply, eremite brethren of Mount Carmel. Such appears to be the historical account of the order: by themselves it has been traced to a far higher antiquity.

§ 12.  
MISCELLANEOUS  
EVENTS.  
Guelfs  
and Ghibelines.

Not to dwell upon the marvels and prodigies with which contemporary writings abound, the first political event that should engage our attention is the rise of the Guelfs and Ghibelines. These factions originated in a dissension between the Suabian and Bavarian families; the former headed by the emperor Conrad III., whose birthplace was Wibelung, a Franconian town, whence his surname De-Weibelingen, and Welf or Guelf, duke of Bavaria. Henry the Proud had contested the empire with Conrad, but the latter had been elected at the diet of Coblenz, A.D. 1138. Upon the death of Henry, his brother Welf continued the feud, aided by Roger, duke of Sicily, though with even worse success. Yet the Guelfs identified with the papal party made themselves sufficiently formidable to Frederic I., the successor of Conrad, and those who followed him, especially Frederic II. Nor were these factions extinguished in the fifteenth century<sup>c</sup>. The dukedom of Bohemia had passed into a kingdom under the emperor Henry IV., from whom Wratislas, the first king, received his title, A.D. 1086. His brother, Spitzigne II., the last duke, rented from Nicholas II. a singular privilege for a layman, that of wearing the mitre. Nevertheless it was continued by Alexander II. to his successor<sup>d</sup>. Again Portugal became a kingdom under Alfonso I., after his memorable defeat of the Moors A.D. 1139, a battle in which five Moorish kings fell. On the other hand Normandy was de-

Bohemia,  
andPortugal  
kingdoms.<sup>b</sup> Gieseler, E. H., § 67. n.<sup>d</sup> L' Art de verifier les Dates, vol. iii.<sup>c</sup> Hallam, Mid. Ages, c. iii. P. i. p. 448.  
368, vol. i. note. (ed. 1819.)

CENT. XII. deprived of her dukedom by Henry I., and subjugated to the English crown.

Origin of  
degrees  
under  
Irnerius.

*trilbey.*

*pileus.  
toga.*

The revival of the study of jurisprudence has been already noticed, and connected with the school of Bologne under Irnerius. The origin of degrees is ascribed to the same professor. He conferred that of a doctorate, with appropriate solemnities, upon those who had distinguished themselves in a previous examination. This idea may have been suggested to him in the customs of Greece and Rome. The cloak worn by philosophers, says Olympiodorus, was a dignity to which none among the Athenians, much less a stranger, might aspire, unless first adjudged thereto by the sophists, and initiated according to the ceremonies which they had prescribed\*. Of these a grand procession to the baths formed the chief. The cap, gown, ring, and kiss, were borrowed from the Romans. Under Irnerius the inauguration of a doctor was intended to be very significant. He was honoured with a raised seat, arrayed in a cap and gown: a ring was placed upon his finger, and a book open or shut spread before him. As time advanced the doctorate was introduced into the schools of canon law, and of medicine. Subordinate degrees were the inventions of a later age.

§ 13.  
JEWISH  
AFFAIRS.

Moses  
Maimo-  
nides.

The principal Jewish schools in the West have been already noticed. Under Alfonso VII., who favoured them, the Jews multiplied exceedingly throughout Spain, though elsewhere they seem to have been persecuted. Yet the celebrated Moses Maimonides had a most flourishing Egyptian school in the present age. Divisions indeed were not wanting amongst themselves, especially between the Rabbinists and Karaites: the former of whom were headed by Jehuda, while the son of Maimon was attacked for his apparent disparagement of the Talmud in his works. Other well-known contemporary writers<sup>f</sup> among them were Rabbis Solomon Jarchi, who wrote commentaries upon the Old Testament and the Talmud; David Kimchi, who wrote a Hebrew grammar and dictionary; Aben-ezra, the wise, great, and admirable, who commented upon the entire Old Testament, Nathan, Abraham, and Isaac, a poet. The chief work of Maimonides is

\* Olymp. ap. Phot. Bibl. lxxx. p. 60. ed. Bekker.

<sup>f</sup> Vid. Hottinger, Eccl. Hist., c. xii. § 4.

his *More Nevochim*. There were many conspicuous philosophers, poets, and historians likewise among the Arabians: and of these, few antagonistic writers ever influenced the Church so powerfully as the celebrated commentators upon Aristotle, Averroes (Ebn Roshd,) and Avicenna (Jhu Sina.) The common accounts of the rivalry that existed between them, as it is said, would make them contemporaries, which it seems clear they were not; Avicenna belonging, it is probable, to the commencement of the last century. Moreover Averroes speaks of him in his works with respect and deference<sup>6</sup>. But whether they agreed or disagreed amongst themselves, they were both thought to have imperilled orthodoxy by the interpretations which they put upon Aristotle, whose authority was paramount in the Church. And so one of the first tasks which the schoolmen undertook in the next age was to write counter expositions, and as it were to christianize the Stagyrte. Yet Averroes, whose commentaries were so much esteemed that he was called "the commentator," was not easily to be displaced: and we actually find Leo X., in the sixteenth century, condemning a false doctrine of which he is said to have been the disseminator: namely, that intellect in the individual is not individual intellect, but a portion of the soul of the universe: in a word, that as it is by one common sun that we see, so it is by one common intelligence that we understand.

CENT.  
XII.Averroes  
and Avi-  
cenna.

<sup>6</sup> Vid. Brucker. Hist. Crit. philos., per. ii. par. i. lib. 3. c. i. § 24.



## A P P E N D I X.

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### FORMS OF CITING THE BOOKS OF THE CIVIL AND CANON LAW TAKEN FROM AILIFFE'S PAREGON AND LYNDWOOD'S PROVINCIALE.

1. THE short for the Pandects or Digest was originally the letter II, changed by later writers into H, and eventually into ff; whence *L. i. 33. Furtum ff. de Furtis* = Law the first, section beginning with the word "Furtum," of the ff or Digest, under the title "De furtis."

*Bart. in l. i. D. 2. 4, and D. i. 2. 3. Pr. Fin.* = Bartolus on the 1st law of the Digest, book 2nd, title 4th, and Digest, book the 1st, title 2nd, law 3rd, *in principio et fine legis*.

The Institutions are designated by the initial letter I. Thus, *I. 1. 2. 3 et 4.* = Institutions, book 1st, title 2nd, section 3rd and 4th, or else the headings of the title and first words of the section are given instead of their respective numbers, and the same observation will apply to those which follow.

The Code, Novels, and Authentic, are known by their own abbreviations. Thus, *C. or Cod. i. 12. 8. 2,* and *Bald. in l. 4. C. 6. 10* = Code, book 1st, title 12th, law 8th, section 2nd; and, Baldus on the 4th law, book sixth, title 10th of the Code.

*Nov. 89. c. 9* = Novels, constitution 89th, chapter 9th.

*Auth. 9. 9. 20* = Authentic, collation 9th, title 9th, novel 20th.

With regard to the Canon law it is to be observed that the Decretum is divided into three parts, each of which has a characteristic mark. Thus *Dist. 76. c. 2. v. or § 3* = Distinction 76th, chapter 2nd, verse or section 3rd, of the 1st part of the Decretum.

*16 Q. 7. 3* = Cause 16th, Question 7th, chapter 3rd, of the 2nd part of the Decretum. *De Pœn. Dist. 4,* is a way of referring specially to the 3rd Question of the 33rd cause, which is divided into six distinctions, and treats about penitence.

*Com. 1. 2* = Distinction 1st, chapter 2nd of the 3rd part of the Decretum, which treats about consecration.



With regard to the decretals of Gregory IX. they are denoted by the letter X. Thus, X. 1. 9. 6. 4 = Book 1st, title 9th, chapter 6th, section 4th of the decretals of Pope Gregory IX.

vi. 3. 4. 23 = Book 3rd, title 4th, chapter 23rd of the 6th book of the decretals by Pope Boniface VIII.

Cl. 2. 5. 2 = Book 2nd, title 5th, chapter 2nd of the Clementines.

*Extra* 14. 3 = Title 14th, chapter 3rd, of the Extravagants of Pope John XXII., though by the way the word "extra" likewise imports the decretals of Gregory IX. as being *Extra Decretum Gratiani*.

*Com.* 3. 2 = Book 3rd, chapter 2nd of the Communes.

It is to be noted that these books of the Canon law, like the Civil law, are sometimes quoted by the initial words of the law or chapter itself, and by the words of the title.

The Books of the Sentences and commentaries upon them are cited in a like technical way. Thus, *Gabriel in I. Dist.* 41. Q. 1. *art.* 2 = Gabriel on the 1st book of the Sentences, distinction 41st, question 1st, article 2nd.

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I may here take the opportunity of stating that the reader, no less than myself, is indebted to my friend and brother-fellow, the Rev. John D. Jenkins, for the Index.

# INDEX.

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## A.

- AARON**, 55.  
**Abasgi** converted, 198.  
**Abassides**, 275, 322.  
**Abbeys** in the 7th century, 244.  
**Abbot of Fleury**, 304.  
**Abbots**, 169.  
**Abdallah**, 245.  
**Abdas**, 155.  
**Abdehmelek**, 250.  
**Abdelmutalleb**, 245.  
**Abelard**, 243, 375, 377, 384, 392, 395.  
**Abelites**, 44.  
**Aben-esra**, 400.  
**Abgarus**, letter of, to our Lord, 12.  
**Abiasa**, 155.  
**Abraham**, image of, 90.  
 — (in the 12th century), 400.  
**Abrahas the Gnostic**, 43.  
**Absolution**, origin of, 32; how and when given, form of, its nature, 70; prayer of, its force, allowed by S. Cyprian on extraordinary emergencies to be said by the deacon, 71; *ad cautelam*, 369.  
**Abu-Taleb**, 245.  
**Abubeker**, 248.  
**Abundius**, S., 360.  
**Abycyrus**, S., 360.  
**Abyssinia**, 99.  
**Abyssinians** converted, 198.  
**Acacians**, 136.  
**Acacius of Jerusalem**, deposition of S. Cyril by, 144.  
 — of Constantinople, 171, 179, 180, 181, 182, 191, 206, 207.  
 — of Cæsarea, 133, 136, 145.  
 — the Archimandrite, 169.  
**Acephali**, 136, 208, 211, 216.  
**Acesius**; Novatian bishop, subscription of required by Constantine, 127.  
**Achaia**, the presbyters of, weeks of, 13.  
**Achamoth**, the, of Valentinus, 43.  
**Achillas of Alexandria**, 95, 134.  
**Achrys**, 205.  
**Accemetæ**, 208.  
**Acolythes**, 72, 117.  
**Acts of the Apostles**, false, 12.  
**Adalbert the Frank**, 267, 272.  
 — of Prague, 324.  
 — S., 307.  
**Adam of Bremen**, 347.  
**Adamites**, 44.  
**Adamnan**, 243.  
**Adauctus**, S., 360.  
**Adela**, countess, 349.  
**Adelbert**, 356.  
**Adelgisus**, 284.  
**Adelman of Brescia**, 347.  
**Adelphius**, 95.  
**Ademar of Limoges**, 347.  
**Adeodatus**, 232.  
**Adhelm**, 243.  
**Adimantus a Jew**, 157.  
**Ado of Vienne**, 295.  
**Adoptianists**, the, 268, 271, 272.  
**Adrian**, emperor, 6, 21, 38, 46, 51, 52, 53, 54, 56.  
 — I., 240, 257, 261, 262, 263, 266, 269, 270, 271, 286, 290.  
 — II., 263, 283, 284, 290, 291, 295, 300.  
 — III., 263, 284, 291.  
 — IV., 356, 365, 367, 379, 380.  
**Ædesius**, 152.  
**Ælia Capitolina**, 55, 119.  
**Æneas**, a Platonist, 194.

- Æneas Sylvius**, 283.  
**Æons**, the Gnostic, 43.  
**Era**, Actian, 95; Christian or Dionysian, *ib.*; set by Dionysius Exiguus, 218; the Diocletian, 90; still used in Egypt, 94; Christian, substituted for the Diocletian, 224.  
**Aerius**, view of, regarding prayers for the dead, 116.  
**Ætherius**, 268.  
**Æthiopians**, the liturgy of, 13; converted, 198.  
**Æthiopic Church** receives its Patriarch from Alexandria, 99.  
**Actians**, 136.  
**Aetius**, 145.  
 — **Atheos**, 135.  
**Africa**, 1st council of, 75; 2nd or 4th council of, *ib.*; 3rd or 5th council of, *ib.*; 4th or 6th council of, *ib.*; 5th or 7th council of, *ib.*; synod of, to restore discipline, 213; canons of, 218; civil diocese of, 121; overrun by the Vandals, 156; council in, against the Donatists, 131.  
**African Church**, 76.  
 — letters of the, to Celestine, 172, 175.  
**African Churches**, 35; canons, 167; code, 179; Confessors, the, miracle of, 194.  
**Africanus Julius**, 83.  
 — **Sonnites**, 248.  
**Agapetus I.**, 203, 206, 213.  
 — **II.**, 310, 365.  
 — **S.**, relics of, 360.  
**Agathias**, 227.  
**Agatho**, 232, 238, 239, 241, 341.  
**Agde**, synod of, 215.  
**Agilbert**, 230.  
**Agilulphus**, 228.  
**Agnes of Germany**, 330.  
 — **S.**, church of, 360; relics of, *ib.*  
**Agnoetæ**, 201, 209.  
**Agobard of Lyons**, 278, 282, 293, 294, 297, 298.  
**Agrestius**, 244.  
**Agrippinus**, 61, 75.  
**Agrius**, 128.  
**Aidan**, 229, 243.  
**Aimoin**, 296, 320.  
**Aistulphus**, 261.  
**Aix-la-Chapelle**, 799; synod of, 269, 272, 295, 351.  
**Alani**, 191.  
**Alaric**, 156, 158, 191, 208, 215.  
**Alban**, **S.**, 151; relics of, 305.  
**Alban's**, **S.**, abbey, 276.  
**Albanenses**, 372.  
**Albano**, cardinal bishop of, 328.  
**Alberic**, 310.  
**Alberich**, count, 329.  
**Albert**, canon of Aix, 395.  
 — of Yxhull, 356.  
 — patriarch of Jerusalem, 399.  
**Albertus Magnus**, 385.  
**Albi**, synod of, 1254, 371.  
**Albigenses**, the, 368, 370, 371.  
**Albinus**, 15, 18.  
 — or **Alcuin**, 244, 268; account of, 273.  
**Alboin**, 253, 332.  
 — king of the Lombards, 224.  
**Alcantard**, 398.  
**Alcimius**, 198.  
**Alcuin**, 254, 257, 268, 272; account of, 273, 293, 298, 299.  
**Aldelmus**, 244.  
**Alemanni**, 159, 224.  
**Aletta**, 393.  
**Alexander Alensis**, 385.  
 — of Alexandria, 39, 95; mission of Osius to, 130, 142; said by some to have presided over the council of Nicæa—Osius sent to mediate between him and Arius—S. Athanasius his deacon, 126; letter of Constantine to, 124; twice excommunicated Arius, 134; relics of, 360.  
 — of Constantinople, 134.  
 — of Jerusalem, 82, 88.  
 — of Rome, false decretals of, 49, 53.  
 — uncle of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, 318.  
 — **II.**, 331, 336, 342, 344, 347, 348, 350, 352, 353, 399.  
 — **III.**, 304, 305, 357, 359, 366, 367, 379, 382, 383, 385, 394, 398.  
 — **Severus**, 51, 58, 62, 90, 91, 92.  
**Alexandria**, 23, 38; Church of, 2, 35, 152; founded by S. Mark, 2; liturgy of, 13; catechetical school of, 24; patriarchs of, their appointment, 36, 37; synod at, 77, to condemn Nestorianism, 185; bishops of, 96; patriarch of, increase of the privileges of, 121; bishop of, to fix the time for observance of Easter, 127; precedence of, *ib.*; diocese of, mentioned in the canons of Constantinople, 129; library of, 160; patriarch of, 169, 251; metropolitans under the patriarch of, 170; disturbance at, on the deposition of Dioscorus, 178; Monophysite, 268; patriarchate of, 301; jurisdiction of, 345.  
**Alexandrian Christians**, 48.  
**Alexandrine school**, 375.  
**Alexius Aristenus**, 396.  
 — **Comnenus**, 325, 341, 354, 357, 379, 396.  
**Alfonso I.**, 399.

- Alfonso VI., 354.  
 — VII., 400.  
 — X., 368.  
 Alfred of Crediton, 314.  
 — the Great, 278, 279, 292, 295, 300.  
 Alfrie of Crediton, 314.  
 Ali, cousin of Mahomet, 247.  
 — son-in-law to Mahomet, 248.  
 Alleluia, the, 340.  
 All Saints, feast of, instituted, 279.  
 All Souls, festival of, instituted, 279.  
 Alms, large in the 3rd century, 67.  
 Alp, Aralan, 352.  
 Altar, the, (or Holy Table,) why so called, 104.  
 Alypius, 179.  
 Amalarius, 288, 351.  
 — Fortunatus, 293.  
 — of Mentz, 293.  
 Amalric, 358.  
 Ambassadors an ecclesiastical office, 169.  
 Ambo, 63.  
 Ambrose Authpert, 274.  
 — reclaimed by Origen from Gnosticism, 92.  
 — the philosopher, 58.  
 — S., 127, 145, 146, 151, 162, 332, 334; converted the Marcomanni, 99; opinion of, on the intermediate state, 107; first used the word *Missa* for the holy Eucharist, 112; gave indulgence to the emperor Theodosius, 113; the miracles of the two martyrs, 115; prayers for the dead—mentions white garments of the clergy, 116; words of, on the ecclesiastical power of the emperors, 125; preaching of, converted S. Augustine, 141; attests the existence of the cross, 147; birth of, life of, episcopate of, death of, works of, 148; discipline of, towards Theodosius the Great, 149; liturgy, 337.  
 America, 57.  
 Ammianus Marcellinus, account of the interposition at Jerusalem, 148.  
 Ammonius, 58, 88.  
 — Hermias, 375, 376.  
 Amos of Jerusalem, 228.  
 Amphilocheus of Iconium, 129, 149.  
 Amru, conqueror of Egypt, 268.  
 Anacletus, 6, 17, 49.  
 — II., 364, 382.  
 Ananias, 6.  
 Ananus, 18.  
 Anastasius, denied S. Mary to be *θεοτόκος*, 184.  
 — S., relics of, 360.  
 — emperor, 171, 181, 191, 197, 213, 218, 224.  
 — biographer of Boniface IV., 233.  
 Anastasius I., 157, 158, 181.  
 — II., 197, 218.  
 — III., 309.  
 — IV., 365.  
 — of Antioch, 208, 216.  
 — II. of Antioch, 228.  
 — of mount Sina, 209, 216.  
 — of Constantinople, 269.  
 — the librarian, 295.  
 Anathema after death, question of, 210.  
 Anathemas of the 6th general council, 239.  
 Anatolius of Constantinople, 170, 176, 177, 186, 219.  
 Ancyra, canons of, 113; forbid attendance at the games, 67; council of, 74; canon of, on the country bishops, 119; on marriage of the clergy, 123; synod of, 134.  
 Andians, heresy of, 137.  
 Andrew of Crete, 241.  
 — S., false acts of, 13.  
 — the Calybite, 270.  
 Andrews, S., see of, 368.  
 Angels, 21; guardian in the Koran, 246.  
 Angilbert of Milan, 286.  
 Anglo-Saxons, 192; converted, 199.  
 Anicetus, 41, 45, 49.  
 Anicius Probus, 140.  
 Anna Comnena, 357, 396.  
 — wife of Vladimir, 278, 302.  
 Annas or Ananus (the younger), 15.  
 Annianus, 36.  
 Anomœans, 102, 135, 136.  
 Ansegisus, 296.  
 Anselm, abp. of Milan, 338.  
 — of Havelburg, 380.  
 — of Laon, 392.  
 — of Lucca, v. Alexander II., 330.  
 — S., 333, 338, 342, 344, 348, 349, 363, 380, 384, 395.  
 Ansgarius, 254, 277.  
 Anthemius, 209.  
 Anthimus, 206, 208.  
 Anthropomorphites, 184.  
 Antichrist, times of, 323.  
 Antidico-Marianites, 137.  
 Antioch, Church of, 1, 2, 35; succession of bishops in, 5; S. Ignatius bishop of, 23; spurious letter of S. Ignatius to, 48; 2nd council of, 74; synods of, 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 76; supposed creed of, 77; councils of, against Paul of Samosata, 78; its bishops, 96; canon of, on the orders, 117, on the metropolitan, 119; civil diocese of, 120; patriarch of, 121, 169; synod of, 136; canons enacted at against the influence of Rome, 122; precedence of, 127; diocese of, mentioned in the canons of Constan-

- tinople, 129; synod and canons of, 131; Arian synods at, canons at the first, 132; four creeds of, the *μαρτυροῦν*, 132; council of, 143, 176; a synod of, A.D. 378, 144; temples of, 154; library of, 169; patriarchate of, 301; capture of, by the crusaders, 326; jurisdiction of, 345; Latin patriarch of, 579.
- Antitactes, 44.
- Antonianus, 68.
- Antoninus Arrius, his astonishment at the number of Christian martyrs, 53.
- Pius, 52, 53; friend of R. Jehuda, 55.
- Antonius Augustinus, 387.
- Antony, S., 94, 150.
- of Vienne, 351.
- Apamea, 90.
- Apelles, 42.
- Aphtharto docetes, 201, 207, 208, 216.
- Apiarius, 179.
- Apocalypse, doubted, 4; received during the third century, 59; omitted in the Apostolical canons and the Laodicean, 109; the, 323.
- Apocrypha, excluded from the canon in the third century, 59; omitted in the Laodicean canon, 109.
- Apocryphal books, 166.
- Apollinarianism, 184.
- Apollinarians, condemned at Constantinople, 129; their opinions imbibed by the Monophysites, 209.
- Apollinaris, bishop of Hierapolis, 46.
- father and son, 137, 145; heresy of, 162.
- opposed Origen, 83.
- of Alexandria, attended the 2nd council of Constantinople, 211.
- of Clermont, 189.
- Apollinarius, 48; anathematized by 5th general council, 210.
- Apollonius, 54.
- of Tyana, an Epicurean, 20, 56; his doctrine, ib.
- Apologies, 27; in the third century, 59; of Quadratus and Aristides, 52; of the fourth century, 103.
- ἀπολογία (*ἐπιστολαί*), 124.
- Apostles, overseers of the whole collective Church, of equal authority, 4; Gospel of all the, 12; false acts of the, ib.; false epistles ascribed to, 13; all martyred, 17; appointment of by Manes, 79.
- creed of the, 199.
- Apostolical constitutions, reputed canonical by the Æthiopic Church, 12; councils, 7, 8; canons, 86.
- Apostolici, 374.
- Appeal of S. Cyril from Acacius, 144; ultimate, 170; to the pope, 206.
- Aquila, version of, account of, 59.
- Aquileia, 235, 248; creed of, 100; patriarchate of, 169, 235.
- Arabia, Church of, 1.
- Felix, 24; converted, 198; subdued to Mahomet, 248.
- Arabiana, evangelized by Origen, 58; heresy of the, 77; writers, 401.
- Ararat, mount, the martyrs of, 53.
- Arcadius, 149, 157, 171, 196; legate of Celestine, 173.
- Archbishop, title of, 169, 258.
- Archdeacons, first mentioned by Optatus, their office and elevation, 118, 119.
- Archelaus, bishop of Carrhae, 79.
- Archidamus, presbyter of Julius of Rome, at the council of Sardica, 131.
- Archimandrites, 169.
- Archpriest, office of, by whom mentioned, 119.
- Ariamir, 211, 214.
- Arianism, 159, 208, 215; the Goths inveigled into, 100; edicts against, promulgated by the emperors, 124; a cause of the council of Nicea, 126; symbols of, 136; among the Burgundians, extent of, 159; conversions from, 199; abjured by the Goths, 214; kings of Burgundy converted from, 217; in Spain, 224; among the Lombards, 236.
- Arians, 102, 153, 182, 190, 191, 251; synods, 131; history of their heresy, 134; numerous creeds of, its numerous divisions, 135; subscribed the deposition of Photinus, 136; not opposed by Eusebius, 142; supported by Valens, 153; expelled from Spain, 225; expelled from Burgundy, Italy, Africa, 226.
- Arianus, 92.
- Ariminum, council at, against the Arians, 131; orthodox council of, 133.
- Aristides, apology of, 52.
- Aristobulus, 24, 35.
- Aristotle, 375, 392, 401.
- Arius, 78, 95, 134, 135, 143, 377; his heresy, the texts used for its support, 101, 102; exiled, 120; letter of Constantine to, 124; mediation of Osius, between him and Alexander, 126; anathematized by the council of Nicea, ib.; submitted to the Nicene council, 127; record of his death by S. Athanasius, attempt to distinguish him from the Arius restored at Jerusalem, 128; mission of Osius to, 130; restored by the

- synod of Jerusalem, 132; the heresy of, 134; death of, 147.
- Aries**, 58, 170; first council of, summoned by Constantine, questions before it, canons of, 130; synods of, 76, 95, 138, 143, 215, 223; contest for the primacy, 169; a bishop of, vicar of the pope, 170.
- and Vienne, contest for the primacy between, 179.
- Armenia**, S., 360.
- Armenians**, 318, 380, 397; when converted, 99; patriarch of, 169; sect of, 187; conversion of the, 198.
- Armorica**, 192.
- Arnobius**, 95, 103; history and works of, of the fourth century, 139.
- the Younger, 189.
- Arnold of Brescia**, 365, 378, 381.
- Arnulph**, 317.
- Arragon**, kingdom of, 322, 352.
- Arrius Præsens**, 53.
- Arsacius**, Count, 143.
- Artabasdu**, 269.
- Artemon**, 9, 41, 44, 60.
- Arwystli**, or **Aristobulus**, 24.
- Asa Rabbi**, 196.
- Asceline**, 342.
- Ascholi** of Thessalonica, a western bishop at the council of Constantinople, 128.
- Asclepas** of Gaza, reinstated by the influence of the Roman sec, 121.
- Asia**, diocese of, mentioned in the canons of Constantinople, 129.
- Minor, 1, 5; Churches of, supported the Quartodecimana, 41.
- Asiatic Churches**, 3, 35.
- Assemblies**, places of, mode of worship in, 28.
- Assumption**, festival of the, 306.
- Asterius the Arian**, 145.
- of Amasea, 157.
- Astolphus**, 350.
- Atyrius**, 92.
- Athanasian Creed**, 100.
- Athanasius**, Catholicus of the Monophysites, 236.
- S., 39, 78, 94, 99, 101, 106, 132, 134, 137, 146, 147, 149, 151, 152, 153, 154, 175; his works against Arius, 102; on the power of the sign of the cross, 115; reinstated the influence of Rome, 121; deacon to Alexander at the council of Nicæa, 126; exiled, 128; accusations against to be enquired into at the synod of the dedication, freed from the charges but condemned by the synod, 131; deposed in the first council of Antioch, 132; anathematized by Liberius, 133; authority for the lapse of Liberius, ib.; number of his creeds, 135; life of, episcopate of, works of, 142; at Rome, reinstated by the council of Sardica, third exile of, and restoration, fourth exile of, 143; creed of, 199, 337.
- Athenagoras**, 27; his history and remains, 46.
- Athenais**, or **Eudocia**, 190.
- Athenodorus**, 84.
- Athens**, 23.
- Atticus**, governor of Syria, 53.
- Attila**, 156, 191.
- Atto**, 320.
- Augaburg**, 318.
- Augustine**, S., 87, 92, 95, 134, 150, 151, 157, 159, 168, 179, 182, 184, 189, 190, 196, 197, 199, 217, 287, 375, 385; first to preach sermons, as presbyter, in the African Church, 29; narrowly escaped Manicheism, 79; de Civitate Dei, 103; on the ancient sense of words, 104; denied salvation of unbaptised infants, 106; opinion of, on the intermediate state, 107; on the reverence to the saints, 108; delayed baptism of, 111; on the relics of S. Stephen, 115; opinion of, on general councils, 125; opposed the Donatists, 138; opinion of Philastrius, de Hæresibus, 140; dispute of S. Jerome with, character of, early life of, conversion of, episcopate of, works of, 141; false writings of, 146; rule of, 151; doctrinal treatise of, 161; remark of, on Nestorianism, 163; opponent of Pelagianism, 164, 165; on the canon of scripture, 166; death of, 191; relics of, 256; predestination, 238; rule of, 351.
- of Canterbury, 199, 223, 264, 225; account of, 228; introduced the Benedictine rule into Britain, 243.
- Augustinians**, 397.
- Augustus**, 18.
- Aurelian**, 76, 78, 89, 91, 93.
- of Carthage, 178.
- Aurelius of Carthage**, 157, 179, 183, 190.
- Prudentius, 142.
- Ausonius**, 140.
- Autolycus**, 27, 46.
- Auxentius**, accused by S. Hilary to Valentinian, 140; succeeded by S. Ambrose, 140.
- Auxumitæ**, conversion of, 99.
- Avars**, 250.
- Averroes**, 401.
- Avianus**, consul, 197.
- Avicenna**, 401.
- Avitus Alcimius**, 198, 199, 217, 226.
- Axumites** converted, 198.

## B.

- Babylas of Antioch, 88.  
 Babylon, the school of Tiberias removed to, 56; schools of the Jews near, 91; residence of the Jewish patriarch at, 156; schools of, 274, 322, 354.  
 Bachyllus, 41.  
 Bagdad, caliphate of, 275.  
 Bagnolenses, 372.  
 Balaam, 55.  
 Baldric, archbishop of Dol, 395.  
 Baldwin, count, 320.  
 Baldwin, I., king of Jerusalem, 357.  
 — II., 358.  
 — III., 358.  
 — IV., 358.  
 — V., 358.  
 Banchor, 223, 244, 249.  
 Bandinus, 385.  
 Baptism, of infants, of adults, trine immersion, 30, 31; origin of, 32; conferred by martyrdom, 54; restoration of, 61; in the third century, 63; seasons of, 64; reiteration of, 76; the Cataphrygians, condemned in the council of Iconium, *ib.*; question of rebaptism, 81; denial of salvation to unbaptized infants, 106; on January 6, on Easter Eve, 110; mode of, ceremonies at, unction after, enjoined by a Laodicean canon, lay delayed, 111; forbidden to corpses, 167; compulsory of the Jews, 249; of infants, 373.  
 Baptisteries, 111.  
 Barbarians, inpouring of the, 156.  
 Barcabas, 42.  
 Barcelona, Jewish school of, 354.  
 Barchochabas, insurrection of, 55.  
 Barcoph, 43.  
 Bardes, 289.  
 Bardeanes of Edessa, 42, 48.  
 Bari, synod of, A.D. 1097, 344, 348, 379.  
 Barnabas, S., one of the disciples, 4, 17; epistle of, 12.  
 Baronius, 142; on the degeneracy of S. Peter's chair, 308.  
 Barses of Edessa, 154.  
 Barsuma, 185.  
 Bartholomew, S., Gospel of, 12; false acts of, 13; relics of, 279.  
 Baruch, Lamentations of, 100; mentioned in the Laodicean canon, 109.  
 Basil II., 277, 302, 323, 340.  
 — burned by Alexius Comnenus, 373.  
 — Emp., 285, 290, 291, 292.  
 Basil of Acrida, 380.  
 — Spanish bishop, 73, 75.  
 — the Macedonian, 278, 284.  
 — S., 84, 100, 134, 144, 146, 151, 153, 154, 175, 189, 315; against Eunomius, 102; de Spiritu Sancto, 103; held that heretics were to be rebaptized, 105; opinions on the intermediate state, 107; canons of, 113; life of, works of, 143; rule of, 151.  
 Basilides, 87, 92.  
 — Egyptian Gnostic, 43.  
 Basiliscus, 180, 194.  
 Basilius of Ancyra, 132, 134, 136, 145.  
 — of Seleucia, 188.  
 Batavians, 251.  
 Baucalis, the church of Arius, 134.  
 Bavaria, conversion of, 252.  
 Bavarian synods, 272.  
 Bavarians converted, 198.  
 Beatrice of Tuscany, 353.  
 Beatus the abbot, 268, 269.  
 Bede, 86, 107, 244, 257, 273, 298; account of, 242.  
 Begga, 243.  
 Beguinæ, the, 243.  
 Belisarius, 207, 224.  
 Bells, not introduced in the fourth century, but substitutes, 109; introduced, 231; baptism of, 307.  
 Bema, the, 63, 108.  
 Benedict I., 213.  
 — II., 232, 242.  
 — III., 263, 282.  
 — IV., 309.  
 — V., 310.  
 — VI., 311.  
 — VIII., 329.  
 — IX., 324, 329.  
 — X., 330.  
 — monk of S. Michael, 347.  
 — S., 243; life of, 221; rule of, 276, 314, 351.  
 — Biacop, 243.  
 Benedictine editors, service done by, 146.  
 — rule introduced into Britain, 243.  
 Benedictines, 397.  
 Beneventum, synod of, 338.  
 Benjamin, a Monophysite, 267.  
 Benno, cardinal, 347.  
 Berengarius, 320, 330, 347, 348; controversy of, account of, 341, 342.  
 Bernaldus, 332.  
 Bernard, legate of Gregory VII., 335.  
 — S., 351, 355, 358, 364, 365, 373, 374, 377, 378, 384, 398; de Consideratione, 388—392; account of, 393.  
 Berno, 298.  
 — of Reichenau, 349.  
 Bertha, daughter of Desiderius, 261.  
 — queen of Ethelbert, 199, 228.  
 — wife of Henry IV. of Germany, 347.  
 Bertram or Ratramnus, 287, 288, 295.  
 Berthold of Lucca, 356.  
 — the Calabrian, 399.  
 Bertholdus, 332.

- Beryllus, bishop of Bostra, his heresy, reclaimed by Origen, 77.  
 Berytus, school of, 98.  
 Biblicals, the, 386.  
 Birinus, S., 230.  
 Bishop, name of, 5; and presbyters considered the same order, *ib.*; election of, 6; two in the same city, of the circumcision, of the uncircumcision, *ib.*; provincial, known in Egypt, 37; seat of the, 63; in the third century, their titles, seats, vestments, power, and authority, 71, 117; their office, country bishops, superseded by the archdeacon, their nature and office, metropolitans recognised by a very old canon, in the African church, the oldest bishop, metropolitan, canons respecting, 118, 119; house of the, a place for study, 161; monasteries set under episcopal jurisdiction at the synod of Arles, 215; exemption of monasteries from episcopal authority, 223; monasteries withdrawn from their jurisdiction to that of the pope's, 234; prince-bishops of Germany, their origin, 253; exemption of monasteries from the jurisdiction of, 349.  
 Blastus, 42.  
 Boamund of Bohemia, 326.  
 Bobio, abbey of, 244.  
 Boethius, 198, 218, 223.  
 Bogomiles, 373, 380, 383.  
 Bohemia, a kingdom, 399.  
 Bohemians converted, 198, 277, 302.  
 Boleslaus III., 356.  
 Bologna, school of, 160, 386, 400.  
 Boniface, S., 252, 257, 258, 260, 267, 272; account of, 251.  
 — I., 171, 176, 183, 190, 260, 301.  
 — II., 203, 206, 221.  
 — III., 228, 231, 233.  
 — IV., 244, 231; relics of, 360.  
 — V., 231.  
 — VI., 285.  
 — VII., 311.  
 — VIII., 194, 387.  
 — Margrave of Tuscany, 353.  
 Bostra, synod at, 77.  
 Botaniates, 345.  
 Brachmans, 21.  
 Braga, synoda of, 199, 214.  
 Bran, 24.  
 Brandenburg, see of, founded, 321.  
 Bread, unleavened in the Holy Communion, 65.  
 Bremen, see of, 254.  
 Breviary, the Roman, 336.  
 Brigandæ, 382.  
 Britain, 236; S. Paul said to have visited, S. Joseph of Arimathea, *id.*, 2;  
 Church of, 45, 95; civil diocese of, 121; bishops from, three at the first council of Arles, 130; bishops of, at the council of Sardica, 131; state of, in the fifth century, 158; no bishops from, at the fourth general council, 176; inroads upon, 192; Christianity among the, 199; liturgy, 204; agitated by the paschal controversy, 210; synoda, 215, 318; conversion of, 228; bishops independent, 229; spreading of the Church from, 230; Church of, difference of customs in the, 234; invasion by the Danes, 276; conquests of, 352.  
 Brittany, 192.  
 Bruno, 311, 312, 324; relics of, 305.  
 — canon of Rheims, 350.  
 — of Toul v. Leo IX., 329.  
 Budda or Terebinthus, 78.  
 Bulgaria, 280, 292.  
 Bulgarians, the, 250, 277, 323.  
 Bullaria Romana, 387.  
 Buraburg, see of, 252.  
 Burchard, 386.  
 Burdin of Braga, Gregory VIII., 363, 381.  
 Burgos, synod of, A.D. 1080, 344.  
 Burgundians, 156; converted, 158.  
 Burial of the dead in the third century, 66.  
 Butellinus, 224.  
 Buxtorf, quoted, 55.  
 Bystanders, the, 69.  
 C.  
 Cabades, king of the Persians, 198.  
 Cabbala, the Jewish, 11.  
 Cadijah, 245.  
 Cadolous of Parma, 330.  
 Cæcilia, S., 360.  
 Cæcilian, archdeacon of Carthage, 119; mission of Osius to, 130, 138; question of, decided at the first council of Arles, 130.  
 Cæcilius, 84.  
 Cædmon, 243.  
 Cælestine, 158.  
 Cælestius the Pelagian, 175.  
 Cælicolæ, the, 197.  
 Cætleon, 158.  
 Cæsarea, 170; metropolitan of, 2; chief bishops of, 38; school of, 98, 99; library of, 160.  
 Cæsarius, S., of Arles, account of, 153, 217, 360.  
 Cainites, 44.  
 Cairo, caliphate of, 275.  
 Cairvan, 275.  
 Caius, 85.

*Living name of J. 102*



- Calabassus, heresy of, 44.  
 Calad, leader of the Moslems, 248.  
 Caligula, 18.  
 Caliphs, 275.  
 Callixtus, S., relics of, 360.  
 — II., 360, 363, 366, 381.  
 Camaldulensians, 350.  
 Cambridge, germ of the University of, 249, 279.  
 Candidian, count, 174.  
 Canon, a roll of the clergy, 39; of the mass, 204.  
 — law, 386.  
 Canons of the Apostles, 12; apostolical, when formed, 41, 59, 63, 71; their date, 86; of the first four councils, had the force of law, 177; regular, instituted, 194, 254, 351, 398; compilation of, by Dionysius Exiguus, 219.  
 Canonesses, 351.  
 Canonical books, 166.  
 "Canonical," use of the term, 198.  
 Canonization, 304, 359.  
 Canterbury, 199; metropolitan power of, 229; metropolitan rights of, 249; primacy of, 348; primacy and jurisdiction of, 383.  
 Canute the Great, 302, 323, 324, 353.  
 Capet, Hugh, 321, 323.  
 Capitularies of Charlemagne, 264, 286.  
 Capreolus of Carthage, 190.  
 Caracalla, 51, 85, 90.  
 Caractacus, 24.  
 Cardinal presbyters and deacons, 105; priests and deacons, origin of, 327; bishops, 328.  
 Carloman, 360, 284.  
 Carolingians, 276, 321.  
 Carmelites, 398.  
 Caroline books, 266, 272.  
 Carpocrates, doctrine of, 43.  
 Carthage, chief bishop of, 38; council of, 74; first or second councils of, 75; second or third council of, ib.; synods of, 82; canon of, on the ordination of subdeacons, 117; fourth council of, makes mention of an archdeacon, 119; school of, 159; canon of, for reading Scripture, 166; third council of, 167; synod of, 183.  
 Carthusians, 223, 350, 397.  
 Casino, monastery of, 276; ravaged, 297.  
 Cassian, 183, 189; rule of, 151.  
 Cassiodorus, account of, 219.  
 Castile, 352.  
 Catacombs, the, used for the dead, 108.  
 Cataphronius, 152.  
 Cataphrygians, 41, 44; baptism of, condemned in the council of Iconium, 76.  
 Catechumens, 31, 64; under the care of the exorcist, 72, 73; their place in the church, 113.  
 Catharists, 370, 371, 382.  
 Catholicus, 205.  
 Cedrenus, 306, 344.  
 Celestine I., 171—175, 183, 185, 190.  
 — II., 365, 378.  
 — III., 356, 368, 398.  
 Celestinians, 223.  
 Celestius, 182.  
 Celibacy of the clergy, 40, 74, 231, 317, 332, 344, 340, 364, 381; upheld by Siricius, S. Ambrose, S. Jerome, 114; law of, in the fourth century, its restrictions and degree of enforcement, how far marriage was prohibited, 122, 123; in the fifth century, 167; more strictly enforced in the West, 257; in the tenth century more enforced, 307.  
 Celidonius, 79.  
 Celsus, 59; 1. under Nero, 2. under the Antonines, 56, 57.  
 Cemeteries, granted to the Christians by Constantine, 109.  
 Cerdo, 23, 42.  
 Ceremonies, in the third century, 62; burdensome, 168.  
 Cerinthians, their doctrines, 10.  
 Cerinthus, 20; origin, and doctrine of, 10.  
 Cerularius, Michael, 65, 330, 340, 341, 346, 337, 370.  
 Cestius Gallus, 19.  
 Chalcedon, canons of, 176, 213, 218; council of, 175, 176, 180, 181; recognise patriarchal power, 120; rejected by the Armenians, 187, 212; creed of, 161, 199; opposition of Peter the Fuller to, 180; acts of, 185.  
 Chaldaea, Gospel spread in, 2.  
 Chalons, 313; synod of, 234, 286.  
 Chancel, 63, 108.  
 Chants, made from side to side, 118.  
 Chapters, the three, 211.  
 Charlemagne, 250, 253, 254, 256, 257, 260, 261, 263, 266, 269, 273, 276, 278, 279, 280, 285, 292, 307, 321, 333, 337; capitularies of, 264, 286, 296.  
 Charles Martel, 250, 252, 259.  
 — the Bald, 278, 280, 284, 285, 292, 395, 299.  
 — the Simple, 301, 302, 305.  
 Chartophylaces, 204.  
 Chartres, synod of, 382.  
 Childebert the Just, 250.  
 Childeric, 260.  
 Chilperic, 249.  
 China, converted by the Nestorians, 230.  
 Chosroes, 224; converted, 198.

- Christ, how acknowledged in the Koran, 246.
- Christianity, spread of in Asia, Africa, Europe, Germany, 23; universal diffusion of, 95; commemoration of its utter destruction by Diocletian, its restoration under Constantine, 96.
- Christians, charges against, 15; manners of, 34; strict manners of in the third century, 67; imputations against, 87.
- Christianus Druthmarus, 296.
- Christophorus, 309.
- Chrodegand of Ments, 351.
- Chrysanthus, S., 360.
- Chrysaphius, 176, 186.
- Chrysolanus, 379, 380, 396.
- Chrysologus, 189.
- Chrysorhoas, 273.
- Chrysostom, S., 83, 110, 148, 149, 151, 157, 159, 168, 182, 187, 188, 194, 315; overrated the powers of the natural will, 105; reproves those who stayed behind without receiving the Holy Communion, 112; mentions white garments of the clergy, 116; account of works of, 145; inclined to the Origenists, 158; persecution of, 190; commentaries of, on the New Testament, 318.
- Church, government of the, 4; legislation of the Church, how affected by the Christian emperors, 98; extension of the, 158; spread of the, in the sixth century, 228; territory of the, 263.
- Churches, to whom SS. Peter and Paul addressed Epistles, 1; Asiatic, 3.
- consecration of, in the third century, their name, description of, 62; form and ornaments of, 91; erection of by the emperors, 98; dedication or consecration of, 107; their form in the fourth century, their parts, division of male and female, 108; costly decoration of, 232; consecration of, 360.
- Circelliones, 138.
- Circumcelliones, 138.
- Circumcision, gospel of the, entrusted to S. Peter, 4; bishops of the, cease at Jerusalem, 56; among the Mahomedans, 246.
- Cirta, synod at, 77.
- Cistercians, 222, 350, 397.
- Clairvaux, 393.
- Clarendon, constitutions of, 367.
- Claudia, 24.
- Claudian, 148.
- Mamertus, 189.
- Claudianists, 138.
- Claudius, 2, 9, 15, 16, 18, 76.
- Claudius, a Spanish writer, 293.
- Clemens of Alexandria, master of the catechetical school of Alexandria, 27.
- Clement of Tongres, 68.
- Clement, a counsellor of Charlemagne, 254.
- a Scot, 267.
- antipope, 338.
- of Alexandria, 13, 47, 48, 57, 82; false works of, 46.
- S. of Rome, 53, 302; 1st. Epistle of, 2nd. Epistle of, denied to be his by S. Jerome and Rufinus, 12; liturgy of, 13, 17, 22.
- , synod held respecting, (745), 272.
- II., 329.
- III., 336, 368.
- V., 387, 398.
- XI., 325.
- Clementine Epitome, 86.
- Clementines, the, 86.
- Cleophas, 23.
- Clergy, distinction of, and laity, 6; their dress, 32; seat of the, 63; discipline to those who had lapsed, 70; dress of the, celibacy of the, 74; their seat in the church, 108; celibacy of the, in the fourth cent., synod of Gangra, canon of the synod of Gangra, 114; dress of the, fourth cent., 116; discipline of life in the fourth century, 123; want of morals in, 331.
- Clermont, 58, synod of, (1095,) 306, 325, 327, 338, 344.
- Cloithaire II., 226, 234, 244.
- Clotildis, 159.
- Cloveshoe, synod of, 272, 387, 361.
- Clovio, 159, 194, 197, 208.
- II., 234.
- Clunians, 222.
- Cluny, 298; abbey of, 349.
- Coblentz, diet of, 399.
- Cock-crowing, prayers at, 110.
- Code, of the Universal Church, 177, 387; African, 179; Theodosian, 192, 196, 240; Justinian, 200; of Gregory, Hermogenes, Theodosius, 225.
- Cœnobites, 150.
- Collyridians, 137.
- Colman, bishop of the Scots, 211.
- Cologne, 58, 252; archbishop of, 321; cathedral of, 279.
- Colosse, Church of, 2.
- Columba S., 199; founder of Iona, 243.
- Columban, S., 221, 230, 234, 243; rule of, 223, 276.
- Comana, 145.
- Combesis, edition of S. Maximus, 241.
- Côme, island of, 343.
- Commodus, 54, 57, 87.

- Communes, the, 387.
- Communion, Holy, position of the people at the, 63; lay, not equivalent to Communion in one kind, of strangers, of the presanctified, 112; letters of, of three kinds, marks of, 133, 124.
- Compeigne, synod of, 278, 293.
- Competentes, 31.
- Compostella, synod of, A.D. 1056, 343.
- Compostello, synod of, A.D. 1114, 382.
- Conceptualists, 375.
- Concorezenses, 372.
- Confession, 314; public, 33; in the third century, 65; introduced into the Eastern Church after the Decian persecution, presbyter appointed to receive confessions, not so used in the African Church, satisfaction, contrition, 69; private, 104, 167; authorized, 167.
- Confessors, 17.
- Confirmation, with baptism, 64; restricted to bishops, 72; rise of, 111.
- Conon, 211, 214, 232.
- Conrad, 329; crowned king of Italy, 338.
- III., de Weibelingen, 358, 399.
- of Swabia, 364.
- Consensus Patrum, 106.
- Constans, 98; wish of for a general council at Sardica, 131; the *μυροφόριον* sent to, required the bearers to anathematize Arius, 132.
- II., edict of, 237.
- Constantia, widow of Licinus, favoured the Arians, 128, 135.
- Constantine, the Great, 22, 96, 97, 99, 109, 111, 116, 120, 122, 124, 126, 127, 130, 131, 135, 138, 142, 146, 147, 152, 153, 192, 235, 239, 265, 300; spurious account of his presence at a Roman synod, 128.
- I., pope, 257, 258, 265.
- X., Monomachus, 340, 352.
- XI., 346.
- Chrysomalus, 383.
- Copronymus, 261, 263, 265, 267, 269, 371; ambassadors of, 267.
- Harmenopolus, 396.
- Manasses, 396.
- Pogonatus, 77, 238; relinquished confirming the bishop of Rome, 248.
- Porphyrogenitus, 305, 315, 318.
- son of Constantine Copronymus, 265.
- Constantinople, encyclical epistle of the patriarch of, 3, note; third council of, 77; council of, 86, 131; or Byzantium, bishops of, 96; school of, 98, 160; canon of, 120; increasing honours of, 121; see of occupied for twenty years by the Arians, 128; precedency of, 130; council of, condemned Photinus, 136; foundation of, 146; temples in, 154; library of, 160; patriarch of, 169, 170, 205; canon of Chalcedon on, 177; creed of, 181, 199; synod of, to condemn Eutyches, 186; prodigies at, 194; synods of, 207, 291, 292, 293, 315, 383; second council of, 211; fifth synod of, confounded with the fifth general council, 214; canons of, translated into Latin, 218; opposition of, to the supremacy of Rome, 235; styled œcumenical by the pope, 262; fourth council of (754,) 269; under Photius, (879,) 286; synod of, to depose Ignatius, 289; eighth general council, 290; synod of, in the eleventh century, 344; jurisdiction of, 345; Latin patriarch of, 379; synod of, A.D. 1158, 379.
- Constantius, 96, 98, 111, 128, 130, 131, 133, 135, 136, 137, 143, 152, 160.
- Constitutions, Apostolical, 12, 59, 86.
- of S. Clement, 13.
- of the Apostles, 13.
- Constitutum of Vigilus, 213.
- Conversions, 277; at the Nicene council, at the building of Jerusalem, 147; laws respecting, 159; compulsory, forbidden, 227; forced or bribed, 263.
- Copiatæ, their office, 68.
- Copts, 268.
- Corbie, abbey of, 244.
- Corbinian of Freysing, 254.
- Corcipiticolæ, 209.
- Cordova, 275; Jewish schools of, 354.
- Corinth, Church in, 2; council in, 41.
- Cornelius, S., 72, 73, 75, 81, 85; epistle of, 68, 71; relics of, 360.
- Corvey, rule of, 254.
- Coymas, 273.
- dean of Prague, 395.
- patriarch of Constantinople, 383.
- S., 360.
- Council of Nicæa, why passed over by Eusebius, convened by the emperor, causes of its being held, number of bishops present, the pope how represented, Constantine how present, presidentship, doubts respecting, principal acts of, Creed of, 126.
- of Constantinople, under S. Gregory Nazianzen, convened by the emperor, attended only by the eastern bishops, styled by itself œcumenical, 128; for what causes convened, who

- attended it, by whom presided over, seven canons of, their nature, creed of, 129.
- Council, the third, 173; the fourth, 173, 176, 180; the fifth summoned by Justinian, by how many attended, its cause, 211, 212; the sixth, 258; picture of, *ib.*; the seventh, 266, 268; the eighth, 270, 290.
- Councils, apostolical, 87; receive authority from our Lord's words, 7; of the second century, ordered by the apostolical canon formed by the bishops and priests, convened 1, against heresies, 2, to determine the paschal controversy, 41; convened by the emperor, 124; distinction of general and provincial, degree in which they were considered infallible in the fourth century, opinion of S. Augustine, number of general, disputed, two in the fourth century convened by the emperor under different presidency, 125; general, veneration for the canons of the first four, 177; three first not rejected by the Armenians, 187; in the eighth century, 269; of the ninth century, 291; presidency of, 270; summoned by the emperors, 291; called general, 380, 381.
- Creeds, 199; the Apostles', 26; founded on the Baptismal form, 3; Nicene, 25; the Alexandrine, 59; the Antiochian, *ib.*; the Roman, or Apostles', *ib.*; in the fourth century, very numerous, 100; cause of their being more technical, 101; addition to the, in the council of Constantinople, 130; of the Arians' and S. Athanasius', 135; of Nicæna, Constantinople, 181.
- Crescens, supposed to have carried the Gospel to Gaul, 2.
- the Cynic, 56.
- the philosopher, 46.
- Crescentius, 311, 312.
- Crosier, investiture of the, 333.
- Cross, 167, 373; sign of the, 30, 34, 66, 115; discovery of, 115; vision of the, invention of the, 147; forbidden to be carved on the ground, 193; adoration of the, 230.
- Crusade, the first, 338; the third, 358.
- Crusades, 325, 326, 344, 352, 354, 357, 379, 382.
- Cubricus, or Manes, 79.
- Cucusus, 145.
- Cumanus, 18.
- Cunegunda, 354.
- Cunibert, 250.
- Curopolates, 345.
- Cuspius Fadus, 18.
- Cuthbert, archbishop, 337.
- Cyprian, S., 58, 61, 65, 66, 67, 70, 72, 74, 75, 76, 81, 85, 87, 88, 92, 93, 360; letter of to Antonianus, his treatise, *de Lapsis*, 68; his vestments, his epistle to Jubajanus, 71; presided over the synods of proconsular Africa, and the Numidian and Mauritanian bishops, his address to the pope, his expressions, appeals to him from Rome, 73; died in the unity of the Church, 76; his dispute with Stephen, 81; his history, life and writings, 84; martyred, 89; conversion of, 92; his view of purgatory, 107; church of, 202; relics of, 279, 297.
- Cyprus, 397; Church of, 1; independence of the bishops of, 176; subdued by Moslems, 250.
- Cyriacus, 214, 228, 233.
- Cyril of Antioch, 95.
- missionary, 277.
- S., of Alexandria, 92, 164, 168, 173, 174, 175, 188, 196, 212; against Julian, 103; chapters of, 161; on Nestorianism, 163; letter of, against Nestorius, confirmed by the council of Chalcedon, 176; chapters of, 181; account of, 187; anathemas of, 184, 185.
- S., of Jerusalem, 100, 129, 133; account of, deposition of, and appeal, 144; quoted, 147.
- Cyrus of Alexandria, 237, 239, 241.
- of Constantinople, 268.
- of Phasis, 236.

## D.

- Dacia, Goths in, converted, 99; civil diocese of, 120.
- Dagobert, 234, 244, 249.
- Dalmatia, Church in, 1.
- Damascene, S. John, 255, 347, *v.* S. John.
- Damascus, Church of, 1; head of the Mahometan empire, 250.
- Damasus I., 100, 109, 122, 128, 132, 142, 148.
- II., 109, 122, 142, 329.
- Dambrowka, 302.
- Damianus, S., relics of, 360.
- Danes, 301; Christianity introduced among, 254; converted, 277; in Britain, 301.
- Daniel of Winchester, 251.
- Theodotion's version of, read in the Church, 50.
- Darius, S., 360.
- David Kimchi, 400.
- S., refuted the Pelagians, 215.

- David, son of Prester John, 357.  
 David's, S., 158.  
 Days of observance in the early Church, 28.  
 Deacons, 39, 40, 117, 299; instituted, 4; the seven, their office, ib.; election of, 6; their offices in the third century, 71; styled from their Church, 72; office of, 118.  
 Deaconesses, 38, 111; ordained, their office described by Eusebius, 118.  
 Dead, prayers for the, 30, 34, 167, 373; in the third century, 62; universal, their nature and object in the early Church, connection with Origen's notion of purgatory, 106; opinion of S. Augustine on, 107; offered for the soul of Constantine the Great, by S. Ambrose for Valentinian, Gratian, Theodosius, refused by Acrida, thought to benefit the wicked, 116; burial of the, 108; baptism of the, the Holy Eucharist prohibited to the, 111; anathema of the, 212; oblations for the, 215; anathematizing of, opposed by Ferrandus, 219; masses for the, 255, 307.  
 Decius, 83, 85, 88, 89, 92, 93.  
 Decretal epistles, the, the spurious, the true, when commenced, 49; false, 146; from Siricius to Anastasius II., 218; ascribed to S. Isidore, 242.  
 Decretum, the, of Gratian, account of, 386.  
 Dedication, synod of the, at Tyre, 131.  
 Degrees, institution of, 400.  
 Deities, German heathen, 247.  
 Delphi, cessation of the oracle of, 21.  
 Demetrian of Antioch, 76, 78, 92.  
 Demetrias, 190.  
 Demetrius, proconsul under Valerian, 92.  
 — of Alexandria, 38, 57, 80, 83.  
 Demons, 21.  
 Denis, S., abbey of, 260, 276.  
 Denmark, converted, 230.  
 Deodwine of Liege, 342.  
 Derbe, Church of, 1.  
 Desideratus, 284.  
 Desiderius the Lombard, 250, 261, 263, 276.  
 — of Cassino, v. Victor III., 337.  
 Deusdedit I., 231.  
 Diaconicum, or vestry, 117.  
 Didymus of Alexandria, 83, 145, 213.  
 Digest, the, 225.  
 Dinooth the abbot, 243.  
 Dioceses, civil, 120; ecclesiastical, 129.  
 Diocletian, 62, 64, 85, 89, 92, 93, 95, 96.  
 Diodorus of Tarsus, 129, 145.  
 Dionysius, bishop of Corinth, objects to a forced celibacy in Gnosus, 40.  
 — Exiguus, 95, 218.  
 — founded the Church of Paris, 58; abbey of, 244; monastery of, 253.  
 — of Alexandria, 38, 60, 61, 70, 73, 76, 78, 80, 81, 83, 103; conversion of, 92.  
 — of Milan, 133.  
 — of Rome, 78.  
 — the Areopagite, works of, 13, 59; relics of, 256; of France, 393; relics of, 305.  
 Dioscorus, 170, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 185, 186, 191, 206.  
 Diospolis, synod of, 183.  
 Disciples, the seventy, counterpart of the seventy elders, 4.  
 Discipline, 168; in the first century, vested in the heads of the Church, 6; in the second century, 32; strict in the east and Africa, more lenient in the Latin Church, 68; of the laeod, and question of their restoration, 80, 81; in the fourth century, 113; Jewish in the fourth century, 156; in the eighth century, 257; of S. Dunstan, 313; in the eleventh century, less severe, 327.  
 Dithmar, 346.  
 Divales ascræ, 238.  
 Dobiras, 352.  
 Doceta, the, 9, 10, 27, 209.  
 Doctor, degree of, 400.  
 Doctrine, in the second century, 59; in the fourth century, 100; in the fifth century, 161; development of, in the seventh century, 230; in the eighth century, 255; in the ninth century, 279.  
 Dodwell, tract "De paucitate Martyrum," 17.  
 Domitian, 16, 17, 20, 93.  
 — of Ancyra, 211.  
 Dominic, S., 307.  
 Dominica, wife of Valens, 135.  
 Dominicanas, 223.  
 Dominicus of Grado, 341.  
 Domitius of Byzantium, 96.  
 Domnus, 186, 216.  
 — II., 311.  
 — of Antioch, 77, 185, 186, 211, 216.  
 Donald, king of the Scots, converted, 58.  
 Donatism, 159.  
 Donatus, a follower of Donatus the schismatic, 138.  
 — of Carthage, semi-Arian creed sent to, 132; schism and ultimate heresy of, 138.  
 Donatists, 95, 158, 159, 182, 191, 197; appeals respecting, made to the emperors, 124; council in Africa against

the, 181; mentioned by S. Augustine, *ib.*; question of, decided at the first council of Arles, 180; conference of the, with the Catholic bishops, 179.  
 Donus, 232.  
 Door-keepers, 117; mentioned in the letter of Cornelius, 73.  
 Dorotheus of Tyre, 85, 90.  
 Dosithens, his heresy, claimed to be the Messiah, 9.  
 Douay, synod of, 284, 293.  
 Druids, 21.  
 Ducas, 345.  
 Du Chesne, edition of the French anabaptists, 395.  
 Dunstan, S., 107, 307, 313; image of, 305.  
 Durandus, abbot of Troarn, 342.

## E.

Eadmer, 395.  
 Earnulf of Rochester, 394.  
 East, the, suffered from the persecution of Valens, 153.  
 Easter, councils called to determine the time of its observance, 41; schism respecting, journey of S. Polycarp, its observance in the British isles, 45; standing in prayer at, 110; vigil of, *ib.*; controversy respecting the time of, a cause of the council of Nicæa, how decided, 126, 127; in the British Church, 234, 298.  
 Eastern Church, differed from the Western regarding images, &c., 256.  
 Ebbo of Rheims, 277, 278, 282, 298.  
 — of Grenoble, 288.  
 Ebionites, 9, 24, 44; their name and founder, hostile to S. Paul, 11; grossness of their heresy abandoned, 101.  
 Ebn Roshd, 401.  
 Eborius, 95.  
 Ecclesiastical persons and things, how treated in the Theodosian code, 192.  
 Ecclesiasticus, book of, authority of, 166.  
 Ecdici, 204.  
 Ecthesis, the, 237.  
 Edessa, 185; constancy of the faith of, 154; sacred image of, 305; captured by the Crusaders, 326.  
 Edgar, 313; canons of, 314.  
 Edgitha, 354.  
 Edicts of Constantine, 97.  
 Edilburga, queen, 243.  
 Edmund Ironside, 323, 353.  
 Edward the Confessor, S., 353.  
 Edwin, king, 229, 308; baptized, 249.  
 Egecan, king, 249.  
 Eginhard, 295; life of Charlemagne, 253.  
 Egypt, sufferings of, in the sixth persecution, 87; civil diocese of, 120; caliphate of, 322; under the Fatimites, 352.  
 Egyptians, the, gospel to, 12.  
 Eichstadt, *see of*, 252.  
*ειρηνικαί* (*επιστολαί*), 123.  
*εκδικοι*, 169, 204.  
 Elcesaites, 42; heresy of, 77.  
 Elders of the Church appointed, same as the Seventy, 5.  
 Eleazar, 18, 55.  
 Election of pontiffs no longer dependent on the imperial will, 284; to offices in the Church, 6.  
 Electors, the seven, 321.  
 Elements in the holy Eucharist, terms applied, what change understood to take place, expression of SS. Augustine and Ambrose, 105.  
 Elesbaan, king of Æthiopia, 243.  
 Eleusius of Cyzicus, 129, 133, 134, 153.  
 Eleutherius, 23; false decretals of, 49.  
 Elias, 23.  
 — of Jerusalem, 197, 208; synod of Sidon held against, 213.  
 Eligius, S., of Noyons, 343.  
 Elipandus, 209, 268, 272.  
 Elizabeth, abbess of Schönhauget, 395.  
 Eilel, conversion of, 147.  
 Elne, synod of, A.D. 1027, 343.  
 Eloisa, 393, 395.  
 Elpidius, Count, death of, 147.  
 Elvira, or Illiberis, council of, 58; synod of, attended by Osius, canons of, 74, 130; canon of, 111; forbidding lights at the day services, 114; forbidding pictures, 116; canon of, on the marriage of clergy, 123.  
 Elxai, 42.  
 Elymas, 6.  
 Emeritus, 179.  
 Emperor, of the West, influence of, 171; power of in the Church, 124; synods convened by the, 264; power exercised by the, 285; deposition of, 335; power of, in the council of Chalcedon, 377.  
 Empire, transference of, from the Greeks to the Germans, 321.  
 Encratites, the, founded by Tatian, 42.  
 England, invasion of, by William the Conqueror, 331.  
 Ennadius of Ticina, 198.  
 Ennodius, Felix, 218.  
 Enoch, 23.  
 Enodius, bishop of Antioch, 5, 6.  
 Epaphroditus, bishop of Philippi, 5.  
 Ephesus, Church of, 2, 23; chief bishop

- of, 38; council of, 41, 77, 173, 174, 185; school of, 98; civil diocese of, 120; councils of, recognise patriarchal power, 120, 170; canons of, 175; Latrocinium of, 176, 185, 186.
- Ephrem, S., the Syrian, value of the writings of, 144; wrote against the Jacobites, 209.
- Epimenides, 94.
- Epiphanius, S., 88, 100, 137, 144, 149, 157, 158, 187, 190; opposed Origen, 83; censure on Aërius, for disbelief in prayers for the dead, 116; tore down a picture with his own hands, 116; description of the office of deaconess, 118; charged Aërius with the confusion of presbyter and bishops, ib.; account of the Arians, 134; letter of Acacius and Paul to, 169; opposition to images, 264.
- Epiphany, i. e., the Nativity observed by Egyptian, African, Syrian Churches, in the fourth century, on January 6, ultimately removed to December 25, from the custom of the Western Church, 110.
- Episcopacy, 36; in the second century, 35; the bishop's powers, his consecration, 39, 40.
- Epistle, the, a lection of, 299.
- Epistles, false, 13; of communion, 123; canonical, 124; synodal or encyclic, ib.
- Epitomizera, the, 396.
- Erasmus, 141.
- Erfurt, see of, 252; synod of, 317.
- Eric I., 277.
- IX., of Sweden, 356.
- king of Jutland, 277.
- Errors of doctrine, held by the fathers, 105.
- Essenes, 11, 150.
- Estiues, synod of, 272.
- Estius, 385.
- Ethanius, 187.
- Etheibert, 199, 228.
- Ethelred, 323, 353.
- Ethelwald, 313.
- Ethelwolf, 282, 300.
- Etherianus, 380.
- Ethiopia, 99.
- Euarestus, 22; false decretals of, 49, 53.
- Eucharist, the holy, 28, 308, 314, 380; offerings at the, mode of celebration of, 30; names of, when celebrated, the elements, 31, 32; manner and time of celebrating in the third century, how attended, unleavened bread, 64; great strictness in its celebration, 67; celebrated on the Sabbath in the Eastern Church, 110; during Lent only celebrated on the Sabbath, and Lord's day, 110; enjoined by the Nicene canons to the dying, 111; prohibited to the dead, ib.; mode of the celebration of, in the fourth century, names of, 112; of the presanctified, during Lent, ib.; when administered in the Eastern Church, in the Western, all partook of it, ib.; misrepresentation of, by the heathen, 115; administered to infants, forbidden to corpses, 167; passage of Facundus on, 219; may it be called a type, 267; controversy of Paschasius Radbert, 277, 286; to be celebrated every Sunday, 278; work of Paschasius Radbert upon, 294; not in one kind, doctrine of the Eastern Church, 315; unleavened bread of, 340; controversy of Berengarius, 341.
- Eucharis, 58, 90.
- Eucherius of Lyons, 189.
- Euchites, 139, 151.
- Eudo, 374.
- Eudocia, 190, 192.
- Eudoxia, 145, 190.
- Eudoxians, condemned at Constantinople, 129.
- Eudoxius, 132, 133, 137, 153; bishop of Constantinople, leader of the Anomœans, 135; restored Aëtius, 136.
- Eugenia, 92.
- Eugenius, 148.
- of Rome, 290, 262.
- I., 232.
- II., 281, 282.
- III., 356, 365, 373, 374, 379, 380, 387, 388, 394.
- Eulogius, 210, 214, 228.
- Eunomians, 136, 153; condemned at Constantinople, 129.
- Eunomius, 136, 143, 145.
- Euodius, 45.
- Euphemius, 191, 206, 207.
- Eusebius of Cæsarea, 45, 86, 88, 90, 93, 96, 100, 101, 103, 107, 122, 125, 126, 133, 134, 135, 136, 142, 147, 175, 189; false writings of, 146, 160.
- of Alexandria, 85.
- Apollinarius, 92.
- of Dorylæum, 162, 163, 184, 185, 186.
- of Emesa, 142.
- of Nicomedia, subscribed the canons of Nicæa, 127; exiled, 128; procured the condemnation of S. Athanasius at the synod of Tyre, 132, 135, 142.
- of Pelusium, 180.
- of Rome, 146.
- of Samosata, 154.
- of Vercellæ, 101, 150, 351.

Eustace, Count, 326.  
 Eustachius, S., relics of, 360.  
 Eustathians, 151.  
 Eustathius, 133; exiled by Constantine, 152.  
 — of Antioch, 145; opposed Origen, 83; said by some to have presided over the council of Nicæa, 126, 145.  
 — patriarch of Constantinople, 340.  
 — of Sebaste, condemned by the canons of Gangra, 131.  
 Eustochium, 190.  
 Eustochius of Jerusalem, condemned the monks of Nova Saura for Origenism, 211; at the second council of Constantinople, *ib.*  
 Eustratius of Nice, 380, 396.  
 — of Thessalonica, 396.  
 Euthemius, patriarch of Constantinople, 301.  
 — Zigabenus, 380, 396.  
 Eutyches, 186, 218; heresy of, 164; account of, 185.  
 Eutychianism, 159, 182, 219, 397; rise and spread of, 186; more subtle form of, in the Monothelites, 236.  
 Eutychians, 176, 191, 200, 208, 210, 216, 251; tumults of the, 180.  
 Eutychius, 38, 213.  
 — Batracides, 319.  
 — of Constantinople, 211.  
 — patriarch of Alexandria, 36, 37.  
 Euzoius, 145.  
 Evagrius Scholasticus, 157, 161, 213, 216.  
 Evangelists, the, 4.  
 Evangelus, epistle of S. Jerome to, 118.  
 Exarchs, 168, 169; authority of, 121.  
 Excommunication, 7; of the lapsed, 68; of Acacius, 181; of kings, 290, 368; of the pope, 334.  
 Exiles, head of the, 322.  
 Exomologesis, 104.  
 Exorcisms, 66.  
 Exorcists, not originally a distinct order, 67; had also the care of the catechumens, 72, 73; in the East closely connected with the catechist described by S. Paulinus, 117.  
 Extravagants, the, 387.  
 Ezekias, R., 354.

## F.

Fabian of Rome, 88.  
 Fabiola, 113.  
 Fabius, epistle to, 71.  
 — of Antioch, 76.  
 Fabricius, quoted, 14.

Facundus, 212; account of, 219.  
 Fasts, 28, 33; weekly on the fourth and sixth days, in the third century, in Passion-week, Lent, whole fasts and half-fasts, 65; in the fourth century, 105, 110; modifications of, in the fourth century, the dry fare recognised by the canons, of Laodicea, 114; enjoined by the Roman bishops, 167; in monasteries, 221; relaxed, 307.  
 Fatimites, the, 275, 322, 352.  
 Faustinus of Lyons, appeals to S. Cyprian, 73.  
 — of Alexandria, 152.  
 Faustus of Riez, 183.  
 — of Lerins, 215, 216, 223.  
 Felicissimus, 75, 80.  
 Felicitas, S., 87.  
 Felix, S., 360.  
 — the Governor, 18.  
 — of Aptunga, 138.  
 — Count, death of, 147.  
 — minister of Julian the Apostate, 153.  
 — of Ravenna, 235, 258, 262.  
 — S., of Rome, 171; relics of, 360.  
 — of Urgel, 268, 269, 272, 274, 293.  
 — III., 181, 207, 220, 365.  
 — IV., 184.  
 Ferdinand of Castile, 352.  
 Ferrandus, deacon of Carthage, 219.  
 Festivals, generally observed, 33; in the third century, 66; in the fourth century, 110; new, instituted, 306.  
 Fey, 275.  
 Filioque, the term, 235; the term proscribed, 291; condemned, 292.  
 Fire, destruction of the earth, by its allusions in Holy Scripture, its connection with the regeneration of all things, 107.  
 Firmilian of Cappadocia, 73, 76, 81, 87.  
 Flacilla, 159.  
 Fladenheim, battle of, 336.  
 Flavia Clemens, 17.  
 — Domitilla, 17.  
 Flavian of Antioch, 129, 149, 176, 179, 191, 197, 208; synod of Sidon held against, 213.  
 — of Constantinople, 170, 186.  
 — of Philippi, representative of Rufus of Rome, 174.  
 Flodoard of Rheims, 319.  
 Florinians, 44.  
 Florus, 18, 86.  
 — of Lyons, 288, 294.  
 Fontaines, abbey of, 244.  
 Formosus, 285, 301, 309.  
 Fortunatus, S., relics of, 305.  
 France, cleansed from heresy by S.



Hilary, 139; adjudication of the crown of, by the pope, 260.  
 Frankfort, synod of, 256, 266; A.D. 794, 269, 271, 286.  
 Franks, 224, 251; converted, 159.  
 Frascati, cardinal-bishop of, 328.  
 Freculphus, 296.  
 Fredegarius, 274.  
 Frederic I., Barbarossa, 358, 364, 365, 366, 379, 395, 399.  
 — II., 398, 399.  
 — king of Sicily, 369.  
 — of Swabia, 364.  
 Free-will, use of the term, 104, 288.  
 Freia the goddess, 274.  
 Freising, see of, 252.  
 Fridiburga, queen, 243.  
 Friesland, converted, 230.  
 Frieslanders, 251.  
 Fritigern, 100.  
 Friuli, synod of, 268, 272.  
 Frumentius, apostle of the Indians, 99.  
 Fulbert of Chartres, 341.  
 Fulda, monastery of, 252, 258, 276; school of, 254, 294.  
 Fulgentius, 198, 223.  
 — S., 200, 217.  
 — of New Carthage, 241.  
 — of Ruspe, 184, 198.  
 Fulk, count of Anjou, 358.  
 Fundanus, Minucius, rescript to, 51.  
 Funerals, christian, forbidden by Julian in the day, 153.

## G.

Gabriel the archangel, 245.  
 Gæons, 196, v. Geonim.  
 Gainas, 158.  
 Gajanists, 209; of Alexandria, ib.  
 Galatia, Church in, 2; Church of, ib.  
 Galerius, 89, 92, 93, 96.  
 Gall, S., 230, 243; rule of, 244; monastery of, 254.  
 Gallican Liturgy, 204; Church, 234; synods, 318, 336, 337.  
 Gallienus, 63, 85, 91.  
 Gallus, 85.  
 Gamaliel, 55.  
 Ganfrid or Geoffrey of Monmouth, 395.  
 Gangra, its decree concerning those who condemned married clergy, 114; synod and canons of, 131.  
 Garsias, 352.  
 Gaston of Vienne, 351.  
 Gaudentius, 189.  
 Gaul, S. Paul in, Churches established in, 2; S. Luke in, ib.; Trophimus in, ib.; civil diocese of, 121; no

bishops from, at the fourth general council, 176; sufferings of, from the Visigoths, 191.  
 Gaza, temple of, 100.  
 Gebhard of Eichstadt, v. Victor II., 330.  
 Geisa, 302.  
 Gelasius I., 48, 86, 164, 171, 181, 184, 190, 194; extends the period of the Nicene council over three years, 128; sacramentary of, 203.  
 — II., 363.  
 — Cyscenicus, 128.  
 — of Cæsarea, 129.  
 Gemara, the, 56, 91, 196; completed, 226.  
 Gemarists, 91.  
 Gennadius, 161, 183; works of, 189.  
 Genseric, 156, 191.  
 Gentilly, synod of, 267, 272.  
 Geoffrey of Monmouth, 395.  
 Geonim, the, 196, 226, 274, 298, 322, 354.  
 George Cedrenus, 344.  
 — Harmartolus, 297.  
 — of Alexandria, 153.  
 — of Cappadocia, 143, 152.  
 — of Constantinople, 238, 270.  
 — of Coreyra, 380.  
 — of Cyprus, 265.  
 — of Laodicea, 133, 134, 136.  
 — Logothetes, 396.  
 — Pachdymeres, 396.  
 — Pisides, 241.  
 — of Jerusalem, 238.  
 — Syncellus, 273, 295, 345.  
 — Xiphilin, patriarch of Constantinople, 380, 396.  
 Gerard, Cardinal, 379.  
 — of Florence, v. Nicholas II., 330.  
 Gerbert, 313, (Silvester II.,) 317.  
 Gerhard, 342.  
 — of Brogue, 314.  
 German synods, 318.  
 Germanus, S., 184, 194, 249, 265, 337.  
 — first bishop of Cysicum, 272.  
 — patriarch, 270.  
 Germany, the gospel in, 58; conversion of, 251; sovereignty of, 320.  
 Gerson, 350.  
 Gertrude, 243.  
 Gervasius, S., 149.  
 — of Canterbury, 395.  
 Geasius Florus, 18.  
 Gewilieb of Mentz, 252.  
 Ghengis Khan, 357.  
 Ghibelins, 399.  
 Ghost, the Holy, procession of, 267.  
 Gibbon, 194; remark of, on S. Athanasius, 143.  
 Giesla, 302.  
 Gifts of tongues, 4.

Gilbert of Poitiers, 374, 394.  
 Gildas, 198, 221, 243, 249.  
 Girwy, monastery of, 242.  
 Glaber, 312, 324, 346.  
 Glastonbury, 244; privileges of, 276.  
 Gnossus, 40.  
 Gnostic errors found in the Koran, 245.  
 Gnosticism, 138.  
 Gnostics, 9, 11, 27, 48; origin of their heresy, 11; their impurities charged on the Christians, 15; Asiatic and Egyptian, 41; Egyptian or Alexandrian, 42; grossness of their heresy abandoned, 101.  
 Godfrey of Boulogne, 326, 357.  
 — I., duke of Lorraine, 353.  
 Gonsal, 352.  
 Good-Friday, 33.  
 Gordian, 91, 220.  
 Gorgonius, 92.  
 Gorman, 302.  
 Gospel, the, 299; preached throughout all the world, 1; false, 12; of S. Matthew, 24; ordered to be read on the Sabbath, 109.  
 — spread of the, 58.  
 Goths, 156, 198; driven out by the Huns, converted, 99; converted under Valens, 190; abjure Arianism, 214; expelled by the Moslems, 248.  
 Gotteschalvus, 288, 289, 294, 295, 298.  
 Government, 4, 39, 257; in the third century, 71; number and nature of the orders, 117.  
 Grado, patriarchate of, instituted, 169, 248.  
 Granada, Jewish school of, 354.  
 Grandimontans, the, 351.  
 Gratian, 100, 154, 365, 386, 388; prayers of S. Ambrose for the soul of, 116.  
 — of Tours, 58.  
 Gratianus, Serenus, 52.  
 Greece, church in, 1.  
 Greeks, opposition of, to Rome, 379.  
 Gregorian collections, 192; tones, 254.  
 Gregory II., 256, 257, 259, 265, 269, 334.  
 — III., 257, 259, 263, 265, 334.  
 — IV., 263, 278, 279, 282.  
 — V., 311, 317, 321, 323.  
 — VI., 329, 331.  
 — VII., 262, 324, 330, 331, 334, 335, 337, 339, 342, 343, 344, 347, 352, 353, 381, 387.  
 — VIII., 363, 368, 381.  
 — IX., 387.  
 — of Alexandria, 152.  
 — S., Nazianzen, 100, 109, 137, 143, 146, 148, 151, 162, 175, 189; opinions on the intermediate state,

107; his view of prayers to the saints, 116; elected to Constantinople, 128; his election confirmed by the council of Constantinople, and the emperor, resigned his see, 129.  
 Gregory, S., Nyssen, 84, 129, 146, 154; oration on pilgrimages, 116; additions of, to the Nicene Creed, 137; account of, composed the additions to the Nicene Creed, 143.  
 — of Syracuse, 289, 293.  
 — of Tours, 203, 220, 226, 306.  
 — rival of Benedict VIII., 329.  
 — son of Anax, first bishop of the Armenians, 99.  
 — S. Thaumaturgus, 69, 83, 84, 85, 88, 93; conversion of, 92; canonical epistle of, 113.  
 — S., the Great, 74, 153, 177, 199, 202, 203, 206, 207, 213, 217, 226, 227, 228, 231, 233, 235, 249, 263, 266, 327, 337; creed of, 200; account of, 220; account of S. Benedict by, 221; rule of, 223; relics of, 256, 305.  
 — the Cappadocian, 143.  
 Grimbald, 279.  
 Gualbert, 350.  
 Guelf, duke of Bavaria, 399.  
 Guelfs, 399.  
 Guibert of Ravenna, 336.  
 Guide, Card., 366.  
 — of Vienne, 348, 363.  
 — of Milan, 347.  
 — marquis of Tuscany, 309.  
 Guiscard, Robert, 325, 330.  
 — Roger, 338.  
 Gundemar, 234.  
 Gunderic, 191.  
 Gundobald of Burgundy, 217.  
 Gundulf, 343.  
 Gunther, 378.  
 Guntheram, 215.  
 Guntheric, 191.  
 Guy of Lusignan, 358.

## H.

Hacon of Norway, 302.  
 Hadrian, 89, 93, 364; rigorously treated the Jews, 90: v. Adrian.  
 Hakem III., 352.  
 Halberstadt, see of, 254.  
 Halloix, objects to the authority of the council of Chalcedon, 213.  
 Hamburg, see of, 254.  
 Harold, 302.  
 Haroun al Rashid, 277.  
 Hathumar, 254.  
 Hautvilliers, 288.  
 Havelburg, see of, founded, 321.

- Haymo, 294, 298.  
 Haymon, 244.  
 Hearers, 69, 113.  
 Heathen, teaching of the Christians to the, in the first and second centuries, 27.  
 Heathenism spiritualized, 21; its character in the time of Adrian, 56; state of in the fifth century, 195; in the eighth century, 274.  
 Hebrews, the, Epistle to, doubted, 4; Gospel to, 12; demurred to at Rome, 81.  
 Hegesippus, first ecclesiastical historian, 46; false works of, 49.  
 Hegira, 247.  
 Helena, S., 115, 147.  
 Helene, or Selene, 9.  
 Helenus of Tarsus, 81.  
 Helladius of Cæsarea, 129.  
 Helmond of Lubec, 395.  
 Helvidius, 141.  
 Henoticon, the, 180, 182, 186, 197.  
 Henricians, 373.  
   — I. of England, 333, 339, 348, 354, 363, 395, 400.  
   — II. of England, 325, 367, 383.  
   — the Fowler, 317, 319.  
   — I. of France, 328, 342.  
 Henry I. of Germany, 305, 346.  
   — II. of Germany, 329, 347, 354.  
   — III. of Germany, 329, 333.  
   — IV. of Germany, 330, 334, 335, 339, 343, 347, 354, 362, 399.  
   — V. of Germany, 339, 355, 362, 381.  
   — VI. of Germany, 368, 369.  
   — of the Henricians, 373.  
   — of Huntingdon, 395.  
   — the Petrobrusian, 394.  
   — the Proud, 399.  
   — of Upsal, 356.  
 Heraclas, 38, 61, 70, 84.  
   — of Alexandria, 92.  
 Heraclea, 170.  
 Heracleon, heresy of, 44.  
 Heraclides, 87.  
 Heraclitus, 375, 376.  
 Heraclius, 236, 241, 248, 249; oath of, to protect the Jews, 249.  
 Herais, 87.  
 Heresies in the third century, 59, 77; revived in the East, 267.  
 Heresy, definition of, unknown to the Jews before the captivity, the philosophical Grecian sects considered to be heresies, their sinfulness and nature, 8; effect of, in the Eastern Church, 230.  
 Heribald of Lobes, 287.  
 Heribert, 343.  
 Heringer of Lobes, 315, 320.  
 Herman Contractus, 347.  
 Herman of Salm, 336.  
 Hermanigild, 224.  
 Hermas, 40; author of the Shepherd, 12; works of, 13.  
   — S., relics of, 360.  
 Herminianus of Cappadocia, 92.  
 Hermogenes, 44, 47, 77.  
 Hermogenian collections, 192.  
 Hermon, or Thermon, of Jerusalem, 96.  
 Hero, spurious letter of S. Ignatius to, 48.  
 Herod Archelaus, banished into Gaul, 18.  
   — Antipaa, 18.  
   — Agrippa I., 18; his persecution of the Church and death, 14.  
   — Agrippa the younger, 18.  
   — king of Calcia, ib.  
   — the Great, ib.  
 Heron, 87.  
 Heruli, Arian, 159.  
 Hervey of Rheims, 314.  
 Hessians, 251.  
 Hesychius of Jerusalem, 188.  
 Hierax of Leontopolis, 80, 84.  
 Hierocles, 21.  
 High-priests, the, faction of, 18.  
 Hilarion, 150.  
 Hilary, S., of Poitiers, 100, 132, 184, 146; held Christ to be impassible, 105; banished by Constantius, 139.  
   — of Arles, 171, 172, 179, 183, 189, 191; opinions on the intermediate state, 107; speaks well of the first council of Antioch, 132.  
 Hilda, S., 243.  
 Hildebert, bishop, 374.  
 Hildebrand, v. Gregory VII., 328.  
 Hildefonsus of Toulouse, 373.  
 Hildegardis, 395.  
 Hildegrin, 254.  
 Hilderic, king of the Vandals, 199, 217.  
 Hildesheim, see of, 254.  
 Hilduin, 295.  
 Hincmar of Rheims, 271, 282—284, 286, 288, 293, 295.  
   — of Laon, 283, 293, 295.  
 Hippolytus, S., his works, 83; relics of, 360.  
   — of Thebes, 318.  
 Hirschman, 350.  
 Hirschfield, 254.  
 Holy Ghost, the personality of the, 101; doctrine of the, His divinity denied by the Anomœans, 103; definition of the Creed of Constantinople, 130; opinions of Arius on, 135; of Photinus, 136.  
 Homage of the clergy, 333.  
 Homerites, converted, 198.  
 Homilies, 109.

Honorius, 98, 157, 171, 179, 183, 195, 196.  
 — I., 229, 232, 237, 239, 249.  
 — II., 330, 364, 397.  
 Hormisdas, 184, 206, 210, 216, 218.  
 Hospitaliers, 397.  
 Hours of prayer, 109.  
 Hubert, legate of Gregory VII., 339.  
 Hugh Capet, 317, 321, 323.  
 — brother of Philip I., 326.  
 — of Cluny, 349.  
 — of Chester, 318.  
 — of Langres, 342.  
 — of Lyons, 338.  
 Hugo de S. Victor, 384, 394.  
 — de Payens, 397.  
 Humbert, Cardinal, 340, 342, 346, 370.  
 Hungarians, 251; conversion of, 303.  
 Hunneric, 191, 194.  
 Huns, 99, 156, 191, 251, 303; victory of the Burgundians over the, 158; incursions of the, 224; converted, 253.  
 Hyginus, false decretals of, 49.  
 Hymenæus, 20; Hypatia, 187, 190.  
 Hytaspes, book of, 48.

## I.

Ibas, of Edessa, 176, 185, 186; epistle of, condemned by Justinian, 212.  
 Iceland, converted, 302.  
 Iconium, Church of, 1; synod of, 61, 76, 82.  
 Iconoclasts, 265, 286, 291, 296.  
 Idacius, 138.  
 Idolatry, restored by Julian, 153; connived at by Christian emperors, 154.  
 Idumeans, 18.  
 Ignatius, S., 13, 27, 40, 45; spurious letters of, 48.  
 — son of Michael Rangabe, 23, 35, 53, 54, 289—293.  
 — S., patriarch of Constantinople, 297.  
 Ihu Sina, 401.  
 Ildephonsus of Arragon, 371.  
 Illyberis, canon of, 111; council of, 58.  
 Illyricum, Western, civil diocese of, 121.  
 Images, 202, 256, 277, 285, 289, 292, 293, 305; use of, advocated by S. Paulinus of Nola, deprecated by S. Epiphanius, pictures forbidden by a canon of Elvira, 116; introduction of, 166; contest respecting, 259; the controversy on, how far admitted, 264; condemned by the seventh general council, 265; worship of, 269; suppression of, 270; honour to, 272; controversy respecting, 286; right use of, 286.

Immorality of the eleventh century, 324; of the clergy, 336.  
 Ina, king of the West Saxons, 243, 244, 249, 260, 276, 300.  
 Incarnation, the, 9, 201; doctrine of the 25; controversy of, subtlety of it, latterly, 101; doctrine of the, heresies on, 101.  
 Incense, 63.  
 India, 21, 24; gospel spread in, 2.  
 Indians, 99.  
 — Sonnites, 248.  
 "Indication" of Vigilus, 212.  
 Indulgence, origin of, 313, 361; employed by S. Ambrose, 113.  
 Ingelburga, 368.  
 Ingelheim, 318.  
 Innocent I., 157, 167, 190.  
 — II., 364, 365, 377, 378, 379, 381, 393.  
 — III., 369, 398.  
 Insabbatati, 370.  
 Instantius, 138.  
 Institutes, the, 225.  
 Intermediate state, in the Koran, 249.  
 Interpretations, 4.  
 Investiture, 354, 362; question of, 322, 333; right of, 339.  
 Iona, 199.  
 Ireland, 58; conversion of, 199.  
 Irenæus, S., 27, 34, 35, 39, 41, 54, 57, 73, 87, 93, 360; sent to Rome, made bishop of Lyons, 23; his education, succeeded Pothinus in the see of Lyons, 47.  
 — Count, 174.  
 Irene, 265, 267, 270, 276, 296.  
 Irish, conversion of the, 158.  
 Irnerius, 386, 400.  
 Isaac, a Jewish poet, ib.  
 — Catholicus, of the greater Armenia, 397.  
 —, work of, on the Trinity and Incarnation, 190.  
 Isacius, 154.  
 Isdigerdes, 155, 192.  
 Ishmael, 246.  
 Isidore, 221.  
 — Mercator, 242.  
 — of Seville, account of, 241.  
 Isidorus Pelusiota, life and epistles of, 188.  
 — pseudo, 49.  
 Istria, bishop of, 235.  
 Italy, Church in, 1; civil diocese of, 121; ravaged by the Visigoths, 191; degree of its independence of papal jurisdiction, 234; not under the emperors, 251; separated from the East, 259; Saracens in, 301.  
 Ithasius, 138.  
 Ivo of Chartres, 351, 386, 394.

## J.

- Jacob, founder of the Jacobites, 209.  
 Jacobites, the, 236, 301, 319; patriarch of, 169; why called, 209; in Egypt, 268.  
 Jafna or Jamnia, school of, 55.  
 James S., the Less, 5, 17; bishop of Jerusalem, 1; gospel of, 12; liturgy of, 13; his death, 15; tonsure of, 245; relics of, 256.  
 James S. the Great, 17; martyrdom of, 14; relics of, 279; knights of, 398.  
 Jamnia or Jaffa, school of, 55.  
 Jarchi, 400.  
 Jehuda, R., president of the school of Tiberias, composed the Mishna, 55, 400.  
 Jerome, S., 13, 94, 100, 109, 133, 134, 139, 145, 151, 158, 168, 182, 187, 189, 190; alleged as disparaging episcopacy, 6; opposed Origen, 83; opinion of, on the intermediate state, 107; on the reverence to relics, 115; epistle of, on the distinction of presbytered bishops, 118; mentions the office of arch-priest, 119; birth of, history of, works of, 140, 141; disparaged the *de Spiritu Sancto* of S. Ambrose, 140; opinion of, on Eusebius of Cæsarea, 142.  
 Jerusalem, Church of, 1, 2, 23; succession of Bishops in, 5; bishops of, styled bishops of the circumcision, 6; liturgy of, 13; destruction of, 19; Hellenistic version of the Scriptures, 51; march of the Jews upon, 54; its name changed to *Ælia Capitolina*, its bishops changed, 55; Talmud of, 91; its bishops, 96; council of, convened by Constantine, 124; precedence of, 127; synod of, restored Arius, 128; Arian synod of, restored Arius, 132, 148; patriarch of, 169; synod of, 183; patriarchs of, indistinguishable, 251; patriarchate of, 301; captures of, 323; captured by the crusaders, kingdom of, 326; jurisdiction of, 345; occupied by the Moslems, 352; kings of, 357; retaken by the Turks, 358; capture of, by Saladin, 368; Latin patriarch of, 379; capture of, by the Saracens, A.D. 1188, 395.  
 Jesus, son of Ananus, 20.  
 Jewish affairs, 17.  
 Jews, 15, 226; first and second insurrection of the, 54, 55; schools of the, 55; state of the, in the third century, the Jewish war, persecuted with the Christians, their arts, 90, 91; their place in the Church, 113; tribute remitted, liberty in Egypt and Syria to molest Christians, 153; in the fourth century, privileges of, restrictions of, 156, 157; many converted, 159; privileges of the, 196; turbulent, *ib.*; tumults of, in the seventh century, children of, taken away from the parents, 249; conversion of, 250; in the eighth century, 274; in the ninth century, 298; wretched state of, in the tenth century, 322; in Spain, 400.  
 Joachim, abbot, 355, 385, 394.  
 Joan, pope, 282.  
 Johanan, Ben Eliezer, 56.  
 Johannites, the, 191.  
 John de Crema, 382.  
 John, S., the Evangelist, 2, 3, 5, 23, 41, 360; 2 and 3 Ep. of, doubted, 4; his horror of Cerinthus, 10; cast into the caldron, exiled to Patmos, 17; spurious letter of S. Ignatius to, 48.  
 John I., 223.  
 — II., 206, 210, 213.  
 — III., 213, 321.  
 — IV., 232, 237.  
 — V., 232.  
 — VI., 250.  
 — VII., *ib.*  
 — VIII., 277, 285, 290, 291, 292, 297, 299, 361.  
 — IX. or VIII., 284, 285, 295, 301, 309.  
 — X., 303, 309.  
 — XI., 309, 310.  
 — XII., 299, 301, 303, 310, 316, 320.  
 — XIII., 305, 307, 310.  
 — XIV., 311.  
 — XV., 304, 311, 313.  
 — XVI., 329.  
 — XVII., *ib.*  
 — XVIII., *ib.*  
 — XIX., 329, 340.  
 — XXII., 387, 388.  
 — of Jerusalem, 228.  
 — a monk of Jerusalem, 271.  
 — Cameniata, 318.  
 — Cassian, 183.  
 — Cinnamus, 396.  
 — Comnenus, 379.  
 — Count, 174.  
 — displaced Cyrus in the see of Constantinople, 268.  
 — S., Damascene, 255, 265, 267, 268, 270, 287, 347, 384; account of, 273.  
 — Gerson, 350.  
 — Gerundinensis, rule of, 244.  
 — Gualbert, 350.  
 — Maxentius, 216.  
 — Mela of Alexandria, 197.

John Moschus, 241.  
 — of Antioch, 174, 175, 185. A.D. 1150, 396.  
 — of Beverley, 242, 274.  
 — of Constantinople, 216.  
 — of Cornwall, 385.  
 — of Jerusalem, 83, 141, 158; dispute of, with S. Epiphanius, 144; order of, 397.  
 — of Piacenza, 311.  
 — of Ravenna, 283, 286.  
 — of Salisbury, 394.  
 — of Struma, 366.  
 — of Trani, 340.  
 — of Velletri: v. Benedict X., 330.  
 — Philoponus, 210, 227.  
 — Scotus Erigena, 287, 288, 294, 298, 341; account of, 295.  
 — Scylitzes, 345.  
 — Talaida, 180, 181.  
 — the Deacon, 200.  
 — the Faster, 220, 228, 233; claim of supremacy, 217.  
 — the Handsome, 380.  
 — the Zealot, 18, 19.  
 — v. Gregory VI., 329.  
 — Xiphilin, patriarch of Constantinople, 346.  
 — Zimisceas, 323.  
 — Zonaras, 396.  
 Jonas, biographer of S. Columban, 243.  
 Joppa, Church of, 1.  
 Joseph, S., of Arimathea, said to have visited Britain, 2.  
 Josephus, 15, 18, 19.  
 Josea, Rabbi, 196.  
 Joshua, 55.  
 Jovian, 100, 154.  
 Jovinian, 141.  
 Jubajanus, 71, 82.  
 Judaicus, title of, never assumed by Vespasian or Titus, 19.  
 Judaizers, 11.  
 Judas Iscariot, Gospel of, 12; death of, 147.  
 Jude, S., epistle of doubted, 4; grandchildren of, brought before Domitian, 17; relics of, 256.  
 Judgments, divine, in the third century, 92, 93.  
 Judith, book of, mentioned in the apostolical canons, 59.  
 Julian the Apostate, 21, 87, 92, 100, 103, 143, 144, 148, 157, 160, 192; death of, 147; account of, 152; work of S. Cyril against, 187.  
 — Count, 275; death of, 147.  
 — minister of Julian the Apostate, 153.  
 — of Antioch, 180.  
 — of Eclanum, 182.  
 — of Halicarnassus, 209.  
 — S., of Toledo, account of, 242.

Julianists, 201, 209.  
 Julianus, S., 360.  
 Julius Nepos, 195.  
 — of Rome, 122, 131, 146.  
 — Paulus, 92.  
 — Severus, 55.  
 Junilius, account of, 219.  
 Jurisdiction, changes in made under the emperors, 170; case of Apiarius, 179; of Rome, 39, 171, 283; of the patriarchates, 345.  
 Jurisprudence, study of, 400.  
 Justin, S., Martyr, 1, 27, 28, 42, 46, 49, 53, 198, 223, 225.  
 — emperor, 181, 207, 209.  
 — II., 216.  
 Justina, 140, 149.  
 Justinian I., 95, 170, 185, 198, 202, 204, 205, 206, 207, 209, 211, 212, 216, 219, 223, 224, 225, 258.  
 — II., 239, 250, 258, 263.  
 — code, 204.  
 — Rhotmetus, 239.  
 Justiniana prima, 205; patriarchate of, 206.  
 Juvenal of Jerusalem, 176.  
 Juvencus the presbyter, 142.

## K.

Karaites, 400.  
 Kilian, bishop of Wartzburg, 230.  
 Kimchi, 400.  
 King, 333.  
 Kings, how far present and what power in synods, 215; and emperors convened synods, 318.  
 Kias of peace, 64.  
 Koran, 245; doctrines of, 246; composition of, 247.  
 Koreishites, 247.  
 Ktistolatræ, 209.

## L.

Labarum, the, 97.  
 Lactantius, 89, 97, 105, 139; on divine judgments, 92, 93; institutions of, 103; opinions of, on the intermediate state, 107; declaimed against lights, 114; character and works, 139.  
 Laertius, 94.  
 Læta, 190.  
 Lagi converted, 298.  
 Laity, distinction of, and clergy, 6; their privileges in the third century, 73.  
 Lambert of Aschaffenburg, 347.

- Lanfranc, archbishop, 332, 339, 341, 342, 348, 383, 384.  
 Langres, synod of, 288.  
 Laodicea, church of, 2; canon of, 63, 100; its directions regarding the lessons, 109; enjoin unction after baptism, 111; recognising the dry fare, 114; on the use of the stole, 116; on the orders, 117; against matrons, 118; synod and canons of, 131.  
 Laon, synod of, 382.  
 Lapsed, the, 32; of how many kinds, excommunicated, 68.  
 Lateran councils, 380, 381; I., 364; II., 378, 381; III., A.D. 1179, 379; A.D. 1179, or 80, 368, 382; synod, 362.  
 Latrocinium of Ephesus, 185, 186.  
 Laudo I., 309.  
 Laurence, S., 89; relics of, 256, 360.  
 Laurentius, 206, 228; of Rome, 107.  
 Lauricius, Count, 133.  
 Law, observance of the, according to the Apostle's precept, 7.  
 Lawyers hostile to Christianity, 91.  
 Leander of Seville, 241.  
 Learning, 276; in the Church, *ib.*; lack of, in the seventh century, 241; little in the tenth century, 303.  
 Legate of the Holy See, 348; powers of, conferred on the Guiscards, 325.  
 Legends, 299.  
 Legion, the Theban, 90.  
 — the Thundering, 62.  
 Leidrad, 293, 297.  
 Le Moyne, Varia Sacra of, 346.  
 Lent, 340; observance of, 34; derived from the Jews, 65; observance of in the fourth century, mentioned in the canons of Laodicea, use of the Roman Church, of Alexandria and Constantinople, 110; consecration of the holy Eucharist only on the Sabbath and Lord's day, 112.  
 Lentulus, 13.  
 Leo the Great, S., 164, 168, 171, 175, 176, 177, 179, 182, 184, 186, 188, 189; on celibacy, on private confession, 167; presided through his legates at the fourth general council, 178; vindicated the council of Chalcedon, 180; epistles of, 185; account of, 190.  
 — II., 239; anathematized the monothelism of Honorius, 237.  
 — III., 257, 262, 276, 280, 281, 296.  
 — IV., 265, 279, 282, 297, 300.  
 — VI., the Wise, 301, 310.  
 — VII., 310.  
 — VIII., 264, 310—312, 316.  
 Leo IX., 328, 329, 331, 340, 341, 343, 344, 347, 352, 370.  
 — X., 401.  
 — of Achrida, 340, 346.  
 — the Armenian, 277, 285, 286, 296.  
 — the Bulgarian, 340.  
 — the Great, (emperor,) 161, 171, 180, 195.  
 — the Iconoclast, 371.  
 — the Isaurian, 250, 263, 265, 267, 269, 273, 290, 334.  
 — the Philosopher, 318.  
 — of Ravenna, 226.  
 — the Wise, 291, 296, 297, 301, 315, 316, 334.  
 Leonas, count, 133.  
 Leonidas, 87.  
 Leonists, 370, 371.  
 Leontius, ordained Aetius, 136.  
 — of Cappadocia, 99.  
 — of Constantinople, 250.  
 — S., relics of, 305.  
 — the Byzantine, 216.  
 — the Origenist, 216.  
 — the Sophist, 190.  
 Leopold of Austria, 369.  
 Leowigild, 224.  
 Leporius of Hippo, 184; work of, 190.  
 Lesson, the noble, 371.  
 Lessons, 109; homilies on the, 109.  
 Letters, false, 13.  
 Leuthar, 224.  
 Leutheric of Sens, 341.  
 Libanius, 143, 152, 155; oration of, 154.  
 Liberatus, 185, 207, 219.  
 Liberius, 140, 215; lapse of, repentance of, 133.  
 Libraries, 160.  
 Licinius, 89, 93, 96, 97, 126, 146, 152.  
 Lights, during the gospel, doubts whether of Jewish or Gentile origin, at funeral processions, 114.  
 Limoges, synod of, II. A.D. 1031, 343.  
 Lincoln, *see of*, 95.  
 Linus, S., 6, 17; works of, 12.  
 Lisoi, 343.  
 Litanies, 168.  
 Literæ formatæ, 123.  
 Liturgies, 344.  
 — false Apostolical, 13.  
 — national, 204.  
 — the Gallican, the Mozarabic, 336, 337.  
 Liturgy of S. Barnabas, 13.  
 — of S. James, *ib.*  
 — of S. Mark, *ib.*  
 — of S. Matthew, *ib.*  
 — Sclavonic, 277.  
 Llandaff, 35; *see of*, 95.  
 Llanddewi Brefi, synod of, 215.  
 Lombards, Arian, 159, 236; in Italy,

250; overthrow of, 276; revolt of, 366.  
 Lombardy, bishop of, 235.  
 London, 199, 382; see of, 95; arch-bishopric of, 229; synod of, 349.  
 Longinus, 92.  
 Lord, our, apocryphal books of His nativity, 13; image of, 90.  
 Lord's day, the, 7; observance of, 27; Communion on the, 64; standing in prayer on the, 110.  
 Lothaire, 281, 282, 283, 292, 293, 295, 300, 317.  
 — II., 386.  
 — emperor of Germany, 364.  
 Louis II., 263, 283, 284, 300.  
 — III., 301.  
 — IV., 320.  
 — V., 321.  
 — VII., 358, 365.  
 — the Pious, 262, 277, 278, 279, 280, 282, 286, 292, 293, 298, 300.  
 Love feasts, 30.  
 — in the third century, 65.  
 Lucentius, 176.  
 Lucian Samosata, 42, 56, 57.  
 Lucifer, 133.  
 Lucilla, 138.  
 Lucius applied to Rome for teachers, 23.  
 — II., 365, 378.  
 — III., 368, 371.  
 — of Rome, 89.  
 — Verus, 52.  
 Lugder, 254.  
 Luidhard, 199, 228.  
 Luitprand, king of the Lombards, 266, 259, 319, 320.  
 Luke, S., 17; one of the disciples, 4.  
 Lupus, S., 184, 194, 337.  
 — abbot of Ferriers, 288, 298.  
 — prefect of Egypt, 64.  
 — Servatus, 294.  
 Luxovium, abbey of, 243, 244.  
 Lychnidus, 205.  
 Lydda, Church of, 1.  
 Lyonese, 370, 371.  
 Lyons, 38, 45, 47, 170.  
 — persecution in, 23, 53; council of, 41; synod of, A.D. 1055, 344; poor men of, 370.  
 Lystra, Church of, 1.

## M.

Macarius of Antioch, 238.  
 — of Egypt, 145, 147.  
 — of Jerusalem, 96, 126, 144.  
 Maccabees, three books of, mentioned in the Apostolical canons, 59.

Macedonia, Churches in, 1; civil diocese of, 120.  
 Macedonian bishops, thirty-six at the council of Constantinople, 129.  
 Macedonianism, 159.  
 Macedonians, 137, 184.  
 Macedonius, 137, 191, 197, 206, 207; heresy of, condemned at the council of Constantinople, 129; history and heresy of, 137.  
 — of Mopsuestus, 132, 191, 197.  
 Macon, 244.  
 Macrianus, 89.  
 Mæsia, Goths in, converted, 99.  
 Mæsians, converted, 277.  
 Magdeburg, sacred to Freia, 274; archbishop of, 321; metropolitan see of, ib.  
 Magi, 21.  
 Magic, professed by the Jews, 91.  
 Magnus, 82.  
 Magyars, the conversion of, 303.  
 Mahmud, 322.  
 Mahomet, life of, 245, 247.  
 Mahometanism, rise of, doctrines of, death of, 245; conquests of, 248; oppression of, over the Church, conquests of, 250; spread of, 322.  
 Mahometans, 275, 319.  
 Maimbourg, 142.  
 Maimonides, 226, 400.  
 Mainhard, 356.  
 Majorinists, 138.  
 Majorinus, 138.  
 μακροβύτιον, the, 132.  
 Malchion, presbyter of Antioch, 78.  
 Malchus or Porphyry, 92.  
 Malta, knights of, 397.  
 Mamercus of Vienne, 168.  
 Mamertus, 189.  
 Mammæa, 68.  
 Mancio of Chalons, 313.  
 Manes, his heresy, and history, and death, 79.  
 Manicheans, 60, 151, 182, 209, 319.  
 Manicheism, 159, 199, 371.  
 Manners, laxity of, before the Diocletian persecution, 68.  
 Mansur, 273.  
 Manuel, emperor, 379, 380, 396.  
 — the physician, 296.  
 Marcellians condemned at Constantinople, 129.  
 Marcellianus, S., 360.  
 Marcellinus, 218; accused of sacrificing, but a martyr, 95; the tribune, 179; relics of, 256, 279, 360.  
 Marcellus, false decretals of, 146.  
 — of Ancyra, reinstated by the influence of Rome, 121.  
 Marcian, 171, 175, 176, 178, 180, 186, 191.  
 — of Arles, 73.



- Marcian of Lampsaena**, 129.  
**Marcion**, 41, 42, 47, 50, 77.  
**Marcionites**, 28; mourned on the sabbath, 65.  
**Marcomanni**, the, 52; converted through S. Ambrose, 99.  
**Marcus**, convert from Gnosticism, 92.  
 — of Arethusa, 133, 153.  
 — **Aurelius**, 23, 46, 52, 53; heresy of, 44.  
 — of Rome, 146.  
 — S., 360.  
 — the Gnostic, 138.  
**Marianus Scotus**, 347.  
**Marinus**, 92, 138, 284, 285, 291, 292.  
 — II., 310.  
**Marius**, 135, 212.  
**Marius Mercator**, commonitory of, 182.  
**Mark**, S., 17, 36; founder of Alexandria, 2; founder of the Church in Alexandria, ib.; one of the disciples, 4; liturgy of, 13; Syriac version, alleged to be by, 49; relics of, 256, 279.  
**Maronites**, 319; patriarchs of, 169.  
**Marriage** of clergy, not enforced, recommended, feeling against a second, 40; forbidden between spiritual relations; fourth, condemned, 301; repetition of, 315, 316.  
**Marseilles**, school of, 93.  
**Martha**, S., 360.  
**Martial**, Lemoricensis, works of, 13.  
 — of Limoges, 58.  
 — Spanish bishop, 73, 75.  
**Martin I.**, 232, 237, 241.  
 — S., of Tours, 138, 150, 157, 189, 199.  
**Martinianus**, 360.  
**Martyrdom**, celebrated on their anniversaries, 66; shunning of, 88.  
**Martyrion**, the, 98.  
**Martyrius of Antioch**, 132, 180.  
**Martyrs**, the, 17; when commemorated, 33; of the second century, their number, 53; relics of the, anniversaries of the, 54, 167; acts of the, 85; feasts of the martyrs cease through Lent, 110; tombs of the, prayers of the, 116.  
**Marullus**, 18.  
**Maruthas**, 155.  
**Mary**, S., spurious writings of her nativity, spurious letter of, to S. Ignatius, 13; mother of God, 162, 173; prayers to, 202; purification of, annunciation of, feasts of, 203; cultus of, 230, 347; dispute of Paschasius and Ratramnus, 287; veneration of, in the East and West, office of, 306; crown of, 307; dedication of the sabbath to, 327; office of, 347; increasing reverence to, the immaculate conception of, 359; relics of, 360.  
**Mary of Castabale**, spurious letter of S. Ignatius to, 13, 48.  
 — S., Magdalene, 360; relics of, 266.  
 — S., of Jerusalem, teutonic knights of, 398.  
 — S., of Mount Carmel, 399.  
**Mascon**, second synod of, 215.  
**Mass**, or missa, 104; canon of, 203; the alterations in, 230, 231; for the dead, private, 255.  
**Massilians**, 215; semi-Pelagians, 183.  
**Massora**, 55.  
**Maternus**, 58.  
**Matilda**, countess, 338, 353, 386.  
 — queen, 319.  
**Matina**, 110.  
**Matrons**, not the same as deaconesses, 118.  
**Matthew**, S., liturgy of, 13; traditions of, ib.; gospel of, 24; received by the Nazarenes, 11; relics of, 256, 305.  
**Maurice**, emperor, 207, 216, 217, 220, 227, 235, 296.  
 — S., relics of, 305.  
**Mauritius**, 20.  
 — S., relics of, 305.  
**Maxentius**, 89, 93, 96, 146, 192.  
 — John, 184, 216.  
**Maximian**, 85, 89, 90, 93, 95, 96.  
**Maximianists**, 138.  
**Maximilla**, 44.  
**Maximin**, 85, 87, 88, 89, 93, 96, 146.  
**Maximus**, S., account of, 241, 305.  
 — emperor, 138, 152.  
 — of Antioch, 176.  
 — of Jerusalem, 144.  
 — prefect of the city, 155; put forward by Timothy of Alexandria, for the see of Constantinople, 129.  
 — the abbot, 237.  
**Mecca**, 247.  
**Medina**, ib.  
**Meissen**, see of, founded, 321.  
**Melchites**, 209, 268.  
**Melek Shah**, 352.  
**Meletians**, joined the Arians, 135.  
**Meletius**, of Antioch, 134, 145, 154; president of the council of Constantinople, 129.  
 — of Lycopolis, sentence on himself and his schism at Nicæa, 127, 134.  
**Melito**, 27, 46, 49, 59.  
**Mellitus**, 228.  
**Memnas**, 206, 209, 211, 212, 219.  
**Memnon**, of Ephesus, 174.  
**Menander**, 9, 42.  
**Mendicant Orders**, 398.

- Menevia, 158.  
 Mennius, 244.  
 Menologies, 86.  
 Mentz, created a metropolitical see, 252;  
   cathedral of, 279; synod of, 279, 283;  
   292—294, 330, 362; archbishop of,  
   321; second synod of, A.D. 1049,  
   344; sixth synod of, A.D. 1075, *ib.*  
 Merit, ancient sense of, 104.  
 Merovingian family, 276.  
 Merovingians, the, 334.  
 Merozia, 309.  
 Mervan, 275.  
 Mesopotamia, Gospel spread in, 2;  
   synod in, 77.  
 Metaphrastes, 17.  
 Methodius, S., 83—85, 92, 95.  
 — of Constantinople, 289, 297.  
 — Missionary, 277.  
 Meton, cycle of, basis of the calcula-  
   tions for Easter, 127.  
 Metrophanes, of Constantinople, 96.  
 — of Smyrna, 296.  
 Metropolitan, title of, not known in the  
   second century, 88; how far known  
   in the third century, 73; of early  
   origin, 119, 120; authority of, 121;  
   rights confirmed to Canterbury by  
   the popes, and given to York, 249.  
 Metz, 58.  
 Michael I., 283, 284, 290, 291, 345.  
 — III., 277.  
 — VII., 345.  
 — Anchialus, patriarch of Constan-  
   tinople, 379, 396.  
 — biographer of Theodorus Studites,  
   296.  
 — Cerularius, 330, 340, 346, 347,  
   370.  
 — Glycas, 396.  
 — patriarch of Constantinople, 328,  
   396.  
 — Psellus, works of, 345.  
 — Rangabe, 283, 284, 289, 290,  
   291, 296, 345.  
 — Syncellus, 297.  
 — the Stammerer, 285, 296.  
 Miecislau, 302.  
 Milan, council at, condemning S. Atha-  
   nasius, 133; council of, condemned  
   Photinus, 136; council of, 143;  
   synod of, *ib.*; schism between,  
   church of, 248; and Rome, 286.  
 Milanese, liturgy, 204, 337; Milan-  
   nese upheld marriage of the clergy,  
   332.  
 Millennium, taught by Cerinthus, 10.  
 Minden, see of, 254.  
 Minucius Felix, 59, 84.  
 Miracles, 226; in the third century,  
   92, 93; frequent in the third cen-  
   tury, *ib.*; to Constantine, 96; of the  
   fifth century, 193; of the eighth  
   century, 275; in the eleventh cen-  
   tury, 352.  
 Mirus, or Theodimir, 214.  
 Mishna, the, 56, 196, 385; composed  
   by R. Jehuda, 55.  
 Missa, whence derived, 65; use of the  
   term, 104, 113.  
 Missions, 99, 158, 251, 277, 302, 324,  
   325; of the sixth century, 198; in  
   the twelfth century, 356.  
 Modestus, 154.  
 Mogeres, Shiites, 248.  
 Monasteries, early discipline of the  
   East, 150; schools in, 161; placed  
   under episcopal jurisdiction at the  
   synod of Arles, 215; benefits of,  
   vows of, 223; their life and occu-  
   pations, 245; put under the juris-  
   diction of the pope, 258; exempted  
   from episcopal jurisdiction, disci-  
   pline of, 276; discipline of, 298.  
 Monastic schools and colleges, renown-  
   ed, 298.  
 Monasticism, 150; commencement of,  
   88; commencement in the Old Tes-  
   tament, 93; uses of, in the Church,  
   ends of, perversion of, condemned,  
   151; account of, rules of, 221; in  
   the seventh century, progress of,  
   243; increase of, 349.  
 Mongus of Alexandria, Peter, 179, 181,  
   182, 186.  
 Moniales, 151.  
 Monica, S., 141.  
 Monk, the first, 88; use of the term,  
   150.  
 Monks, Scythian, 210; degeneracy of,  
   286.  
 Monophysites, 187, 209, 210, 236.  
 Monothelism, 237.  
 Monothelites, the, 200, 230, 236, 240,  
   261, 268.  
 Montanists, 44, 48.  
 Montanus, 41, 44.  
 Montensians, 139.  
 Moravians, 380; converted, 278, 302.  
 Morgan, Pelagius, 182.  
 Moses, 55; Jewish impostor simula-  
   ting, 159; Cretan simulating, 196.  
 — Barcepha, 318.  
 — Maimonides, 400.  
 Mourners, the, 59, 113.  
 Mozarabic Liturgy, 337, 344.  
 Munster, see of, 254.  
 Musanus, 48.  
 Mystics, the, 386, 394.

## N.

Narbonne, 58; synod at, 77; synod  
 of, A.D. 791, 268.

- Narcissus, 41, 98; of Jerusalem, 57.  
 Narses, 224.  
 Narthex, 108.  
 Natalius the Confessor, 69.  
 Nathan, 400.  
 Nativity, observance of the, 110.  
 Nature, 201.  
 Naumburg, see of, founded, 321.  
 Navarre, 352.  
 Nave of a church, 63, 108.  
 Nazarenes, only received S. Matthew's Gospel—fled to Pella and observed the Law there, 11.  
 Nectarius, 86, 104, 114, 129, 145.  
 — abbot, 381.  
 Nennius, 243, 249.  
 Neocæsarea, council of, 74; canon of, on the age of presbyters, 118; on the country bishops, 119; forbidding priests to marry after ordination, 123; synod and canons of, 131.  
 Nepos, heresy of, 78.  
 Nero, 3, 15, 16, 18, 19, 93.  
 Nerva, 20.  
 Nestorianism, 182, 219, 268; account of, 184; at Nisibis and Edessa, 185.  
 Nestorians, the, 187, 200, 208, 210, 216, 236, 251, 319, 357; condemned by the council of Chalcedon, 213; missions of, 230, 325.  
 Nestorius, 161, 162, 164, 173—175, 184, 185, 187, 188, 210, 212, 218, 377.  
 Nicæa, council of, 77, 142; British bishops at, 95; convened by Constantine, 124: *v.* Councils, 126; second council of, 239, 255, 266, 270, 286, 296; creed of, 77, 100, 181, 199; canon of, 120; canon of, regarding prayer, 110; respecting deaconesses, 118; forbidding translations, 122; on life of the clergy, 123; canons of, 113, 131, 152; on the country bishops and metropolitans, and the precedence of *Ælia Capitolina*, 119; by whom illustrated—Arabian version of—acts of—lost, 127; translated into Latin, 218; of the second council of, 272; fixed for the fourth general council, 175; capture of, by the Crusaders, 326.  
 Nice in Thrace, Arian synod of, 133.  
 Nicephorus, historian, 17, 57, 226, 295.  
 — III., 345.  
 — patriarch of Constantinople, 273, 286, 296.  
 — Phocas, 285, 296, 316, 320.  
 Nicetas Byzantinus, 380, 396.  
 — David, 297.  
 Nicetus Pectoratus, 340, 346.  
 Nicholas I., 240, 263, 279, 283, 286, 289—291, 295.  
 Nicholas II., 328, 330, 331, 342, 347, 351, 399.  
 — legate of Eugenius III., 356.  
 — Mysticus, 315, 334.  
 — patriarch of Constantinople, 301.  
 Nicodemus, works of, 13.  
 Nicolaitan heresy, 10, 331.  
 Nicomedia, school of, 98.  
 Nicon the monk, 318.  
 Nicopolis, Hellenistic version of the Scriptures, 51.  
 Nile, miracle of its prosperous rise, 155.  
 Nilus Doxopatrius, 345.  
 Nipho, 383.  
 Nisibis, 185.  
 Noetus, 101; heresy of, 59, 78.  
 Nomæ, 151.  
 Nominalism, 377.  
 Nominalists, 375.  
 Norbert, S., 354, 377, 384, 393, 397.  
 Normandy, synod of, 298, 382.  
 Normans, the, 380, 352, 353; in France, 301; ravages of, progress of, and settlement of, 297, 298.  
 Norsemen, 277.  
 Norwegians, 303.  
 Nourredin, son of Zenghi, 358.  
 Nova Saura, monks of, Origenists, their dispute with Eustochius of Jerusalem, 211.  
 Novatian, 60, 75, 76, 80, 85.  
 Novatians, the, 61, 80, 153, 188; canons passed for their readmission at the council of Nicæa, 127.  
 Novatus, 80, 84.  
 Novels, the, 205, 225, 387.  
 Numerian, 88.  
 Numidian synod, 183.  
 Nuna, 150.

## O.

- Oaths, 307.  
 Oblations, 83.  
 Ocean, 377.  
 Octavian, Cardinal, 366.  
 — (John XII.), 299, 310.  
 Odilo of Cluni, 298, 306.  
 Odo of Canterbury, 308.  
 — of Cluni, 298, 314.  
 — of Paris, 362, 371, 378.  
 Odoacer, 195.  
 Odorannus, 347.  
 Ecumenical, title of, 205, 233.  
 Ecumenius, 318.  
 Offa, king of Mercia, 260, 276, 300.  
 Offertory, 204.  
 Offices of the Church, extraordinary, 4; ecclesiastical, their titles confused in the apostolic age, 5.

*Οἰκόνμοι*, 169.  
 Olaf, the holy, 303.  
 Old Testament, canonical books of the, 100.  
 Omar, Caliph II., 247.  
 — 248.  
 Ommiades, 275.  
*ἡμοιοῦσιος*, restored in the council of Ancyra, 134.  
*ἡμοσυρίος*, 127.  
 Onesimus, S., bishop of Ephesus, 17, 23, 53.  
 Ophites, the, 44.  
 Optatus, S., first makes mention of an archdeacon, 119; his account of the Donatists, 138; opposed to the Donatists, work of, 140.  
 — prefect of Constantinople, 195.  
 Optimus of the Pisidian Antioch, 129.  
 Oracle, Delphic, cessation of, 21.  
 — Sibylline, 22.  
 Oracles, cessation of, 21; decline of, 56.  
 Orange, council of, 184; the second, 215.  
 Orarium or stole, where mentioned, by whom worn, 117.  
 Ordeal, by cold water, 281.  
 Ordeals, 307.  
 Order, meaning of the term, 38.  
 Orders, minor, rise of the, their offices, and condition, 72.  
 — military, 356, 397; monastic and military, 350, 351.  
 Ordination, restricted to bishops, 71, 122.  
 Orestes, prefect of Alexandria, 195, 196.  
 Organs introduced into churches, 232.  
 Oriental creed, 100.  
 Origen, 1, 25, 38, 47, 51, 57, 58, 59, 77, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 87, 88, 92, 100, 106, 107, 139, 141, 142, 150, 158, 183, 210, 213, 216; apology of, 59.  
 Origenists, 144, 187, 189, 210, 213, 214.  
 Orkneys, the, converted, 303.  
 Orlando, legate of Adrian IV.: v. Alexander III., 365.  
 Orleans, canons of, respecting intercourse with the Jews, 226; synod of, 343.  
 Orosius, 196; conveyed the relics of S. Stephen on a mission of mediation between Arius and Alexander, probably presided over the council of Nicæa, 126; missions of, 130; at Sardica, 181; subscribed the Sirmi-

an creed, never anathematized S. Athanasius, 132; report of, on his return from his mission to Alexander, 134.  
 Osnaburg, see of, 253, 254.  
 Ostia, cardinal bishop of, 328.  
 Ostrogoths, the Arian, 169; settlement of, 191.  
 Oswald, 229, 313.  
 Oswi, king of Northumberland, controversy on the paschal controversy before, 211.  
 Otgarius, 294.  
 Othman, 247, 248, 255.  
 Otho, emperor of Rome, 20.  
 — I., 264, 302, 305, 306, 310, 312, 316, 318, 319, 320, 321, 333, 346.  
 — II., 311, 312, 333, 346, 347.  
 — III., 307, 310, 311, 312, 317, 321, 323, 324, 328, 333, 347.  
 — of Bamberg, 356.  
 — of Frising, 306, 394.  
 Otto of Ostia: v. Urban II., 338.  
 Oxford, university of, 249, 279, 295.

## P.

Pachomius, 150.  
 Paderborn, see of, 254.  
 Paganism, declining but not extinct in the fourth century, 100; state and privileges of in the fourth century, ib.  
 Pagana, term of applied to the heathen, 98; their place in the church, 113; use of the term, 154.  
 Palæstrina, cardinal bishop of, 328.  
 Palestine, council in, 41; school in, 98; delivered from the Saracens, 325.  
 Pall, the, 193.  
 Palladius, 83, 158, 199.  
 Palmas, 41.  
 Pamphilus, 83, 142, 145, 189.  
 Pancratius, Palestine monk, 214.  
 — S., relics of, 305.  
 Pandects, the, 225, 386.  
 Pantæus, 47; mission into India, 24.  
 Pantaleon, S., relics, 279, 297.  
 Papa, 38.  
 Paphnutius, opposed celibacy, 123.  
 Papias, bishop of Hierapolis, 23; hearer of S. John, 46.  
 Paris, founded by Dionysius, 58; synod of, 234, 286, 292, 295, 382; to condemn Berengarius, 342; university of, 254, 279.  
 Parthia, Gospel spread in, 2.  
 Paschal I., 281, 383.  
 — II., 338, 339, 349, 353, 354, 355, 362, 363, 379.

Paschal III., 366.

— controversy, false decretal of Victor respecting, 49; how settled, assignment of the time committed to the patriarch of Alexandria, schism of Meletius how settled, sixth canon on precedence of sees, regard to celibacy of the clergy, canons of, number disputed, period of its sitting, 127; confirmation of the acts of the council, 128; in Britain, 211.

Paschasius, 171, 176.

Paschasius, deacon of Rome, 198, 217.

— of Corbey, 298.

— Radbert, 277, 287, 294, 308, 315, 319, 342.

Patarinists, the, 370, 372.

Patriarch, 105, 168, 169; authority of the, especially honoured among them, 4, 121; title of, 197.

— Jewish, 38; at Tiberias, Babylon, 156.

Patriarchate of Constantinople, the, 177, 301; wrongly thought to be defined in the council of Constantinople, 130; privileges and jurisdiction of, 204.

Patriarchs, controversy on the date of their origin, remark of Socrates on, canon of Nicæa on, canon of Constantinople, of Ephesus, of Chalcedon, arising probably from the expansion of the Church, corresponding in some degree to the divisions in the empire, four prominent, 120; of Alexandria, Antioch, Jerusalem indistinguishable, 251.

Patricius, 319.

Patrick, S., 199.

Patrinists, 371, 372, 382.

Patripassians, 44.

Patroclus of Arles, 179.

— S., relics of, 305.

Patrophilus, 135.

Paul, S., 2, 17, 45; epistles of, intended a journey to Spain, martyred at Rome, 2; entrusted with the Gospel of uncircumcision, 4; supernumerary in the college of the Apostles, ib.; bishop of the uncircumcision at Rome, 6; false epistle to the Laodiceans, to Seneca, false revelations of, ascent of, letter of Seneca to, 13; vision of, 146; tonsure of, 245; relics of, 306.

— S., and Thecla, false acts of, 12.

— a leader of the Severians, 236.

— a papal legate, 292.

— I., 257, 261.

— of Antioch, 76, 84, 95.

— of Aquileia, 268.

— of Constantinople, 239, 265; edict composed by, 237.

Paul of Constantinople, reinstated by the influence of the Roman see, 121, 137.

— of Crete, 235.

— of Emesa, 175.

— the Gnostic, 9.

— of Narbonne, 58.

— of Samosata, 63, 74, 84, 101, 136, 162; heresy of, 60; his history, character, designa, 78.

— of Thebes, the first Christian eremite, 89, 94.

— son of Warnefrid, 274.

— who wrote a letter to S. Epiphanius, 169.

Paula, 190.

Paulianists, mention of, in a Nicene canon, 77.

Paulicians, 371, 373.

Paulinus, an Arian, 135.

— of Aquileia, 272, 274.

— of Tyre, 134.

— of York, 249, 257, 268.

— S., of Nola, 157, 159, 183, 189; advocated the use of images, 116; life of, exceeding charity of, once married, 140; account of, 229; relics of, 305.

Pavia, 254; synod of, 366.

Pelagianism, 215; account of, 182; among the Britons and Scots, 236.

Pelagians, 165, 166, 167, 179, 206; refuted by S. David, 215.

Pelagius, 179, 206, 213, 217, 233, 377; account of, 182, 183, 205.

— I., 213.

— II., 213, 220.

— of Laodicea, 129, 154.

Pella, 11, 20; the retreat of the Church, 1.

Penance, deeply valued, called by S. Cyprian a Sacrament, 68; sometimes relaxed to the sick and dying, 71; sometimes performed by women, 113; commutation and lightening of, 326; public, 361.

Penitence, stations of, duration of, 70; use of the term, 104.

Penitential discipline, 68.

Penitentiary, office of the, abolished by Nectarius, 104; removed by Nectarius, 114.

Penitents, expulsion from the Church, four orders of, 69; their position in church, 108; restoration to communion at death, 111.

Pentecost, 110.

Pepin, 230, 244, 250, 251, 260, 261, 262, 263, 267, 276, 334, 337.

Pepuza, 44.

Perga, Church of, 1.

Pergamos, Church of, 2.

Perpetua, S., 87.

- Persecution, 190, 191; the first and second, 16; the third, 17; the fifth, 52; the Decian, 68, 88, 94, 104; the Diocletian, 68; the sixth, 87; the seventh, its nature, *ib.*; the eighth, 88; the ninth, 89; the tenth, 89, 96, 151; of the orthodox under Valens, 153; under Sapor, 155.
- Persecutions, effects of, 14; their number, 16; of Lyons and Vienne, 23; of the second century, the third, the fourth, their causes, 51; from barbarians, 196; in the sixth century, 197; in the fifth century, 223.
- Persia, 192.
- Persians, Shiites, 248.
- Person of the Blessed Trinity, 201.
- Pertinax, 187.
- Petavius, on the ancient sense of certain words, 104; dissertation on Photinus, 132.
- Peter, S., 5, 14, 17, 45, 86, 107; epistles of, 2; died at Rome, 3; entrusted with the gospel of the circumcision, 4; second epistle of, doubted, *ib.*; bishop of the circumcision at Rome, 6; opposed Cerinthus, 10; gospel of, acts of, sermons of, revelations of, book of judgment of, 12; false acts of, 13; false revelations of, sermons of, travels of, *ib.*; the see of, respect to, 122; vision of, 146; chair of, see of, promise to, 171; see of, 211; tonsure of, 244; relics of, 279, 360; chain of, 305.
- Abelard, 393.
- a papal legate, 292.
- archpriest of Alexandria, 119.
- Cellensis, 394.
- Chrysologus, 189.
- Comestor, 394.
- condemned in the synod of Constantinople, 209.
- Damian, 306, 347.
- I., of Arragon, 354.
- legate of John XVIII., 328.
- Leon, 382.
- Lombard, 384, 385, 388.
- Majuma, 180.
- Maurice, the Venerable, 393.
- Mongus of Alexandria, 95, 122, 134, 154, 171, 180, 211.
- of Blois, 394.
- of Bruis, 373, 381.
- of Constantinople, 237, 239.
- of Lyons, (Waldo,) 370.
- of Pavia, 311.
- of Rome, 290.
- patriarch of Antioch, 341, 346.
- representative of the patriarch of Alexandria, 238.
- the Cluniac, 365.
- Peter the Deacon, 210.
- the Fuller, 179, 180, 181, 182, 186.
- the Hermit, 306, 325, 338.
- the Stylite, 270.
- the Venerable, 373, 377.
- Peter's pence, 300; origin of, 260.
- Petilian, 179.
- Petrobrusians, 373.
- Petronius, 190.
- Phantasiastæ, 209.
- Pharamond, 394.
- Phartolatæ, 209.
- Pheroza, King, 185.
- Philadelphia, Church of, 2.
- Philagrius, count, 143, 152.
- Philastrus, 189; work of, S. Augustine's opinion of, 140.
- Philetians, their doctrines, 10.
- Philetus, 20.
- Philip, S., one of the disciples, 4; gospel of, 12; false acts of, 13.
- a physician, messenger to Prester John, 357.
- Augustus of France, 358, 368.
- I., of France, 326, 334, 338, 339, 354, 362, 394.
- legate of Celestine, 173.
- the emperor, 58, 63, 88, 91.
- the prefect, 92, 137.
- Philippi, Church of, 2; spurious letter of S. Ignatius to, 48.
- Philippians, the, 5; why they had not a bishop when S. Polycarp wrote to them, 55.
- Philippicus, 258, 264, 268.
- Philippopolis, synod of, 132.
- Philips, the two, 85.
- Philosophers, hostile to Christianity, 91.
- Philoxenus, presbyter of Julius of Rome at the council of Sardica, 131.
- Phocas, 203, 220, 228, 233, 235, 248.
- Phœbe of Corinth, 58.
- Photinians, condemned at Constantinople, 129.
- Photinus, 132, 133, 145, 162; council against at Sirmium, 131; followed the heresy of Paul of Samosata, 136.
- Photius, 65, 187, 277, 283, 284, 289, 290—293, 316; Bibliotheca of, *nomo-canon* of, 296.
- Piacenza, synod of, 325, 338; A.D. 1095, 344.
- Picards, 370.
- Picts, 192.
- Picture of the sixth general council, 258.
- Pictures, 166.
- Pigmenius, S., relics of, 360.
- Pilate, letter of, to Tiberius, acts of, 13.

- Pilgrimage, 286, 307, 326, 361; to holy sites, to the tombs of the martyrs, 115.  
 Pinytus, Gnossus, 40, 48.  
 Pirman of Reichenau, 254.  
 Pius II., 283.  
 — V., 307; false decretals of, 49.  
 Placentia, 379.  
 Placidus, 294.  
 Placilla, 149.  
 Plato, 21, 375.  
 Plautianus, 91.  
 Plecgils, 308.  
 Pliny, 27, 94; letter of, 51.  
 Plotinus, 92.  
 Plutarch, 87.  
 Pneumatomachians, 137; or semi-Arians, condemned at Constantinople, 129.  
 Poles converted, 302.  
 Polity of the Church, 120.  
 Polycarp, S., bishop of Smyrna, 5, 23, 35, 36, 42, 45, 47, 53, 54, 114.  
 Polychronius, 239.  
 Polycrates, 41, 48.  
 Polyeuchtus, 316.  
 Pomerania converted, 356.  
 Pompey, 82.  
 — Consul, 197.  
 Pontia, island of, 17.  
 Pontianus, an African bishop, 212.  
 — bishop of Rome, 88.  
 Pontius, 85.  
 — Pilate, 18.  
 Pontus, council in, 41; civil diocese of, 120; diocese of, mentioned in the canons of Constantinople, 129.  
 Pope, use of the term, 105, 328; restriction of it, 262; election of the, 312, 368, 382; confirmed by the emperor, 331; legates of the, 348.  
 Poplicans, 372.  
 Poppo of Brixen: v. Damasus II., 329.  
 Populicans, 372.  
 Porcius Festus, 15, 18.  
 Porphyry, or Malchus, 21, 22, 88, 375; his history and works, 92.  
 Porticans, the, 381.  
 Porto, cardinal-bishop of, 328.  
 Portugal, a kingdom, 399.  
 Possessed, the, their place in the church, 113.  
 Postillary, 299.  
 Potamiana, 87, 92.  
 Potamius subscribed the Sirmian creed, 132.  
 Potamo of Heracleopolis, 90.  
 Pothinus of Lyons, 23, 35, 45, 53.  
 Poverty, rule of monasteries, 351.  
 Power, the Gnostic, 43.  
 Prædestination, 165, 294; controversy respecting, 288.  
 Præfecture of the East, 120.  
 Præmonstratensians, 223, 355; account of, 397.  
 Praxeas, 26, 59, 77, 101; his heresy—opposed by Tertullian, 44.  
 Prayer, standing in, kneeling in, toward the east, the Lord's, of intercession, 29; hours of, in the early Church, 28; in monasteries, 221; among the Mahometans, 246; in the third century thrice a day, hours of, posture of, 66; forms of, found in the constitutions, standing at, during Pentecost, and on the Lord's day, 110.  
 Prayers, at the hours, 109; to the saints, 256.  
 Prebend, 254.  
 Pre-eminence of Churches, 2.  
 Prefects, hostile to Christianity, 91.  
 Presbyters, 5, 39, 40, 117; election of, 6; not allowed to preach sermons, 29; how far joined with bishops, 36; assessors to the bishops in the third century, 71; styled from their church, 72; necessary, age of, distinction of, from bishops, 118.  
 Presidency of the fourth Constantinopolitan council, 270.  
 Prester John, 357.  
 Primacy claimed in the East for Constantinople, 340; of the Church, 228; claimed by four, 2; claim of John the Faster to, repelled by P. Pelagius and S. Gregory, 217; of Churches, 75; of Gaul, 179; of Rome, 193, 233, 257; facts in the council of Chalcedon affecting, 177; of the patriarchates, 345.  
 Primasius, 184; account of, 218.  
 Primate, 119; authority of, 121; use of the term, 169; among the Jews, 197.  
 Primian, 179.  
 Primianists, 138.  
 Prisca, S., 360.  
 Priscian, 227.  
 Priscilla, 44.  
 Priscillian, history and heresy of, 138.  
 Priscillianism, 138, 215.  
 Priscillianists, 157; seventeen canons against the, 214.  
 Priscus, 152.  
 Proba, 190.  
 Probus, emperor, 96.  
 — of Constantinople, ib.  
 Procession of the Holy Ghost, 289, 316, 317.  
 Processions, 203.  
 Processus, S., 360.  
 Prochorus, works of, 13.  
 Proclus, 187, 227.

Procopius of Cæsarea, the historian, 198, 227.  
 — of Gaza, 198.  
 Proctors, 169.  
 Procurators, Roman, 18.  
 Prodicians, 44.  
 Projectus, legate of Celestine, 173.  
 Prophets, 4.  
 Prosper, 183, 184, 189.  
 Prostrate, the, 69, 113.  
 Protogoras, 375.  
 Protasius, S., 149.  
 Proterius, 178, 180, 191.  
 Protogenes of Sardica, 131.  
 Province, the affairs of, to be decided in a provincial synod, 129.  
 Provinces, number of, their relation to ecclesiastical divisions, 121.  
 Prudentius, Aurelius, 155, 189.  
 — of Troyes, 288, 295.  
 Prüm, 254.  
 Psalmist, mentioned in the Constitutions, 73.  
 Psalms, suppressed by Julian, 153.  
 Psalter, formally introduced into the Western Church, in the fourth century, first adopted at Antioch, 109.  
 Ptolemy, heresy of, 44.  
 Publicans, 371, 372, 382.  
 Publius, bishop of Athens, 23.  
 Pudena, 24.  
 Pulcheria, the empress, 178, 190.  
 Pundebita, 91.  
 Purgatory, 167, 230, 308, 370; introduction of the notion by Origen, 106; the view taken by Tertullian, and S. Cyprian, view of the Saxon Church, 107; doctrine of, in the eighth century, 255; disbelieved by the Catharists, 372.  
 Purpurius, 138.  
 Pyrrho, 241.  
 Pyrrhus of Constantinople, 237, 239.  
 Pythagoras, 21.  
 Pythagoreans, 43.

## Q.

Quadragesima, what understood by the term in the fourth century, 105.  
 Quadratus, bishop of Athens, 23, 46; apology of, 52.  
 Quadrivium, the, 254.  
 Quartodecimans, their views; pleaded tradition of S. John, 41; condemned by the council of Nicæa, 127.  
 Quiercy, synods of, 288, 292, 294.  
 Quinisext council, doubtful character of the canons of, 239.  
 Quintus, 82.

## R.

Rabanus Maurus, 244, 287, 288, 294; account of, 294, 298.  
 Rabbiniata, 400.  
 Rachis, 259, 260.  
 Radagaisus, 156.  
 Radbod, king of the Frieslanders, 230, 251.  
 Radulphus de Diceto, 395.  
 — Niger, 319, 324.  
 Rainer, cardinal: v. Paschal II., 338.  
 Ramedan, fast of the, 246.  
 Ramire, 352.  
 RATHERIUS, of Lieges, 319.  
 — of Verona, 315.  
 Ratisbon, see of, 252; synod of, A.D. 792, 268, 272.  
 Ratramnus: v. Bertram, 287, 288.  
 Ravenna, 235; archbishop of, ib.; subject to Rome, A.D. 679, 248; exarchate of, 251, 276; separated from the East, 259; synod of, 310.  
 Raymond, count of Tripoli, 358.  
 — Cistercian abbot, 398.  
 — de Agiles, 395.  
 — du Puy, 397.  
 — of Toulouse, 326.  
 Readers, 72; mention of, in the council of Sardica, in the Alexandrian Church catechumens made, 117, 118.  
 Realism, 376.  
 Realists, 375.  
 Recarred, king of the Visigoths, 199, 208.  
 — the Goth, abjures Arianism, 214, 224, 225.  
 Recognitions, the, 86.  
 Regal prerogatives in calling synods, 207.  
 Regino of Prüm, 319.  
 Regulæ Cancellariæ, 387.  
 Regulars, 150, 254.  
 Reichenau, 254.  
 Reinelm of Hereford, 349.  
 Reinerius Saccho, 373, 370.  
 Relations, spiritual, forbidden to marry, 231.  
 Relics, 54, 167, 202, 255, 279, 297, 326, 359, 360; regard and observance of, translation of, 114, 115; inherent efficacy of, 230; search for, translation of, 256; esteem for, 304; of our Lord, 395.  
 Remigius of Lyons, 288.  
 Renatus, S., relics of, 305.  
 Restitutus, 95.  
 Revelations, false, of S. Peter, S. Paul, S. Thomas, S. Stephen, 13.  
 Revenues of the Church, for the clergy, Churches, and poor, 99.  
 Rhadagaisus, 194.  
 Rhangabe, 345.



- Rheims, synods of, 313, 317, 363, 364, 374, 381; A.D. 1049, 343.
- Rhodes, 397; subdued by the Moslems, 250.
- Ribagorce, 352.
- Richard, of Canterbury, 383.  
 — I., of England, 355, 369.  
 — of S. Victor, 394.  
 — Saxon king, 260.
- Rites and ceremonies in the Church in first century, 7; of the early Church, 27; numerous in the fourth century, 107, 114; canons respecting, in the ninth century, 292.
- Robert Capet, 317, 323.
- duke of Normandy, 326, 354.  
 — Guiscard, 325, 334.  
 — monk of S. Remigius, 395.  
 — of Flanders, 326, 354.  
 — Pullen, 385, 394.  
 — Trani, 338.
- Rock of the Church, 317.
- Rodolf of Swabia, 335, 336.
- Rodvald of Porto, 289, 291.
- Rogations, 138.
- Rogations, 163.
- Roger Guiscard, duke of Sicily, 325, 336, 338, 345, 364, 399.  
 — de Hoveden, 395.  
 — of York, 383.
- Rollo, 302.
- Roman liturgy, 344.
- Romanus I., 309.  
 — Diogenes, 352.
- Rome, 159, 191, 238, 239, 265, 285, 379; Church of, (founded by SS. Peter and Paul,) 3; succession of bishops in, 5; Church of, 35; chief bishops of, 38; primacy of, 39; synod at, 41; its discipline, 68; its primacy in the third century, 73; under Cornelius, 77; under Stephen, ib.; school of, 98; patriarch of, increase of privileges of, primacy of, canons not passed without his sanction, reinstatement of the confessors in the Arian heresy by, canons of Sardica sanctioned an appeal to, begun to be recognised as the authoritative standard of doctrine, prerogatives supposed to be given by Constantine, canons enacted at Antioch against its influence, 121, 122; claims to the see of, decided by the emperors, 124; bishop of, represented in the council of Nicæa by two presbyters, 126; spurious account of a synod at, 128; bishop of, not present at the councils of Arles or Elvira, 130; new, 146; sack of, 156, 159; library of, 160; patriarch of, 169; primacy of, 171; privileges of, 172; synod at, condemning Nestorius, 173; authority of, in the third general council, ib.; primacy of, facts in the council of Chalcedon affecting, 177; jurisdiction of, case of Apiarinus, 179; synod at, declaring the Latrocinium irregular, 180; synod at, to condemn Nestorianism, 185, 191; patriarchate of, 205; supremacy of, 230; influence of, 231; pope of, not present at the Trullan council, subscription of, ib.; primacy of, under S. Gregory the Great, Boniface III. and Phocas; increase of, in the seventh century, 233; not recognised in the Spanish synods, 234; pope of exclusively elected by the clergy and laity of Rome, 248; influence of the see of, 252; increased power of the popes of, 257; obedience of Churches to, 258; Spain independent of, 262; lands given to the see by Charlemagne, ib.; Felix of Urgel condemned at, 269; synods at, 272; see of, dominion attached to, 276; ascendancy of, 280; temporal and spiritual supremacy of, ib.; increase of power in, 283; and Milan, schism between, 286; synod at, in the controversy of Ignatius and Photius, 290; presidency of, 291; synods in, 292, 293; ravaged, 297; change of the pope's name, 299; territory and dominion given to, 299; Church of, unhappy state of, 301; deposition of the bishop of, 311; appeal to, 315; in the tenth century, 318; synod of deposed John XII., 320; election of, increasing power of, 328; synod at, to condemn Berengarius, 330, 341; on discipline, A.D. 1074, 331; on the investiture, A.D. 1075, 333, 335; infallibility of, 337; on the Berengarian controversy, A.D. 1078, 342; against incestuous marriages, &c., 343; A.D. 1049, 344; primacy and jurisdiction of, 345; popes of, 351.
- Romuald, 350.
- Romulus Augustulus, 195.
- Roncaglia, diet of, 366.
- Rosary, the, 306, 307.
- Roscelin, 343, 376, 384, 392.
- Roswida, 320.
- Rota Romana, 388.
- Rothard, 283, 293, 295.
- Rouen, formula of holding a synod at, 318.
- Ruffinus of Aquileia, 83, 100, 120, 141, 157, 158, 161, 189.  
 — the Syrian, 182.
- Rufina, S., cardinal bishop of, 328.

Rufus, 211.  
 — of Rome, 174.  
 — of Thessalonica, 170.  
 — president of Judæa, 55.

Rule of the clergy, 150.

— of Corvey, 254.

— of S. Benedict, 351.

Rules, monastic, 244, 276.

Rupert, 393.

Rupitians, 138.

Ruricius the Elder, 198.

Russia, patriarchate of, 169.

Russian Church, obedient to the Greek, 302.

Russians, converted, 277, 302.

Rusticus, 212.

## S.

Sabas, S., 216.

Sabbatati, 370.

Sabbath or Saturday, its observance, 7, 28; communion on the, 64; fasted by the Roman Church, fasted by the East, 65; Gospel read on the, 109; not fasted during Lent by the Roman Church, 110; observed by the Eastern Church in the fourth century, *ib.*; dedicated to S. Mary, 327; fast of the, 340.

Sabellians, 102; condemned at Constantinople, 129.

Sabellius, 101; heresy of, 59; its effects, his birth, 78.

Sabina, S., 360.

Sabinianus, 231.

Sabureans, 196.

Sacramentarians, 374.

Sacramentary of S. Gregory, 202.

Sacraments, use of the term, 104; absolute necessity of the, 167; denial of the, 373.

Sacrifice, how used of the Holy Eucharist, of prayer, 105.

Sacrotyllabus, the, 274.

Saints, the dedication of a church to, with what view, 108; intercession of, 116, 230, 326; invocation of, 167, 305; prayers to, 202, 256; lives of, 299; canonizing of, 304.

Saladin, 322, 358, 368.

Salique law, 322.

Salmasius, 38.

Salonius, 189.

Salzburg, *see of*, founded, 252; cathedral of, 279.

Salvian, 153, 189.

Samaria, Church of, 1.

Samaritans, the, 197; converted, 99.

Samuel Morochoianus, 346.

Sancho the Great, 322, 352.

— III., of Castile, 398.

Sanctimonialia, 151.

Sandius, in favour of Arius, 136.

Sanhedrim, the, the Mishna transmitted through, 65.

Sapor, 155.

Sapphira, 6.

Saracens, 319, 322, 354; doctrines of the, 245; abhorrence of images, 265; ravages of, 297; in Italy, 301; expelled from Sicily and Palestine, 325; in Palestine, in Spain, 352.

Saragossa, synod of, 138; Jewish school of, 354.

Sardica, canon of, on the orders, 117; sanctioning an appeal to Rome, 122, 171; canons of, 218; canon of, on the appeal to the pope, perhaps revoked in the council of Constantinople, 129; mistaken for Nicene, 131; council of, 143; subscription of Pope Julius to, through his presbyters, 126; its intention and effect, invalidated by dissent, 131; condemned Photinus, 136; restored S. Athanasius, 143; pseudo-synod of, 132.

Sarolta, 303.

Satisfaction, canonical, 69; ancient sense of, 104.

Saturinus, 42, 58.

Saxon Church, its view of purgatory, 107.

Saxons, 251; subdual and conquest of, 253; conversion of the, 276, 277.

Scapula, 91.

Sceuphyllaces, 204.

Sceuphyllacium, or vestry, 117.

Schism, the great, 340; hastened by Photius, 277; between the East and West, controversies initiative of, 289; causes of and tendencies to, 315.

Scholastic theology, 347, 348.

Scholastics, who, 161.

Scholastics or Schoolmen, later use of the term, 385.

Schoolmen, 385, 394, 401; learning of the, 356.

Schools, 254; Christian, 159; encouraged by the Christian emperors, 98; existed generally in monasteries, 161; of jurisprudence, *ib.*

Slavonians, 250, 251; converted, 253; adopt the Latin liturgy, 337.

Scotland, 58; Church of, 234.

Scots, 192, 236; adhered to the observance of Easter on the fourteenth day, 211.

Scotus: *v.* John, 288.

— the younger, 293.

Scripture, canon of Carthage enume-

- rating the books of, 3, 59, 166 ; distinction between the undoubted and controverted books of, 3 ; lections, 29 ; versions of the, 49 ; only partially acknowledged by Manes, 79 ; study of the, 254, 286 ; translation of the, 256, 257 ; change in the reading of, 298.
- Scylitzes, 345.
- Scythia, Gospel spread in, 2.
- Scythian monks, the, 216.
- Scythianus, 79.
- Sebastian, 212 ; relics of, 279, 305, 360.
- Sebastianus, 152.
- Seculars, 150.
- Secundus, an Arian, 135, 138 ; heresy of, 44.
- S., relics of, 360.
- Sedulius the presbyter, 189.
- Seguinus, 317.
- Seidus, 380.
- Seleucia, Arian synod of, 133.
- Seligenstadt, see of, 255.
- Semi-Arians, 133, 134, 136 ; or Pneumato-machians, condemned at Constantinople, 129 ; subscribed the deposition of Photinus, 136.
- Semi-Pelagianism, 182, 183.
- Semi-Pelagians, 179.
- Seneca, false epistle of S. Paul to, 13 ; letter of to S. Paul, 14.
- Sens, synod of, 377.
- Sentences, the, 384.
- Sententiarians, 385.
- Serapion of Antioch, 57 ; epistle of S. Athanasius to, 143, 147.
- Serapis, temple of, 100, 154.
- Serena, S., 360.
- Serenus, 87.
- Sergius, 232, 236, 239, 250, 273, 316.
- II., 282, 299.
- III., 309, 329, 341.
- of Constantinople, 236.
- Sermons, not allowed to be preached by presbyters, 29.
- Servatius, S., relics of, 305.
- Service, mode of in the fourth century, 109.
- Servius, 235.
- Sethites, 44.
- Severa, 59.
- Severians, 101, 201, 208, 209, 236.
- Severianus, prefect of New Carthage, 241.
- Severinus I., 232.
- Severites, 230.
- Severus, 42, 50, 57, 69, 82, 85, 87, 90, 91, 93, 219.
- of Antioch, 186, 208 ; opinions of, 209.
- Sulpicius, 142.
- Shiites, the, 248.
- Sibylla, wife of Guy of Lusignan, 358.
- Sibylline books, forbidden to be read, as favouring Christianity, 56.
- Sicily delivered from the Saracens, 325.
- Sidon, synod of, 213.
- Siegbert of Gemblours, 332, 347.
- Siegfried of Mentz, 335, 344.
- Siegbert of Gemblours, 394.
- king of Burgundy, 243.
- king of the East Saxons, 243, 279.
- Sigismund of Burgundy, 199, 215, 217, 225.
- Silvanus of Tarsus, 134.
- Silverius, 207.
- Silvester, 128, 146.
- II., 303, 311, 317, 323, 325, 328.
- IV., antipope, 128, 338 ; letter of the council of Arles to, 130.
- supposed by Baronius and Maimbourg to have authorized the council of Nicæna, 126.
- Silvia, 220.
- Simeon, 55.
- Metaphrastes of Constantinople, 318.
- of Durham, 395.
- S., son of Cleophas, bishop of Jerusalem, 23, 53 ; succeeded S. James the Less at Jerusalem, 5.
- S., Stylites, 194, 223.
- Simon Magus, 10, 20 ; the first heresiarch in Rome, 9.
- son of Gioras, 18, 19.
- S., relics of, 256.
- Simony, 344, 349.
- Simplicius, 92, 171, 181, 190.
- Sin, original, 165.
- Singers, 118.
- Singing, 117, 118.
- Siricius, 157, 200, 218.
- Sirmium, council at, against Photinus, 131 ; creed of, of the third council, 132 ; creeds of once subscribed by Osius and Potannius, ib. ; synods of, the four, ib. ; council of, twice condemned Photinus, 136.
- metropolis of Illyricum, 170.
- Sirmondus, edition of Facundus, 212.
- Sisemuth, king of the Goths, 249.
- Sisinnius of Constantinople, 258, 316, 319.
- Sixtus, false decretals of, 49.
- V., 387.
- of Rome, 184.
- Sleepers, the Seven, 94.
- Smyrna, 23 ; Church of, 2.
- Sobrarve, 352.
- Socrates Scholasticus, 80, 134, 137, 147, 161 ; holds a patriarchate to be defined in the second council of Constantinople, 130 ; condemns the practice of appeals, 144 ; account of, 188.

- Soissons, synode of, 272, 343, 377, 393.  
 Solomon Jarchi, 400.  
 Sonnites, the, 248.  
 Sophia, S., church of, 98, 208.  
 Sophronius, 239.  
 — S., of Jerusalem, opposition of, to Monothelism, 237; account of, 241.  
 Sora, 91, 322; school of Rabbi Asa at, 196; school of, 354.  
 Soter, false decretals of, 49.  
 Souls, propagation of, 105.  
 Sozomen, 134, 147; account of, 188.  
 Spain, 58; S. Paul meditated a journey to, 2; appeal from Rome to Africa, 73; civil diocese of, 121; no bishops from, at the fourth general council, 176; sufferings of, from the Vandals, 191; church of, 234; taken by the Mahometans, 248; conspiracy of the Jews in, 249; occupied by the Moslems, 275; christian monarchy in, 352.  
 Spanish liturgy, 204; military orders, 398.  
 Spartianus, 91.  
 Speratus, S., relics of, 297.  
 Spire, 252.  
 Spitigne II., 399.  
 Spurious works of the third century, 85; writings, 146.  
 Staff, episcopal, 333.  
 Stephen, S., proto-martyr, 17; false revelations of, 13; festival of, 110; relics of, conveyed from Jerusalem, their power, 115; relics of, 266, 305, 360.  
 — I., of Antioch, 180.  
 — II., of Antioch, ib.  
 — I., of Rome, 61, 73, 75, 77, 81, 82, 89.  
 — II., of Rome, 250, 260.  
 — III., 256—261, 263, 276.  
 — IV., 257, 261, 328.  
 — V., 281, 285, 307.  
 — VI., 285, 301, 309.  
 — VII., 319.  
 — VIII., 310.  
 — IX., 330.  
 — X., 346.  
 — legate of Nicholas II., 343.  
 — S., Harding, 351, 393.  
 — S., of Hungary, 303, 324, 334.  
 — of Salona, 218.  
 — of Thiers, 351.  
 — proctor of Vigilius, 212; protested against by the second council of Africa and of Iconium, 76.  
 — the younger, 270.  
 Stercoranum, 294.  
 Stigand, 344.  
 Stilicho, 157, 158.  
 Stole, use of the, 116.  
 Stremonius, 58.  
 Struve, edition of the German annalists by, 395.  
 Sturmian, of Fulda, 255.  
 Subdeacon, 299; mentioned by Cornelius, 72; duties, and ordination of, 117.  
 Suetonius, 15, 16.  
 Suevi, the, 156, 191, 224; Arian, 159.  
 Suicer, 112.  
 Suidas, 318.  
 Suidger, of Bamberg: v. Clement II., 329.  
 Sulpitius Severus, 16, 17, 88, 190; presbyter of Gaul, history of, 189.  
 Sultans, 275.  
*συνεωδκτος*, 123.  
 Supremacy, temporal, of the pope, 260, 300, 321, 330.  
*συστατικαί* (*ἐπιστολαί*), 123.  
 Sutri, synod of, 329.  
 Sweyn, 302, 353.  
 Swibert, 254.  
 Sword-bearers, the, 356.  
 Sylvester of Rome, 97.  
 Symeon, archbishop of Ctesiphon, 155.  
 Symmachus, 155; history and version of, 50.  
 — of Rome, 195, 197, 206, 223, 224.  
 Synagogue, 156.  
 Syncelli, 204.  
 Syncellus, 295, 345.  
 Synesius, 190; account of, 187.  
 Synnada, synod of, 61.  
 Synods, 145, 214, 240, 266; of the first century, 7; second century, 41; third century, 74; fourth century, 130; of the fifth century, 178; sixth century, 213; seventh century, 240; eighth century, 272; ninth century, 292; tenth century, form of preserved by Mabillon, 318; eleventh century, 343; twelfth century, 379; in Gaul and Germany presided over by S. Boniface, 262; convened by emperors of the West, 264.  
 T.  
 Talmud of Babylon, 56, 91, 196.  
 — of Jerusalem, 56, 91.  
 Tanchelin, 374.  
 Tangrolipix, 322.  
 Tarasius of Constantinople, 255, 262, 265, 266, 270, 296.  
 Tarik, 275.  
 Tarsus, Church of, 1; spurious letter of S. Ignatius, 48; synod of, 383.

- Tartars, Sonnites, 248.  
 Tatian, 27, 48; history of, 42.  
 Taurus, count, 133.  
 Teachers, 4.  
 Tecelin, 393.  
 Te Deum, said to be composed by SS.  
 Ambrose and Augustine, 140.  
 Telesphorus, 42; false decretals of, 49.  
 Templars, the, 393, 398; order of, 358; account of, 397.  
 Temple, the, consequences of its destruction, 19.  
 Temples, heathen, 154; purified for Christian purposes, 98; the capitol, 100; converted into churches, 195.  
 Terebinthus or Budda, 79.  
 Tertullian, 8, 17, 26, 48, 49, 57, 59, 60, 66, 67, 68, 74, 77, 84, 85, 93, 107; opposed Praxeas, 44; account of, 47.  
 Testament, Old and New, books of the, enumerated in the Laodicean canon, 109; Old, read on ordinary days, 109.  
 Teutonic knights, 398.  
 Thaddæus, S., gospel of, 12; false acts of, 13.  
 Themistius, 155.  
 — a leader of the Agnoctæ, 209.  
 — the philosopher, 210.  
 Theobald of Seissons, 327.  
 Theoctistus of Cæsarea, 81, 82.  
 Theodomir, king of the Suevi, 199, 214.  
 Theodora, empress, 207, 208, 210, 286, 289, 309, 311.  
 Theodore, teacher of Rufinus the Syrian, 182.  
 — II., 301.  
 — III., 309.  
 — Balsamon, 396.  
 — of Canterbury, 234, 240, 242; chapters of, 232; lightening of penance by, 327.  
 — of Constantinople, 238.  
 — of Jerusalem, 255.  
 — of Pharan, 236, 237, 239.  
 — of Ravenna, 235, 248.  
 — or S. Gregory Thaumaturgus, 83.  
 Theodoret, 134, 137, 147, 164, 168, 176, 177, 179, 186, 191, 196, 212, 315.  
 — of Cyrus, 185, 188.  
 Theodoric, king of Italy, 195, 197, 207, 218, 223, 241.  
 Theodorus, master of Theodoret, 191.  
 — of Mopsuestia, 184, 185, 188, 212, 216.  
 — of Rome, 232.  
 — of the Cappadocian Cæsarea, 211.  
 Theodorus Studites, 273, 296.  
 Theodosians, 209.  
 Theodosius, history of, founded the Agnoctæ, 209; upon relics, 255.  
 — the Great, 92, 98, 100, 111, 114, 116, 122, 125, 198, 140, 154, 157, 334; victory over Eugenius, penance of, 148.  
 — the younger, 94, 98, 114, 160, 171, 173, 176, 183, 185, 188, 190, 192, 193, 195, 196.  
 — code of, 98, 104, 192.  
 Theodotion, history of, version of, 50.  
 Theodotus, 41; history of, 44.  
 — of Laodicea, 134.  
 Theodulphus of Orleans, 293.  
 Theognis, 135; exiled, 128.  
 Theon, 190.  
 Theonas of Alexandria, 95.  
 — an Arian, 135.  
 Theopaschites, 186, 201; who, why called, 209.  
 Theophane, 316.  
 Theophanes Isaacius, chronicon of, 273, 295, 345.  
 Theophany, or Epiphany, i.e. the Nativity, observed by Egyptian, African, Syrian Churches, on Jan. 6, 110.  
 Theophilus of Antioch, 27, 41, 46, 49.  
 — Augustus, 277.  
 — bishop of the Goths, 100.  
 — of Alexandria, 145, 157, 158, 187, 188, 190; opposed Origen, 83.  
 — of Cæsarea, 57.  
 — of Constantinople, 285.  
 Theophylact, patriarch of Constantinople, 303.  
 — of Achrida, 344.  
 — v. Benedict IX., 329.  
 Theosebia, 144.  
 Theotecnus, 92.  
 Θεοτόκος, 162, 163, 175, 184, 202.  
 Therapeutæ, 150; a branch of the Essenes, a Jewish sect, 11.  
 Thérmon, or Hermon of Jerusalem, 96.  
 Thessalonians, massacre of the, 148.  
 Thessalonica, 170; Church of, 2.  
 Theudas, 20.  
 Theudelinda, 226, 228.  
 Thietberga, 283, 293, 295.  
 Thomas, S., gospel of, 12; false acts of, 13; false revelations of, ib.  
 — a monk of Jerusalem, 271.  
 — S., à Becket, 359, 367, 383.  
 — S., Aquinas, 385.  
 — of York, 348.  
 Thrace, Goths in, converted, 99; civil diocese of, 120; diocese of, mentioned in the canons of Constantinople, 129.  
 Thuringians, converted, 198, 251.

- Thyatira, Church of, 2.  
 Tiberias, 38; school of, 55; residence of the Jewish patriarch at, 156; battle of, 358.  
 Tiberius, 13, 16.  
 — Alexander, 18.  
 — II., 217, 225.  
 — Apsimar, 250.  
 Timothy, S., placed over Ephesus by S. Paul, 5.  
 — Ælurus, 180.  
 — of Alexandria, 129.  
 — Salophaciolus, 180.  
 Tiridates, 99.  
 Titles of ecclesiastical dignitaries, 263; for holy orders, 382.  
 Titus, S., 18, 19; placed over Crete by S. Paul, 5; epistle of S. Jerome to, 118.  
 — of Bostra, 153.  
 Togrul Beg, 322, 352.  
 Toledo, synod of, 199, 214; fourth, 227, 250, 318; fourth and eighth, 242; seventeenth, 249; eighteenth, 257, 262, 272; Jewish school of, 354; synods of, 234; fifteen synods of, 340; twelfth, thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth, 242.  
 Tongres, 58, 252.  
 Tonsure, the, 231, 232; in the British Church, 234; difference of the, 244.  
 Totila, 226.  
 Toto, duke, 261.  
 Toul, synod of, 289.  
 Toulouse, 58; synod of, 381, 382.  
 Tours, 58, 366; synod of, A.D. 1055, 344; A.D. 1060, 343.  
 Tradition, its nature and value, 25, 106.  
 Traditors, 89.  
 Trajan, 22, 27, 51, 54; persecution of, 17, 51; prefect of Valens, 154.  
 Transamond, duke of Spoleto, 259.  
 Translation of relics, 115.  
 Translations of the clergy forbidden, justifiable on emergencies, 122.  
 Transmigration of souls, 21.  
 Transubstantiation, 287, 315, 362.  
 Trasmund, king of the Vandals, 198, 217, 223.  
 Treuga, the, 381.  
 Treves, 58; school of, 98, 160; cathedral of, 279.  
 Tribonian, 225, 227.  
 Tribunal, 63.  
 Trinity, 63; the doctrine of, term, 26; teaching of S. Augustine on, 161.  
 Tripartite history, 220.  
 Trisagion, heretical form of, 180, 186; origin of, 186.  
 Tritheism, 289.  
 Tritheists, 201, 210, 227.  
 Trivium, the, 254.  
 Troli, synod of, 314, 317.  
 Trophimus, of Arles, 2, 58.  
 Troyes, synod of, 393, 397.  
 Trulla, canons of, 63, 239, 251, 264.  
 Trullan council, 235, 239; convention of, acts of, 238.  
 Trypho, 55.  
 Tryphon, S., relics of, 360.  
 Turks, 319, 352; Sonnites, 248.  
 Tusculum, counts of, 329, 330; surrender of to the popes, 369.  
 Tyanaeus, 20.  
 Tyrannus or Tyrannus of Antioch, 95.  
 Tyre, dedication of the church of, 98; council of, 142; convened by Constantine, 124; Arian synod of, 131.

## U.

- Udalric of Augsburg, 359.  
 Ugri, 251.  
 Ugrians, 301.  
 Uldin, king of the Huns, 158.  
 Ulphilas, 100.  
 Ulpian, Domitius, 87, 92.  
 Ulric of Augsburg, 304.  
 Unald, duke of Aquitania, 260.  
 Uncircumcision, gospel of the, entrusted to S. Paul, 4.  
 Unction after Baptism, 111.  
 Universities, 254.  
 Urban II., 306, 327, 338, 344, 353, 365, 368.  
 — VIII., 360.  
 — of Sicca, 179.  
 Ursacius, 133.  
 Ursula, S., legend of, 94.  
 Usthasades, 155.  
 Usuardus, 86, 244, 296.  
 Utrecht, 252.

## V.

- Valence, synod of, 288.  
 Valens, 92, 98, 100, 133, 143, 144, 153, 154, 160; delayed baptism of, 111; great patron of Arianism, 135; death of, 147.  
 Valentinian, 149, 154; the Elder, state of the heathen under, 100; prayers of S. Ambrose for the soul of, 116; favoured Jews, 157.  
 — III., 172, 192, 193.  
 Valentinus, his history and doctrine, many sects sprung from him, 43.  
 Valerian, 78, 84, 85, 89, 91, 92, 93.  
 Valerius, 58; of Hippo, ordained S. Augustine presbyter, 141.

Valesians, 369.

Valesius, 142.

— an Arabian heretic, 369.

Vandals, the, 156, 191, 198, 208, 223; effects of their devastations, 213.

Varanes, 80, 155.

Venice, separated from the East, 259.

Veranius, 189.

Vercelli, synod of, to condemn Berengarius, 341.

Verder, see of, 254.

Versions, Syriac, 49; the Latin, used in the Latin Church and by Tertullian, several of them, the old, the Italian, 50; Greek or Hellenistic, 1, Aquila; 2, Theodotion; 3, Symmachus; 5, of Jerusalem; 6, of Nicopolis, 50, 51.

Verus, Lucius, 50.

Vespasian, 18, 19, 20.

Ve-pers, specified in the Laodicean canon, 109.

Vestala, the, 100.

Vezelai, synod of, 382.

Viaticum, the, 111.

Vicars of the pope, 170, 206.

Victor, 34, 41, 57, 87, 87, 138, 195; reprov'd for exercising jurisdiction on the Asiatic Churches, 39; false decretals of, 49.

— II., 327, 328, 330, 331, 352.

— III., 325, 337, 338, 339.

— IV., 366.

— of Marseilles, 190.

— of Utica, 190, 191, 194.

Victorinus, 85.

— S., of Passaw, 95, 100.

— the African, 142.

Vienne, 23, 45, 179, 398; primacy of, 169; synod of, 363.

Vigilantius, 141; writings against relics, 115.

Vigilius of Rome, 203, 206, 208, 210, 219, 341; not at the second council of Constantinople, 211; tergiversation of, 212; constitution of, exile of, letter of to Eutychius, 213.

— Saturninus, 92.

Vigils, observance of, 110.

Vincentius Lirinensis, 8, 183, 189; rule of, 806; relics of, 305.

Virginity, state of, vow of, rash vows guarded against, 67.

Visigoths, 156.

— Arian, 159, 208, 224; devastations of the, 191.

Vitalian I., 235.

Vitellius, 20.

Vitus, S., 306.

Vladimir, baptized, 278, 302.

Vopiscus, 38.

Vulgate, the, 50.

## W.

Walafrid Strabo, account of, 294, 298.

Waldemar I., of Denmark, 356.

Waldenses, the, 235, 256, 269, 371.

Waldo, Peter of Lyons, 370.

Waled, 250.

Wales, Church in, 158.

Wallia, king of the Visigoths, 191.

Wamba, king of Spain, 243.

Warnefrid, 274.

Weissenburg, 254.

Welf the younger, 353.

— duke of Bavaria, 399.

Wells, 279.

Weremouth, monastery of, 242.

Western Church, differed from the Eastern regarding images, &c., 256.

— Empire, close of, 195.

Westphalians, 251.

Wiho, 253.

Wilfrid, S., controversy with Colman, 211, 230, 243; appeal of, 234.

William, count of Burgundy, 325.

— archbishop of Tyre, 358, 380, 395.

— duke of Aquitaine, 298.

— founder of Hirschau, 350.

— king of Scotland, 368.

— of Champeaux, 392, 393.

— of Malmesbury, 334.

— of Sicily, 365.

— of Warelwast, 349.

— of Winchester, ib.

— Parous, Neuburgensis, or Neubrigensis, 395.

— Rufus, 339, 348.

— the Conqueror, 348, 353, 395.

Willibald of Eichstadt, 255.

Willibrord of Utrecht, 230, 234, 251.

Willihad, 254.

Winchester, 279; synod of, A.D. 1076, 332; second synod of, 344.

Winduchind, 319.

Winifred, S., or Boniface, account of, 251.

Wisdom, the Gnostic, 43; book of, authority of, 166.

Witiza, king, 262.

Wittikind, 253, 319.

Women, penance of, 113.

Words, ancient and modern use of, not the same, 62.

Worms, 252; diet of, A.D. 1048, 330; synod of, 334; A.D. 1122, 363.

Wratislas, 399.

Writings, spurious, 12; of the second century, 48.

Wulfin of Sherborne, 314.

Wurzburg, see of, 252.

## X.

Xiphilin, 346.

Xystus of Rome, 89, 190.

## Y.

York, archbishopric of, 229.

## Z.

Zabdas of Jerusalem, 95.

Zachariah, pope, 252, 257, 258, 259,  
260, 267, 276, 334; power of, 260.

—— of Anagni, 289, 291.

Zani, converted, 198.

Zealots, the, 18.

Zeid, slave of Mahomet, 247.

Zenghi, sultan of Mosul, 358.

Zeno, the philosopher, 21.

—— bishop of Verona, 85.

—— emperor, 171, 180, 181; Henoti-  
con of, 161, 181, 195.

Zenobia, 78.

Zephyrinus, 57, 82.

Zoe Carbonopsine, 301, 318.

Zonaras, 209, 306, 380, 396.

Zosimus of Rome, 172, 179, 183; in-  
termingling of the Nicene and  
Sardican canons by, 131.

—— the historian, 148.

Zyani converted, 198.



# ERRATA.

P. 2 for Apostle	read Evangelist S.
— 38 — Tiberius	— Tiberias.
— 98 — Cæsaria	— Cæsarea.
— 168 — Mammercus	— Mamercus.
— 189 — Lera	— Lerina.
— 191 — Circumcellions	— Circumcelliones.
— 194 — Lupas	— Lupus.
— 236 — Agnoetæ	— Agnoetæ.
— 240 — Nicolas	— Nicholas.
— 253 — Eginbard	— Eginhard.
— 400 — Bologne	— Bologna.

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